

30

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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A large, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of the letters 'Jh' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.A small, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of the letters 'Jh' followed by a long, sweeping diagonal stroke.

"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



AT THE KONAR DAM, BIHAR, 15 OCTOBER 1955

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Thirty

(1 September–17 November 1955)

**A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund**

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Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

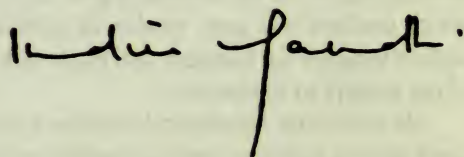
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

SARVEPALLI GOPAL (1923-2002)

Professor Sarvepalli Gopal, General Editor of *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* from the very beginning till his passing away in April this year, was one of the most distinguished historians of post-Independence India. He was the son of the great philosopher Professor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, free India's first Vice-President and President of the Republic from 1962 to 1967. Gopal began his research work in Indian history during the late forties with a study on the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. On return from Oxford he served in Andhra University as lecturer and reader in history from 1948 to 1952 and then joined the National Archives of India. From 1954 to 1966, he was Deputy Director and later Director of the Historical Division in the Ministry of External Affairs. His main preoccupation during this period was with the details of the boundary dispute with China. In 1960, the official report on the boundary question was presented by a team headed by Jagat Mehta, Director of the East Asia Division in the Ministry, and Gopal. It was a major contribution to historical literature in a vague and contentious area. No further progress can be made in resolving this major issue without going back to this report with its detailed annexes. From 1966 to 1971 Gopal taught South Asian History at the Oxford University and embarked on writing a biography of Jawaharlal Nehru, which is recognised as his magnum opus. In 1970, when the Jawaharlal Nehru University was founded in New Delhi, he was invited to join the History Faculty. He was in the University till his retirement in 1983, when he became Professor Emeritus. The three volumes of Nehru's life were completed by the early eighties. This study is acknowledged everywhere as the most authoritative and sensitive study of one of the dominant figures of India and the modern world. Gopal had the advantage of access to papers and documents not available to other scholars. This makes the book a mine of insights and information. At the same time Gopal avoids the pitfalls of an "authorised biography." He had no intention to produce a hagiography. He does not hesitate to point out Nehru's shortcomings and misjudgements. The fact that the book won the Sahitya Akademi Award is an indicator of its literary quality. He also wrote in the late eighties an important biography of his father, President Radhakrishnan, which is frank and uninhibited without being voyeuristic in the modern biographical mode.

In August 1968, Gopal became General Editor of *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, a project launched by the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund to provide a ready source of reference to Nehru's speeches, writings, letters and memoranda. The fifteen volumes of the first series covering the pre-Independence period form a major sourcebook for students of India's National Struggle. The second series of *Selected Works* beginning with the Congress entry into the Interim Government in September 1946 has now reached its thirtieth volume and the ninth year of Nehru's Prime Ministership.

During the last five or six years Gopal was confined by his illness to Chennai but he was always available to the editors and research staff in Delhi for advice and guidance. Many more years of Nehru's life and work have to be covered, rich with events and developments. In trying to complete the project launched and developed by Gopal, our team will be guided by his unswerving commitment to historical integrity.

Dr Gopal was Chairman of the National Book Trust from 1973 to 1976 and member of the Executive Board of UNESCO between 1976 and 1980. He was President of the Indian History Congress in 1978. He was also, for some time, chairperson of the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla. He also brought to bear his experience and knowledge to the project on Towards Freedom, of which he was the General Editor. He was awarded Honorary D.Litt by Andhra University in 1975, by Sri Venkateswara University in 1979, by Banaras University in 1984 and by Hyderabad University in 1993.

Now that he has gone, it would be only appropriate to remember one of the great verses in Sanskrit in the *Raghuvamsha* where Kalidasa situates himself in a line of scholars who had earlier written on the dynasty:

*Athava kritavagdware
Vamshesmin poorve suribhiri
Mano vajarasmulkeerne
Sootrasyeva magati*

“In the ‘wordgate’ about this great dynasty, created by earlier scholars, like a mere cotton thread through a gem pierced by a diamond, is the path I can take.”

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume covers the period between 1 September and 17 November 1955. It is a rather tranquil interlude during which the country and the leader are waiting for things to happen both in the uncertain situation at home and the rapidly changing international scene. At home, the report of the States Reorganisation Commission is published on 10 October 1955 and the expected rumblings are already there; also, on the domestic front the developments in Goa occupied a great deal of attention of both the Congress and the Government. There are also the beginnings of its international repercussions. There are some important exchanges between Nehru and world statesmen. On Indo-China and the relations between the United States and China, India is slowly but confidently entering the arena of international diplomacy, not merely as a worried observer but as an active participant in the negotiations in Geneva, leading to detailed discussions on the work of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indo-China. The expected visit of the Soviet leaders to India during the third week of November requires a great deal of preparation and Nehru enjoys both the substantive and the formal aspects of a major State visit. The visit itself will take place later.

In Goa, most of the genuine worry is about restraining the satyagraha activities of Indian nationals across the border with the Portuguese colony. This involves a great deal of careful diplomacy at home. There is also some formal diplomacy brought about by the severance of diplomatic relations between Portugal and India. Other nations had to be located to look after the interests of either country with mutual agreement. Brazil is a leading contender for the job of looking after Portuguese interests in India. There are some problems; an over-enthusiastic Brazil would like active involvement in the Goan question which India, of course, could not permit. We ourselves were looking for a country to represent us in Lisbon—Indonesia or Egypt. More important is the satyagraha issue; Nehru made it absolutely clear, both in public and in official meetings, that he was against satyagraha by a State that would be carrying the Gandhian principle beyond permissible limits. He repeated again and again also his opposition to any military action by India against the Portuguese colony. The satyagraha developments in Goa had a curious consequence in Pakistan where some anti-Indian politicians began to talk about a similar mass satyagraha across the border in Jammu and Kashmir. This did not, fortunately enough, come to anything. The only real satyagrahis in Pakistan, the Pathans and the Frontier Gandhi, were in the opposition to the Government. The satyagraha question has another delightful detail to note in this volume. Jawaharlal received a letter from Shanta Rameshwar Rao, wife of a distinguished diplomat, in which she made the highly idealistic suggestion that Jawaharlal should resign his Prime Ministership and take to individual satyagraha *a la* 1941 across the Goan border. Panditji reacted gently but firmly. He had no illusions, one can see, as a mere leader of the people, to play the role of the prophet.

Most of Jawaharlal's travels and speeches in the country during this period deal with the floods in Orissa and Bengal and other parts of the country and also the newly constructed dams at their second stage. In Bihar particularly, he is anguished over the refusal of the caste system to go away. He returns to this problem again and again. He also reiterates two themes in his speeches: one, of the continuing relevance of Gandhi and the secular approach, and, two, his excitement in the Community Projects and the new experiment of the National Extension Service. The Second Five Year Plan is being worked out and the Prime Minister is full of hope.

An interesting aspect of India's relations with other developing Asian countries is the discussion on possible economic assistance to Myanmar and Nepal. The Colombo Plan was the available multilateral organisation to work this out; however, Jawaharlal is very realistic and controls the exuberance of the Indian envoys in these countries in making too generous promises. He reminds them that we had our own real difficulties and it would be foolish to promise too much. The Ambassador in Indonesia, B.F.H.B. Tyabji, had also suggested some financial assistance. In all these cases, Nehru goes by the classic dictum of Talleyrand—"not too much zeal!" The same sensitivity to diplomatic decorum comes through in his gentle admonition of Keshava Deva Malaviya whom he liked so much and who was his favoured envoy for economic activities in Socialist Europe. He tells him that it was wrong on his part to have gone and dined with the Soviet Ambassador immediately after his return from tour. Serious matters had better be discussed in the office room.

An important policy issue during these years was the newly emerging International Atomic Energy Agency. Here, from the very beginning, under Nehru's supervision Homi Bhabha played a leading role and India became one of the original members of the Council of the IAEA in Vienna. In purely bilateral matters, Indo-US arrangements for the development of the nuclear power industry in India were being finalised.

India's permanent membership of the Security Council is a problem which refuses to go away at this time. In a formal discussion in Parliament, the Prime Minister made it absolutely clear that the Government had no intention of making any proposal which could mean the revision of the Charter. He also said that India was a major advocate of new admissions to the United Nations General Assembly.

In international relations appearance is as important as reality and no one knew it better than Jawaharlal Nehru. There is a certain quaint charm in his detailed study and interactions in matters of protocol during the visits of Saudi Arabian King and the forthcoming reception to the Soviet leaders. Nehru is shocked at the Saudi proposal of having an Indian destroyer escort the Royal Ship from the Arabian coast to India. Officials of MEA were inclined to agree but Nehru did not approve.

The Bulganin visit expected in November already occupies a great deal of the Prime Minister's time. Three interesting aspects deserve to be mentioned here. India was extremely formal in limiting the invitation to the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Bulganin, alone. In other words, we had still not accepted the political reality in Moscow where the General Secretary of the Party,

Khrushchev, was the senior leader. We were going by the accepted norms of international etiquette, especially in the Western countries. A formal request from Moscow made us change our position and the visit became formally the visit of a team of two leaders, Bulganin and Khrushchev. This does appear a bit strange since earlier the collective leadership had visited Beijing and Geneva for a Conference. Secondly, Nehru goes into many interesting details in planning the tour. He rules out taking the guests from Bangalore to Mysore to see Brindavan as suggested by Ambassador K.P.S. Menon. Nehru does not think it an attractive place. "I do not share K.P.S.'s enthusiasm for Brindavan. I dislike the place. It is much too garish." Finally, it has to be noted that, as Prime Minister as well as Foreign Minister, Nehru had to go into these details. But it is interesting to see how he is careful about carrying his official team with him when making sharply different suggestions.

As in all the previous volumes, this collection also contains good examples of Nehru's elegant prose and mature philosophical outlook, particularly in historical analysis. There is a certain inevitableness about the manner in which he returns again and again to his own experience of writing history in three volumes widely different in their own manner but organically interrelated through the writer's personality. Of the *Autobiography*, for instance, he says that he has tried to fix himself in the context of the Indian national struggle. One piece of permanent, almost classic, importance is the Foreword to a book in Hindi by the distinguished writer, Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinkar'. It reads today as immediately relevant, 45 years later when the new threats to secularism are not merely perceptions but realities; the Nehru approach towards the evolution of the Indian society over the centuries is articulated in impeccable language. It is nothing less than a precise exploration of the secular essence of the evolution of Indian society.

Towards the middle of the period covered in this volume comes the States Reorganisation Commission report. The arguments have already begun in Punjab and Maharashtra. Nehru had been extremely punctilious in refusing to find out any of the recommendations of the Commission before these were actually published. He wanted the executive government to be totally out of the process. Future controversies are indicated in Nehru's correspondence with N.V. Gadgil and the Punjab Chief Minister, Bhimsen Sachar. South India had its own problems and it is interesting to see how Krishna Menon again and again tries to persuade Nehru to jettison the idea of a separate Kerala State which, he feels, is not viable. He would like the Keralites to be a part of a larger South Indian State. He even suggests that the proposal to form a separate Kerala State was due to the views of one member of the Commission, an obvious reference to K.M. Panikkar! Jawaharlal is courteous but non-committal in his replies to Menon. An interesting mini episode is about the special privileges of the ICS officers which had survived the passing of the British Raj. He is very anxious to end these anomalous privileges like "Home Passages" to Britain. In a very rare example of public disagreement with Sardar Patel he says that the decision to continue the privileges had been taken by the Home Minister, when he himself was away in Indonesia. Not a very generous remark! However, in a speech inaugurating the new dairy factory of the Kaira District Cooperative

Milk Producers' Union at Anand, he remembers with affection his great friend and colleague whose birthday had been chosen for the function.

In the case of individual officials, their transfers and extension of service beyond the original term, etc., Nehru is reluctant to go beyond the rules but he always recognises that there are necessarily some outstanding individuals who have to be specially recognised. There is a friendly reference to the great irrigation engineer, Kanwar Sain, against whom some "whispers" had been circulated by interested parties. Not only officials but senior politicians are also subject to his scrutiny. He writes in a mildly worded letter to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad that there are persistent reports of his relatives getting favoured treatment in the granting of government contracts, it is merely a gentle nudge, not an angry rebuke.

Generally, on the whole, Nehru is a little uncomfortable with the decline in the quality of recruits to the major Central Services. The Indian Foreign Service, for example, he feels from personal experience, is not attracting the best candidates. He also discusses the need to encourage and recruit more Scheduled Caste candidates into the senior services. In the course of a discussion on the Foreign Service during the Chief Ministers' Conference on October 23, 1955, Nehru says that he has not succeeded in spite of his best efforts in locating good Scheduled Caste persons for the Indian Foreign Service. He goes on to say: "There must be some limit of qualifications. I cannot send a man abroad who is completely useless to me. I may tell you that the brightest person in the Indian Foreign Service is Scheduled Caste, very bright and very able; but that is an exception". The reference is clear. There was only one Scheduled Caste officer in the Indian Foreign Service at that time—Shri K.R. Narayanan, now the President of the Republic of India. It is these affectionate, truly sensitive details about personal contacts which are of permanent value in assessing the total achievements, successes and failures of India's first Prime Minister.

There are two other examples of recognition of individual merit in this volume. The distinguished Hindi poet Harbans Rai Bachchan who had just returned from Cambridge is suggested by the PM himself to organise the Hindi language section in the MEA. On another occasion he agrees with his officers that the Chinese tend to be rank conscious: he then goes on to point out that they however recognise special ability. "I imagine that the Chinese attach more importance to the special ability of a person in these specialised positions. The way they treated Dr Raghuvira and gave him quite extraordinary facilities, was very unexpected. They did so because they recognised Raghuvira's special ability."

An important development of continuing relevance in the Indian political context was the decision taken by the Prime Minister on October 20, 1955, to send "a team of three persons to Japan to enquire into the circumstances of Subhas Chandra Bose's death" after discussion with the West Bengal Chief Minister, Dr B.C. Roy. It was tentatively agreed that the team should consist of, a representative of the Bose family, a representative of the INA and a Government official. This was the first step in the establishment of the Shah Nawaz Commission of Enquiry.

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to

thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, Planning Commission, National Archives of India, All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge, in particular, the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld.

Last but not the least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Dr Bhashyam Kasturi, Shri Shyamal Roy, Shri Amrit Tandon and Shrimati Shantisri Banerji, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival material and its subsequent organisation. We are no less deeply indebted to Ms Malini Rajani, and Ms Saroja Anantha Krishnan for undertaking the necessary typing work and assisting in the preparation of the index. Without their labour and commitment, this volume, with its rich historical data, could not have been placed before the scholarly community and lay citizens alike, interested in the life and works of Jawaharlal Nehru.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DCC	District Congress Committee
DPIO	Deputy Principal Information Officer
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FS	Foreign Secretary
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GOI	Government of India
HRH	His Royal Highness
ICCR	Indian Council for Cultural Relations
I&B	Information and Broadcasting
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INA	Indian National Army
MA	Master of Arts
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MPCC	Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNC	Naga National Council
NRX	Nuclear Reactor Experimental
NWFP	North West Frontier Province

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I&B	Information and Broadcasting
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INA	Indian National Army
MA	Master of Arts
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MPCC	Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNC	Naga National Council
NRX	Nuclear Reactor Experimental
NWFP	North West Frontier Province

PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
RLG	Royal Laotian Government
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
SRC	States Reorganisation Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. India and the World¹

In a conference like this, it is not possible to cover all aspects of the world problems, though as public workers we are vitally interested in the developments that take place not only in our country but also in countries outside. Undoubtedly, the world events have their own bearing on us. As such, I would prefer to make a reference to the world factors also. Everybody knows that India has got its own policy dealing with foreign affairs. Our foreign policy is based on a philosophy which believes in creating an atmosphere of peace and amity and discourages all forms of hatred and animosity that ultimately lead to declaration of war. We have to resort to peaceful methods to bring about solution of the different problems by negotiations and proper understanding. It is certainly not the pacifist way of dealing with matters. We have our own army. We are ready to fight any aggressor. History has given us definite lessons that no proper solution could be achieved through mere aggression and violent struggle and our foreign policy is therefore based on the appreciation of these historical facts.

The power blocs that are being formed for mutual protection rather embitter feelings and create a situation which recedes far from the achievement of peace and amity. In big countries such as the USA, the UK, the USSR and France people have more or less come to realise that the remedy should not be sought in the declaration of war. All possible steps should be taken to ease the world tension and create a feeling of confidence. It is not that all chances for resorting to war have been eliminated. Happy signs are evidenced in the political atmosphere which portrays a hopeful future. India cannot lay claim to the fact that her policy is mainly responsible for creating this changed attitude. Of course, India has played an important role in the interplay of world forces. A new era has started with the emergence of the atomic energy and the nations have realised its potentialities, both destructive and creative.

But, nevertheless, the danger still persists. We have to observe scrupulously our policy of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes. When there was considerable growth of tension between India and Pakistan over several issues, we made it abundantly clear that resort to force will be avoided by all possible means and that we should try to find out proper agreements through peaceful negotiations, though it might take a long period to reach finality.

1. Speech at a conference of Presidents and Secretaries of Pradesh Congress Committees, New Delhi. 1 September 1955. From *Congress Bulletin*, August-September 1955.

The recent Goa situation has created enormous complications.² Everyone is clear in his mind that the Portuguese, after all, will have to leave Goa. Maybe, it may take some time. We reasonably expected that the Portuguese would take a realistic view of the world situation and retrace their steps and adopt progressive measures to end all forms of colonialism. It is unfortunate that our expectations have been belied. It has been suggested from some quarters that India should take police action in retaliation against the repressive measures taken by the Portuguese in Goa. That means India has to resort to force and thus go against the principles which it has advocated so strongly these few years. Thereby India will deviate from the path of non-aggression and also work against the forces that are helping the development of world events in a new direction. We can by no means resort to it. Maybe, we shall have to take other measures such as economic sanctions, etc.

A country's strength lies in the developmental work which it can undertake successfully and thereby raise the economic status of the people. The more it gathers strength, the more it raises its stature and commands the respect of the world. The economic factors and other development schemes have, therefore, to be given due prominence in the programmes which we have to formulate.

The atom has its powerful potentialities and in the new age, which is now in the offing, the forces that have been generated are likely to add to the strength of the world and, if properly tackled, will undoubtedly create a revolution—social, economic and psychological. These forces have to be harnessed into creative action and some form of control must be there. Social control engineered by the creation of a healthy public opinion, acts as an effective check. It is only through self-control that society and humanity can develop and thereby lead to the proper growth of culture and philosophy.

India presents a peaceful picture with millions of its people engaged in constructive activities and development works. Things go on normally. All of a sudden, some form of outburst takes place over some issue and people get excited. The situation deteriorates and ultimately takes an ugly form and passes beyond the control of the people who initiated the same. The incidents that happened in Bombay, Calcutta and some other cities in August, as a sequel to the Goa tragedy, were really unfortunate and revealed dangerous symptoms which, if left uncontrolled, may lead to disastrous consequences. The Goa problem has to be tackled on Government level and any action on the part of the people, calling themselves satyagrahis, if not properly directed, will tend to complicate matters. The objective is hard to achieve that way. The Government of India have got their definite policy which they are pursuing steadily.

2. For Nehru's observations on the Goa problem, see *post.* pp. 367-392. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 387-426.

There are people who profess to liberate Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India and, at the same time, create troubles in their own areas, unmindful of the consequences that are likely to follow from the excitement of public feelings. The recent happenings in Bihar speak a sad tale.³ Students took extreme steps. Maybe some political elements have played the game from behind. In any case, this state of affairs only reveals our weakness, and all our activities tend to be nullified by this form of unhappy developments. Of course, the student community in general cannot be denounced. The disgruntled and anti-social elements always try to influence them. It is unfortunate to find our young generation behaving in a peculiar way. They are neither here nor there. Old concepts about social values of life seem to have been lost sight of, while at the same time, the present trend of world events and the progressive forces that condition the same, have not been properly appreciated. As such, these occasional outbursts make their appearance because of the lack of full realisation of the interaction of the forces: moral, material and psychic, that lead to the proper growth of the nation. India is, practically, an ocean of humanity with diverse characteristics and different forms of attitude to life. Unless we are vigilant, any moment a sudden outburst of a storm may sweep everything before it and undermine the strength of the nation.

In other countries also disputes occur, but on issues such as labour trouble. Here in India, differences manifest themselves in ugly forms over questions of provincialism, casteism and communalism. In connection with the problem of reorganisation of States, undesirable incidents happened in different parts of the country. As a protest against something, big processions are brought out with slogans condemning the Government and accompanied by closure of shops, and also, sometimes by throwing of brickbats and stones. There are parties opposed to the Congress who try to take advantage of these differences, ignoring the unhappy repercussions that may follow from these demonstrations. Unruly elements come to the front and things go out of control. As a result, people who initiate the movement recede to the background. Undoubtedly, people have the fullest freedom to give vent to their feelings, against the Government in power, if the occasion so demands. But one should be cautious about the methods that are adopted in launching the movement.

The Congress cannot afford to be complacent. There is a feeling in some quarters that the Congress has attained sufficient strength and no one can dislodge it from its eminent position. The moment we become less vigilant and fail to keep pace with progressive forces, we become static and cease to grow. As a result, we go backwards and approach the state of collapse. We must

3. For Nehru's observations on the situation in Bihar see *post*, pp. 271-274. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 68-83.

fully appreciate this position and try to take the lead in all public affairs without giving way to others. Otherwise we shall take to easier forms of life and fritter away the strength we gained by working unitedly and with determination to achieve our desired goal.

There is a tendency to build up group politics amongst Congressmen who gather together for the achievement of some personal or sectional benefits. It is really very reprehensible and works against the basic principles of the Congress. Our energies are frittered away by mutual disputes, jealousies and the organisation grows weak. Ultimately public interests are jeopardised. It is a remarkable thing that there is still a very large number of people who keep themselves aloof from these narrow and selfish groupings and try to work up to the Congress ideals. It is they who form the backbone of the Congress.

All forms of 'bossism' should be discouraged. In a democratic set up, this has no place. If attempts are made to usurp power, the public are sure to react. History has given definite instances how they forced the boss to retire though in the attempt they had to go through ordeals and sufferings.

Political groupings are dangerous. But still more dangerous are the caste groupings. The Congress should oppose it with all its might. Casteism should be eliminated out and out. Democracy cannot thrive on the basis of these distinctions of castes and sects. We advocate socialism on the one hand and at the same time we cling to caste distinctions. This is simply incongruous. If we are really earnest about the development of our country, the only practical step is to do away with these groupings and casteism. If steps are not taken at the opportune moment, the class which is seized with superiority complex, will lose all its force and find itself one day ignobly humbled. In Tamilnad, slogans are sometimes raised by a section of the people: 'Do away with Brahmans.'⁴ This is certainly a reaction against the attitude of Brahmans in the past. If people holding superior positions fail to take note of the working of the social forces and do not agree to disengage themselves voluntarily from their superiority complex, there will be unhappy developments and resort to violence cannot be altogether ruled out. There are ample evidences in our history to show that our mutual jealousies and internecine struggles were mainly responsible for our downfall and defeat at the hands of the foreigners.

The Congress organisation and the Government have a great responsibility to discharge. This can be done effectively only when we set our house in order and work unitedly in a disciplined manner for the achievement of our objectives.

The Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Schemes have started working over wide areas in the country. It is indeed a

4. See also *post*, pp. 544-545.

remarkable achievement. It has created confidence among the people. Their response has been evidenced by the voluntary service that has been forthcoming in abundance. The Second Five Year Plan envisages extensive programmes of these constructive and development works and the Congress organisation has to take the major part in enthusing the people to work with determination and vigour for its success.

2. Freedom: An Opportunity for Progress¹

I have come to Vindhya Pradesh after three and a half years.² I was here last at the time of the elections. Election issues were uppermost in our minds then. Therefore it is a good thing to pay a visit in more normal circumstances in order to understand the problems of the region. The address of welcome that you have just given me mentions my book *The Discovery of India*. Ever since I was given the opportunity to serve the nation, I have felt the urge to try to discover what India is all about. I delved into India's past and wandered all over the country in order to understand the India of today. What has helped me most in this quest is meeting the people of India.

It is our past which has moulded us. The Himalayas and the Ganga, Jamuna and the big cities are part of India. But ultimately it is the people who make the country what it is. When we shout *Bharat Mata ki Jai*, it is the people that we hail. Though I have been trying for the last thirty odd years, I have been able to understand only the tip of the iceberg. There is a great deal that still remains a mystery.

When you read the history of India you will find that great men have been born on this soil down the centuries. Indian thought and ideas made a great impact upon the rest of the world. India's wealth was fabled. Then came a time when we lost our freedom and were yoked to foreign rule. India was impoverished while other countries forged ahead.

How did this happen? What were the weaknesses that led us to our downfall? It is futile to blame others for our failures. It is only countries with

1. Speech at a public reception, Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh, 10 September 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Nehru visited Rewa during the first general elections in 1951-52.

strength and determination which progress. The moment these are lacking, a country slips back. Why should we blame the British for establishing an empire in India? When the British came to our shores two hundred years ago, they possessed certain qualities while we were weak and disunited. So we lost our freedom to them.

Now that we are free once more, we must be clear in our minds about the path that we should take in order to make India strong. It is the responsibility of those who are in charge of government in particular to think and plan and give a sense of direction to the people. Unless India becomes a strong power, freedom will slip away. You will find that the great powers of the world are extremely affluent and produce a great deal of wealth from their land and factories. We cannot face them on an equal footing unless we too increase production and become economically strong.

Many people think that now that we have got freedom, our work is over and that we can sit back and relax. They feel that there is no need to work hard any more or make sacrifices. If we yield to such easy-going ways, in no time internal feuds and dissensions will come up again and India will break into fragments once again. History is witness to the fact that India's downfall in the past was due to disunity and lack of discipline. It is a sense of discipline that gives strength to an individual, nation and race.

Our history shows us that whenever invading hordes descended upon us, we were caught in a state of disunity and divisiveness. We fell because we did not stand together in times of crisis. When the British came, the country was divided by internal feuds and dissensions. It is not as if the British were superior to us in strength. But they took advantage of our disunity. That is the importance of discipline. The great powers of the world today, whether they are communist, socialist or capitalist, in Europe, the United States, China, Japan, have progressed because of their capacity for hard work and discipline and unity. You will never find the people in any of these countries forgetting discipline. It is in their bones. They imbibe the lesson of discipline from their childhood. They have gone through two great world wars which brought great ruin. Entire cities were razed to the ground and yet once more these countries are on their feet. The Soviet Union was ruined. The atom bomb was dropped on two great cities of Japan. Germany was a heap of rubble at the end of the war. Today, they are all forging ahead. Hiroshima was destroyed ten years ago. Today it is a thriving, prosperous city of a million people and only a ruined old house has been allowed to remain as witness to the havoc wrought by these deadly weapons.

It is obvious that, if we continue in our old ways and fight among ourselves, we shall only become weak. We won our independence because we united ourselves into a strong, organized force under the great institution called the Congress which spread throughout the country from the Himalayas to

Kanyakumari. The Congress instilled a sense of discipline among the people. The people gave their obedience and trust to the Congress which became a mass movement. By following the path of unity, non-violence, sacrifice and hard work, shown by Mahatma Gandhi, India became strong and ultimately won freedom. It was the first time in the history of India that a large movement had been conducted by peaceful methods and succeeded.

Our task is by no means over. When we arrived at one destination of independence, we realized that other, more arduous tasks were ahead of us. There is no time for relaxation. Independence merely means that foreign rule has come to an end and the reins of government have passed into our own hands. But that does not mean the problem of poverty that afflicts the country gets automatically solved. Independence has merely cleared the way for us to work for our objectives.

The most urgent problem that needs to be tackled is that of poverty. Almost ninety per cent of the people of India are poor, hungry and naked, and there is a lack of the basic necessities. Every citizen in the country has the right to two square meals a day, clothes, a house to live in, health care, education and a means of livelihood. Every child in the country must have the opportunity for education and be well looked after in body and mind.

Among the people seated in front of me are many boys and girls. I want to tell you that if you have the enthusiasm and the intelligence, no doors will be barred to you. The highest position in the land is that of the President of India. There is no reason why any one among you cannot aspire to this high office or any other position. But you must have the training and the ability for these positions. Nothing can be achieved by mere shouting.

At the moment, although there is equality of opportunity for everyone under the law, in actual practice everyone does not get the opportunity. So long as a large number of people have to go without education, it is absurd to say that all doors are open to everyone. Whether you call it socialism, communism, Gandhism or capitalism, all ideologies ultimately aim at raising the standard of living of people and providing them opportunities for productive work.

People come to me for jobs. Where am I to provide such jobs from? The Government may be able to provide jobs for a few thousands. But thirty-six crore people cannot be given jobs in government. Where do the essential consumer goods come from? You buy cloth or foodgrains in the market. But they have to be produced by human beings. They do not come from some other country. It is the farmer who produces food. It is the people who produce cloth from spinning wheels or in mills. People build houses by their own effort.

There is a great demand for essential goods like foodgrains, cloth and houses. It is we ourselves who are responsible for producing them. Then why do we not produce what we need? Why do we sit idly waiting for someone else to do it? The reason is simple. Many of you must be students of economics.

The basic principle of economics is one of demand and supply. But where millions of people are involved it is not easy to meet all their demands.

Why has the United States become so affluent? Why are all the European countries so rich? It is not that the people in the West are more intelligent than us. I agree that they are extremely hard working. But even we can work hard. Then why are we poor? There are two or three broad factors responsible for the affluence of the West. One, the people in the West have a spirit of curiosity and search for knowledge which have led to great advance in science and technology. They have harnessed this new knowledge to find new methods of production. They have built huge industries and invented machines which have increased their capacity for production.

Have you ever thought what an industry means? When a carpenter uses a hammer or a saw, it increases his capacity for work. Modern industry can increase it a thousandfold. You read in mythology about men with a thousand arms. Whatever the truth of that may be, science and its inventions have increased man's capacity for production tremendously. Science has also increased the military might of nations. So man has indeed become a *sahasrabahu* (thousand-armed).

We have lagged behind in these matters because we continued to hold on to outdated methods of production. So we laid ourselves open to foreign domination. The British with their new found superiority in science and technology conquered us with ease. There was no dearth of courage and bravery among us. Who can be braver as a nation than the Rajputs? But that was of no avail against superior military technology. How could bows and arrows win against guns? So it was more a question of the victory of the superior intellect.

We had become steeped in conceit and did not think it necessary to learn anything from anyone. We were vain about our achievements in philosophy and thought. So while the West advanced intellectually and technologically, we remained stagnant. The West became militarily powerful and economically affluent by taking advantage of science and technology and other factors like discipline.

Our great dilemma is how to transform a poor nation into a rich one. It is obvious that the West is not going to give us some of their wealth. Even if a little help is forthcoming from other countries, the actual effort has to be made by ourselves. We shall have to produce wealth through our own effort and hard work.

What is wealth? It is not gold or silver, which are merely tools of trade. Gold and silver can be used for ornaments. Real wealth consists of consumer goods, like food and cloth, etc. The more food we grow, the wealthier India and the people will become. Whatever we produce in our factories and village industries constitutes the nation's wealth. We cannot eat gold or silver. It is food that we can eat. Therefore we have to increase our production of essential

consumer goods. Besides food and cloth, there are other things which we need. For instance, all of us travel by train. So we need engines and railway carriages. Why should we have to import them? We must make them ourselves. Similarly we must build motor cars and other things that we need. Only then will the wealth remain in the country, and people will get employment and their standard of living will improve.

I can point out a thousand different things that we can do. Why should we not produce microphones, like the one I am speaking into, in India? There is no doubt about it that we can do it. We must produce all essential goods in the country so that more people can have access to them. While it is necessary to increase national wealth, we must make arrangements to ensure that it does not remain in a few pockets while the rest of the people remain poor. That is not proper. Such a society cannot be considered a just one.

We launched the Five Year Plans to set out a plan of action to raise the standard of living of the masses and to gradually eradicate poverty. These things cannot be done in a moment by magic. If we had had a magic formula, we would have used it long ago. We cannot get rid of our poverty by counting beads or consulting astrologers. If farmers sit at home, will the astrologers plough their fields for them? The farmers will have to do it themselves. So we drew up the Five Years Plans to chalk out a list of priorities in order to increase production by every possible method.

The most urgent problem four years ago was of food shortage. There were great shortfalls, particularly of rice. We could not let people to die of starvation. So we had to import millions of tonnes of foodgrains at an enormous cost. It was a great drain on our foreign exchange reserves. We were a poor country and this was a severe setback.

So we paid attention to increasing food production first. Many of you who are landholders and farmers would have known what to do. I am a city-dweller but I had read a little on this subject. So we made a great effort by using good fertilizers and seeds and making arrangements for providing water through irrigation canals. We opened a huge fertilizer factory at Sindri, where the production is one lakh tonnes a year. We took up huge river valley projects on our major rivers and constructed dams on them in the Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Bombay and Uttar Pradesh. From the dams, canals were laid out to provide water for irrigation even if the monsoons failed or were inadequate. We also produced electricity from our river valley projects.

As you all know, we achieved notable success in realising the targets for food production. In fact, the five years are not up and still the food production has increased tremendously. We have enough stocks now to tide us over a crisis. Recently, we had floods in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Assam, and the crops were ruined. But we had no shortage of food. We sent supplies to these states from other places. This has been a great victory for the people of India.

That does not mean that our task is over. A great deal remains to be done because we want to increase food production even further. The more we produce, the better off the farmers will be and the national wealth will increase.

You must also bear in mind that the population is constantly increasing. Every census held once in ten years shows a considerable increase. This creates more problems. How is it to be controlled? The fact is that the number of mouths to be fed and bodies to be clothed keeps multiplying rapidly. Unless we produce more and more, shortages of food, cloth, houses, schools, jobs, in short, all basic necessities of life, are bound to persist.

Besides bringing the food problem under control, we have also built some big industries in the First Five Year Plan. We are now thinking of the Second Plan which will be launched in a few months' time. We want to lay stress on two things—on food production and industrialization. We want to set up heavy as well as medium and small cottage industries. We must produce everything that we now import at the moment. This will mean more employment for the people.

We have to calculate many things. For instance, we need steel so we have to set up steel plants. For steel we also need coke. One thing leads to another. Suppose we start production of various goods but the arrangements for transporting them from one place to another are inadequate. The goods will remain unused. That means we should also make railway engines.

As you know there are Community Development schemes for the development of the rural areas. In the days of British rule the wealth of the villages was drained away to feed the cities. Very little money was spent on the rural areas. The Community Projects were started three and a half years ago and even in this short time, nearly a lakh of villages have been covered. A great deal remains to be done. But it is quite a big achievement to have covered one-fourth of our villages in three years. We shall spend whatever money that is needed for this. But what is even more necessary is trained personnel, village workers and supervisors, etc. We need millions of them. We cannot have raw recruits. They have to be trained first. There are courses of nine months or a year. There is no doubt about it that wherever the Community Projects have been taken up the villages have been infused with a new spirit of self-reliance. There is some help from outside. But the actual burden falls on the villagers themselves.

As I told you, it is our divisions which have always broken up Indian unity. Sometimes religion is made an excuse. A few years ago, before Independence, the Muslim League fomented disunity in the name of religion. That is over now. But even among the Hindus and Sikhs there are elements which create disunity. When religion is brought into politics, both are ruined. Communalism has done great harm in India. In a sense, the entire Hindu social organisation, which is based on the caste system, promotes disunity. Casteism

creates great barriers. Our young men talk of socialism and communism. Neither democracy nor socialism nor communism is possible so long as the caste system persists. Equality is the basis for all three. There can be no equality when one caste considers itself superior to the others and suppresses them. Where is democracy or socialism in these circumstances? It is absolutely futile to talk about them.

The caste system was devised a long time ago in ancient India. I do not know if such a system has existed anywhere else in the world. Perhaps it may have been relevant two thousand years ago. But in this day and age, it is absolutely meaningless. It is an obstacle to our progress and weakens us. It is my belief that it is the caste system which weakened India in the past and made us fall a prey to foreign invasions.

Now that we have got the opportunity to go ahead once more, we must get rid of all these weaknesses. We must break down the barriers which keep us apart and prevent unity in the country. We must root out communalism and casteism from the country. I know that it will take time. Well, that does not matter. We must keep making an effort and gradually we shall be able to bring about equality. Everyone must be free to follow the religion of his choice. So long as there are religious and caste disparities, there can be no equality in our society.

We come round again to the need to prepare ourselves, wherever we are, in schools and colleges, in factories and fields, to shoulder the burdens of this great country of ours. You must not think that it is a handful of ministers from Delhi or Rewa, Lucknow, Calcutta or Bombay who shoulder the country's responsibilities. It is true that they have great responsibilities. But nobody can shoulder the country's burdens until the people are prepared to share them.

If we continue in our old ways, we shall be doing no good to the country. That is why I find it surprising that some of our political parties continue to behave as though India is still not independent. Freedom brings responsibilities and duties. Every right has to be balanced against a duty to the nation. The nation which fails to discharge its duties or what you may call its dharma in a broader context cannot have any rights. You have to pay the price for every right. Our great leader Lokamanya Tilak³ had declared: "Swaraj is our birthright". That is true but to acquire that birthright, we had to pay a heavy price; not in money but in hard work, sacrifice, courage and daring. This is the real price that a nation pays. We paid a heavy price for our freedom. Similarly we shall now have to pay a price for the tasks before us in the form of hard work, unity and intelligence. If we fail to pay the price, weakness will be our lot. Freedom demands constant vigilance. Even if we slacken our vigilance

3. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920): champion of Indian self-rule.

hospitals, etc. If there is no surplus, the only alternative is to borrow from the people.

What are the sources of a country's income? Either taxes or loans. The taxes are paid by the people out of their pockets. Similarly, it is the people who can subscribe to the loans. The Government floats postal savings certificates and what not. During British rule, the rich princes used to give donations. You will find that there is a more equitable distribution of wealth in the country now. There are rich people too. But the situation is far better now. So with the great spread of national wealth we can no longer borrow from a handful of rich men. Therefore the public loans have to be subscribed to by the common man who benefits in the long run. His capital remains intact and earns an interest. The capital is used for development in the country. If everyone contributes even small amounts it adds up to millions of rupees. If we could also contribute in hard work, India can march ahead rapidly and our capacity and strength will increase by leaps and bounds. If we take these small steps today, in ten years' time we shall be able to run.

A week or so ago, there were riots in Patna and firing in which one or two students were killed. I was very upset about it. An inquiry is being held and the guilty, even if it is the police, will be punished. But what bothers me is the way the minds of our students seemed to work. Very soon the responsibility of running the country will fall on their shoulders. How can they shoulder this tremendous responsibility if they are not prepared for it? It is indeed a matter of regret that their minds should be preoccupied with groupism and hooliganism. They can certainly not discharge their duties well. I would like to tell our students that they should observe what their counterparts in China, Russia, Germany, England and the United States are doing. They are growing intellectually and making rapid progress. We cannot lag behind. We have to compete with them. So groupism and hooliganism will not work. The first duty of students is to prepare and train themselves, and inculcate the habits of self-discipline and hard work. Then they will find that no doors will be barred to them.

One more thing. As you know we have set up a States Reorganisation Commission⁴ to go into the question of demarcating the state boundaries. The real problem is in the South. So we have selected three good men to go into this entire question and give us their recommendations. The Commission has been touring the whole country and will submit its report in a month's time. I do not know what their recommendations are likely to be though people are very free with their opinions. You will be surprised to know that I as the Prime Minister am completely in the dark. Nor have I asked the Commission. Why

4. For Nehru's views on the subject of states reorganisation, see *post*, pp. 245-271.

should I? When their work is over, they will tell me and I shall know. But the bazars of Delhi are rife with rumours.

Well, we shall know in a month what the Commission recommends. We shall consider them and then come to decisions peacefully. There is no point in showing unnecessary heat over this issue. Any decision that is taken is bound to displease some. It is impossible to please everyone. But ultimately what we must not lose sight of is the larger national perspective. The states are demarcated only for administrative purposes. They are not separate countries. You are respected not because you live in Rewa or Vindhya Pradesh but because you are citizens of India. People in other countries may not have even heard of Rewa or Vindhya Pradesh. But everyone has heard of India and so they accord you the respect due to a citizen of the Republic of India. Our lives are inextricably bound with India. We are naturally attached to our district and province. But no province can hope to progress apart from India. So it is essential that we should consider this issue of states' reorganization with calm minds and not let unnecessary heat mar the proceedings. We must not allow this issue to foment disunity among the people.

I would like to remind the women in particular that the time has come to share the burdens of the country equally with the men. Perhaps the women would have to shoulder a greater burden. They must be prepared to participate in full measure in the affairs of the nation. They can contribute in various ways. We must remember that even today there are many laws and customs, particularly in the Hindu society, which suppress women. We praise the virtues of Sita and Savitri but suppress women in various ways. This is most unfair. They must be given equal opportunity for progress. We have brought in some new legislation both in Delhi and the State legislatures concerning the position of women. There has been an uproar about them. Some people have been raising a hue and cry that these laws are opposed to the Hindu dharma and shastras. I do not agree with them. I should like to point out that if a society is shackled rigidly by a body of rules and customs, it cannot grow. It becomes lifeless. A society has to constantly grow and change. If you clothe a society in a particular garb, it may be suitable for a time. But unless it is changed frequently, the society outgrows the garb. A society is like a growing child....⁵

3. Short-term and Long-term Relief¹

I came to Cuttuck yesterday specially because of the floods that you have had here. I wanted to see for myself the extent of the damage and discuss what can be done by way of relief. This morning I made an aerial survey of the area and it took us over two hours to cover the entire region. The flood waters are gradually receding although some areas are still under water. In the next few days, another difficulty will arise. So long as there was water, we could reach those areas by boat. Now there will only be slush which will make them more difficult of access. The only consolation is that even that slush will dry up in a matter of a few days.

A great deal of thought has been given to the relief measures to be provided to the flood-affected areas and the steps to be taken in future to prevent too much damage in case of floods. I shall tell you a little about that. But please remember that ultimately our problems are much more serious than these floods. The real problem is the uplift of the people of the country and betterment of their economic condition. Floods may come and go. At the present moment your minds are filled with thoughts of the recent floods and rightly so. But do not lose sight of the bigger issues, because the real problem is to make progress and to uplift the people of Orissa socially and economically. There is great poverty here and floods cause great damage. Houses fall down, villages get washed away. But behind all that lies the bitter truth of the dire poverty of the people, which makes them unable to cope with any kind of shock. If they had the capacity to withstand such things, even these floods would not cause great damage. Therefore I want you to remember that the biggest problem before us today is of economic progress.

Nowadays there is a great deal of talk of the Second Five Year Plan. Within the next two or three months, the first draft of the Second Plan will be published. There will be debates and discussions on it for the next five or six months all over the country and then the draft will be revised and finalised. We are facing a number of problems in the country. But the most important question is of the Second Five Year Plan because the progress of the country is linked with it. We are changing our approach slightly in the Second Plan. When we had drawn up the First Five Year Plan more than four or five years ago we did not have much experience of planning. It was a new challenge to us. People could not understand it very well and in fact they often wondered what it was all about. Some people were even opposed to it. But now, as you see, people have begun

1. Speech at a public meeting in Cuttuck, 23 September 1955. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.

to understand it a little and are becoming 'Plan minded', even if they do not understand the details.

What is planning? Why do we make all these Plans? You must try to understand this. Planning does not mean drawing up a list of what we need or what we shall do. It is much more. It involves keeping the long-term perspective in mind and devising ways of achieving our goals. We need thousands of things in our country—food, cloth, houses, education, medical care and jobs for everyone. We have to import many essential items from other countries. Why should we not make them ourselves, whether it is aeroplanes or railway carriages or cars and the thousands of other things which we require? Some of these things can be produced by village industries. But in order to produce railway engines, etc., we need heavy machines. They cannot be produced by village industries. We have opened a big locomotive factory in Chittaranjan. We must also produce heavy machinery ourselves and we have to put up industries to produce heavy machinery. This will make us independent and we shall not have to go around to other countries begging for machines. A country can become economically independent only when it is self-sufficient in the production of essential goods. If we have to import them, we cannot be considered truly independent.

You may remember that three or four years ago, we faced tremendous food shortages in the country. It was unthinkable to allow the people to starve. So we had to import food-grains and foreign exchange of millions of rupees were thus drained. Therefore, in the First Five Year Plan, we adopted self-sufficiency in food as our main goal. The great thing is that we have succeeded. At present, whatever shortages we may have in the country, there is no shortage of food. In spite of heavy floods in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Assam, which caused great damage to crops,² we have enough to eat in the country. This shows how far we have succeeded in the last three or four years. We no longer need to import millions of rupees worth of food-grains, as we had to some years ago.

But we must produce other essential things too, and establish machine-making industries. You may have heard of the three big steel plants that we are going to set up. There was one already in Jamshedpur and one or two more here and there and altogether we were producing fifteen lakh tonnes of steel in the country which is just not enough in a growing country like ours which we are trying to industrialize. Therefore we are setting up these three big steel plants to increase the production of steel by the end of the Second Five Year Plan from 15 lakh tonnes to 60 lakh tonnes. It will mean a tremendous progress.

Steel is extremely important for a country's progress. There can be no industry without it. If we wish to make railway engines and carriages or

2. For more details, see *post*, pp. 186-193.

aeroplanes and ships, we require steel. Steel is essential for every little thing, including village industries. Of the three steel plants we are setting up at a cost of hundreds of crores of rupees, one, as you know, is going to be in Rourkela in Orissa. It will be a huge project and provide employment to thousands of people. Soon ancillary industries will come up and gradually the economic condition of the people will improve.

We are collecting more statistical data about the conditions prevailing in the country. You may say that everyone knows about the condition in the country. But we know only the broad facts, not the full details. Data about people's income, expenditure, consumption patterns, etc., will show us what our requirements are and how to supply them. The population keeps increasing and we shall have to provide for more food at the end of five years. Secondly, when the economic condition of people becomes better, they consume more. It is a good thing, but if we do not make proper arrangements in advance, we are bound to have food shortages.

Let me give you an example. Earlier, we used to produce about nine lakh maunds of sugar in the country which was sufficient for our needs. Then we increased it to ten lakh maunds, thinking we shall have a surplus, but the consumption increased to twelve lakh maunds and so there were shortages, the prices soared and we had to import sugar. All this happened because people had a little more money to spend. People in the rural areas have begun consuming more sugar instead of gur. We must be prepared in advance for such increases in demand because these things cannot be supplied in a hurry. If we are likely to need more by way of food, or sugar or cloth or shoes we have to increase their production and find the necessary machinery. The second Five Year Plan will be an improvement on the First because it will be based on more concrete thinking and detailed statistics and data. But even that is not enough.

We took up certain huge river valley projects like Hirakud in Orissa, Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab,³ Damodar Valley in Bengal and Bihar, and Tungabhadra in the South, in the First Plan. They were aimed at providing more water for fields through canals and generating more electricity and, thirdly, preventing floods to some extent. The investment in all this has been a great deal. In the last five years we have taken up other great projects, like the fertilizer factory at Sindri, the rail engine factory at Chittaranjan, the aeroplane factory at Bangalore and the shipbuilding yard at Vishakhapatnam. We are producing military equipment. We are trying to produce whatever we were importing earlier like telegraph and telephone equipment, etc. But the main emphasis in the First Five Year Plan was on the increase of food production.

3. For Nehru's speeches during his visit to these project sites, see *post*, pp. 177-186.

In the Second Five Year Plan also the emphasis will be on food, for we will always be an agricultural country and we can never ignore it. But now we shall be paying more attention to industries—heavy industry, like the steel plant in Rourkela, medium industries like textile mills, and village industries which flourish in the rural areas. Our intention is to make a big start with heavy industries and ancillaries. We require heavy industries because without that we cannot hope to industrialize India on any large scale and meet our internal demand for consumer goods. I would say that heavy industries are essential even to preserve our freedom. Without them we cannot compete with other countries.

The second thing is village industries. Now we have been talking about village industries a great deal but have done little. Particularly at this juncture, there can be no better way of providing employment to millions of people. Village industries do not necessarily mean that we have to continue with them in the old way. We shall use small machines and implements to facilitate these industries but they will continue to be rural industries and not be converted into big factories.

There is a great deal of unemployment and the problem will become more acute with every passing year with the population increasing. Therefore in all our planning, we have to give special thought to creating new avenues of employment. Employment does not mean jobs in the government. A few will pass examinations or serve in the government. But the government cannot provide jobs to millions of people. Employment should come through productive labour in fields and in factories which will increase the wealth in the country.

Real wealth is not gold and silver, but consists of whatever goods are produced from land and factories by the hard work of the people. The United States is regarded as an affluent country not because it has amassed quantities of gold and silver, though that is also there, but because its people produce a great deal from land and factories and sell the surplus in the world market. In the process of production, the people will get employment and wages. The more they produce the better their wages will be.

Another thing that we have to pay attention to in the Second Plan is equitable distribution of the wealth produced in the country, so that it does not remain in the pockets of a few rich people. One lesson we have learnt from the First Plan is that it is not very wise to tie ourselves up to a rigid schedule: we learn new things and get richer in experience day by day. It will not be proper to draw up a rigid plan for the next five years. We are going to keep it flexible so that changes can be made as and when necessary.

Making a plan does not mean just drawing up a list. We have to look for the money that it requires. After all it will have to come from your pockets. It cannot drop from heaven. The money in the treasury comes from the people's pockets as taxes. The people pay taxes on whatever they earn. So we come

round once again to the question of what the people's earning capacity is. If it is kept enlarging then there will be more money for investment.

Apart from taxes from the people, we can get money by taking loans from the people on interest and from foreign countries in the form of credit or aid. We shall take whatever we can get from outside willingly. But it is pretty obvious that we cannot depend upon foreign aid. In any case, it cannot meet more than five or ten per cent of our requirement. Ninety per cent of the burden will have to be borne by us. Moreover we do not wish to go around with a begging-bowl asking for aid.

An important component of our Plan is the Community Projects and National Extension Service. I feel that these schemes for rural development have been most significant of our achievements in the last three or four years. After all, 80 per cent of the population lives in villages and it is necessary that they should progress. The Community Projects are aimed at organizing villages and teaching them to stand on their own feet. We must also help but ultimately they should be self-reliant. Wherever these schemes have been taken up, a great difference has come over the villages and there is new life and enthusiasm in the people. We have extended the schemes very fast. In the last three years, which is not a very long stretch of time, they have spread to more than one lakh villages. We hope that in the next five or six years they will spread to all the villages in the country.

All these things are transforming the face of the country. Do not think that revolution means violence or throwing bombs and having a civil war. Revolution means changing a society socially and economically. There have been revolutionary events in our country. The first thing was the removal of British rule, which was a great political revolution. Then the five or six hundred princely states were merged into the Indian Union. Many of you might have read history. Can you find a similar example of such a revolutionary occurrence anywhere else in the world, and that was accomplished peacefully and within three months? Then we abolished the zamindari and jagirdari systems. Similar efforts in other countries have been accompanied by violence and bloodshed, but we have completed it peacefully and by mutual agreement. There has been some delay because of a few cases getting stuck in the law courts.

Take the fourth thing that we have done. We are gradually expanding the public sector and taking over industries, the export trade and so on. The new industries that are being set up are not in the hands of a few capitalists but in the public sector. The big projects like Hirakud or Damodar Valley, or the factories in Sindri, Chittaranjan, Bangalore, and Poona, are all in the public sector and not in the hands of capitalists. The steel plants in Rourkela and elsewhere will also belong to the public sector. We do not stop people from investing money in the private sector and start new business or industries, and we even help them, but there is some kind of control imposed upon them by

the State. At present, the Companies Bill⁴ is being debated upon in the Lok Sabha to bring the various companies under state control and I hope that within the next ten or fifteen days, a law will come into being.

I want to draw your attention to one thing more which is relevant. If there has to be real progress in the country it has to advance in three areas—political, social and economic. Revolution does not mean firing off orders from the top. It means making the people better off and changing the social set-up. There are some Bills being passed in the Lok Sabha⁵ and the legislative assemblies, concerning women, especially Hindu women. I regard these as very essential. Some people have opposed these Bills saying that we are going against ancient traditions and customs. I should like to say a few words about that. One is that most of these Bills retain 80 or 90 percent of the old substantive structure and incorporate only a few changes. Unless a society changes with the changing times, it loses strength. The greatest disaster that befell India in the last couple of centuries was that she remained stagnant while the rest of the world went ahead. Europeans invaded us and found us an easy prey to their domination. All sorts of ills dog our footsteps. One is untouchability and the other is the caste system. They have divided the people into separate compartments, with a few thinking themselves to be superior to the others. Can any society grow in the modern times by living in separate compartments? We talk about socialism, but how can socialism exist side by side with caste distinctions? Leave aside socialism. Take democracy. Can the caste system exist in a democracy? How can we go to South Africa or somewhere else and say that Indians are being ill-treated or that they are being given an inferior status, when we are suppressing our own brothers here in India? That is why Mahatma Gandhi started a movement against untouchability as the first step in the freedom struggle more than thirty years ago. What did it mean? It meant that the entire caste system was an outdated concept. Perhaps it might have been relevant a thousand years ago, I do not know. But in today's world, it will shackle society and prevent it from growing. Therefore we must end the caste system.

When Mahatma Gandhi opposed the system of untouchability, many of

4. The Companies Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 12 September 1955 and by the Rajya Sabha on 28 September with certain amendments which were again considered and agreed to by both the Houses of Parliament on 22 November 1955. The Companies Act, 1955, sought to safeguard the interests of investors and raise the standard of management in the corporate sector of industry. Companies in any specified industry or business were not allowed to have Managing Agents with effect from a date to be specified by the Government.
5. For instance, the Hindu Marriage Bill which was passed by Lok Sabha on 5 May 1955, received the President's assent on 18 May. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 468-478 for Nehru's speech on the Hindu Marriage Bill in Lok Sabha on 5 May 1955.

the old orthodox felt offended. They declared that what he was doing was against our sacred texts and the Hindu religion itself. Well, all their arguments were countered by him. Today there are many people who are opposed to giving equal rights to women and feel that it is against our ancient scriptures. But there are other scholars who say that it is not opposed to our ancient scriptures. The fact is that in the modern times, if the country has to progress, men and women must be given equal opportunities. If you try to bind one half of society by rules or customs, how can there be progress? It has become important for us to pass these laws relating to the status of women: instead of weakening the Hindu society, we shall be strengthening it. If Hinduism had one great strength in the ancient times, it lay in its capacity to move with the changing times.

I shall not say anything about foreign affairs because there is no time. But I want you to know that in the international field, respect for India has gone up tremendously in the last five or six years. India is heard with great attention. We have neither armed might nor wealth. But we are heard because I think what we say has a ring of truth about it. We have no animosity towards anyone and our opinions are expressed gently. We do not bow to any pressure or succumb to greed or fear. Therefore India is held in great regard and we have been able to be of some service to the world in reducing the fear of war.

I want to speak about the recent floods here. There is no doubt about it that they have caused terrible hardships to the people and it is our duty to help them and to make arrangements to see that as far as possible such things do not happen in the future. But I was amazed to see one thing. Today is the 23rd of September. The rains started here on the 3rd of September. After a long dry spell it rained very heavily for three or four days and caused floods. For the first few days, it was impossible to reach the flood-affected areas because they were completely waterlogged. We could reach there only after ten or fifteen days. Not much time has passed since then. Some of the things that have been done have not been quite right perhaps. But I was surprised at two things. One was that people began to panic and came to me. I could not understand it. For one thing it is always wrong to panic, but to do so in an emergency when quick action is required is even more foolish. This was one thing.

Secondly, I found that everybody was willing to give good advice—make a dam here or a canal there, do this, do that—and were often putting the blame on one another for what had happened. It is strange that after ten or twelve days, when it should have been resolved as to who had to do what, there was such confusion and people were indulging in futile criticisms. Both things are absolutely wrong at a time like this and people should learn to keep their mouths shut and do something constructive in an emergency. What is the meaning of carping at one another like old women? The women present here will forgive me. Shouldn't the men do something useful at a time like this instead of criticizing others? You have had big floods here. I have seen even

bigger floods elsewhere in India. Bihar has had them too, but let me tell you that there is not a word of complaint, and everyone's attention is absorbed in the task on hand. The people here came with all sorts of suggestions and demands: a dam should be built here, and what not. What am I to say to all that? I can say only that all these things will be considered. If a dam needs to be built in a place which will benefit Orissa most, it should be done. How can I do something on the spur of the moment. People here seem to think that they know more than the engineers and everyone else, and want things to be done in a hurry. These are big things which have to be done after proper deliberation. A wrong step can do more harm than good. We have experienced this again and again in Assam. We built a huge dam in Dibrugarh and spent a crore of rupees on it and six months later the Brahmaputra swallowed up the whole thing without leaving a trace and along with it about 50-60 houses in Dibrugarh too. We saw this happening in front of our eyes. But we did not make a noise about it. We asked the engineers to find a solution. They worked very hard day and night for four or five months and when the floods came again, the embankment held firm. It was not a dam but a different kind of engineering structure which saved the town. What I mean to say is that these things cannot be done in a hurry or by putting up walls and embankments or dams. Have you ever thought about the fact that Orissa has been having floods for millions of years and so they are nothing new? All these areas have been gradually formed over thousands of years by floods. Floods have brought in the soil and spread it around. This is how Orissa has gradually come into being and it is the floods which brought the silt that put fresh life into the soil. Therefore it is not a bad thing to have floods. What is bad is that they cause harm to the people, which we must prevent.

There is one more thing that you must bear in mind. Nature has a way of building its own drainage system gradually. If there are sudden changes in the natural contours, while there may be some benefit, there is bound to be some damage also. Careful thought should be given to the problem. We have set up a research station in Poona specially for these things. There they will have a big model of one hundred feet or so showing the physical contours of India, with her land and rivers. It will be used to find out where the dams ought to be built and how they will affect the flow of the rivers. The experiments will be done with real water to see which way the flood waters will flow in order to decide about the location of the dams. By careful experiments, a final decision will be reached. This is the proper method of doing things. But here people do not seem to want to wait at all. They want everything done immediately. We must give careful thought to the matter and plan properly. I read somewhere a suggestion that huge embankments should be built on both sides of the Mahanadi till the point where its waters flow into the sea, so that it will not be able to do any damage. I cannot understand this proposal that wants to imprison the flowing

waters of a river which has benefited Orissa tremendously. We must try to make use of the big rivers instead of suggesting such absurd things.

There are two or three ways in which floods cause damage. One is that the crops are destroyed if the fields are under water for a long time. Secondly, houses fall down, villages are washed away and thus great damage is caused to men and property. Now, if our villages could be established on slightly elevated ground, they can escape from the floods. We have seen this elsewhere. The houses in the villages should be of more enduring quality. Everybody cannot get cement for building houses but they must be stronger and on an elevation. If there is no such elevation available, it has to be created by making mud embankments as Uttar Pradesh has done. Wherever they have tried this experiment, the villages have escaped the fury of the floods while thousands of villages in the low-lying areas were washed away. Now others are following their example and building their villages on an elevation. We must first try these simpler methods here to save the villages from floods. I have seen that even in Orissa the villages which were on higher ground have not been harmed by the floods. If the houses are safe, and the property remains intact, the damage is not irreparable.

The second question is, what to do about the crops. It is very difficult to stop the water coming into fields. Furthermore, the silting that takes place with floods is a good thing. We must try to find a way by which the waters may drain away quickly, within a few days. There is no sense in spending crores of rupees in building walls to prevent the water from flowing into the fields. In fact, on the contrary, arrangement should be made for the water to flow away faster.

I am not an engineer and cannot therefore give a final opinion about these things. It is the engineers who have to examine them and draw up plans. It will be done as quickly as possible. Even now the work that has been done so far in Hirakud has helped a great deal in preventing the flood waters from inundating the area. In another eight months or so, Hirakud would have reached nearer completion and will be of even greater help. Next, the question of water tax, etc., will have to be decided. As I told you, we are doing all this in consultation with our engineers and experts. There is no cause for panic or worry or for introducing major changes in the Five Year Plan to include big dams, embankments, and so on. I simply cannot understand this because the thing that will really lead to Orissa's progress is not walls and dams and embankments but the economic advancement of the people of Orissa and if we take away the money that we are investing in economic development and put it into something else, progress will come to a standstill. We must take the proper steps, keeping both these things in the balance. All of us want Orissa to progress, and not be subjected to damage from floods. But the way has to be found after due deliberation.

Let me tell you one or two things more. Whenever there is an emergency, when disaster strikes, it is not the time to quarrel with one another or indulge in futile criticism. That is the time to stand together and put heart into the people, especially those afflicted by disaster. That is the time when they are hungry and scared, and have lost all their material possessions. It is our duty to help them and boost their morale. The government at the Centre and in Orissa will help. But ultimately they have to help themselves and stand on their own feet. We can give them some help temporarily by way of food and material to build houses, and so on. But ultimately they must have confidence in themselves and learn to be self-reliant. The entire face of Orissa can be transformed if the poor, afflicted people gather enough courage and enthusiasm to tackle the problem themselves and work hard. It is they who will have to rebuild their villages; we can only help them a little. Therefore we must raise their morale and encourage them and cast out fear from their hearts. All this panic and self-pity is thoroughly demoralizing. What I have heard from the people today is absolutely wrong. Your attitude must be that you are quite capable of facing not one but a hundred floods. What is there to be afraid of in a flood in today's world? We must be prepared to face any disaster with or without outside help. This must be the attitude of the people instead of criticising one another and trying to shift the blame onto others. It is absurd and should stop at once.

Secondly, about giving aid. The Government has to give aid and we will do so. But even in that, it should be done in such a way that the self-confidence of the people gets a fillip. The people of Orissa are not beggars nor should they be turned into beggars by giving them doles. They should be made to work and paid adequate wages. In the beginning, the wages may be in excess of the work done. There is no harm in that, for it will be aid in return for work. Aid should generally not be given free except in the cases of children and old people. There is plenty of work to be done. The task of rebuilding the villages which have been washed away still remains. Roads and villages have to be rebuilt and the people can be usefully employed on these tasks. In this way, their self-respect remains intact and their confidence in themselves increases and the work gets done. Rehabilitation becomes easier and is faster with roads and villages being built faster. Do you think the PWD is going to do all this in Orissa? If you wait for them, they will take ten years over the task which can be completed in six months by the villagers themselves.

This is how you must look at these things. As far as aid is concerned, my advice is that apart from the Harijans who have been the worst hit by the floods, it is the children who should be looked after first. They must be given all possible attention even if the adults have to suffer a little. I have no doubt about it that the list of people who need help should be headed by children and young boys and girls. The rest can follow because our children are the future

of India. We will not let the future come to any harm. We must pay attention to them and make adequate provision to help them. By that I do not mean giving a handful of rice or something, but complete arrangements to look after them to the best of our ability.

When we face any challenge or disaster, it is in our hands to conduct ourselves with dignity and courage. Nations are built by bearing hardships and facing disasters rather than living lives of ease. I do not wish to make comparisons, but if India is held in respect today in the world, it is obvious that it is due to the progress we have made without making any song and dance about it. The world respects us because we faced great hardships for the last thirty or forty years during the freedom struggle without fear and went through terrible situations and conducted ourselves with strong discipline and unity. Mahatma Gandhi was our leader and whatever he did, he did it with love. He did not believe in the rod but he used to make us work like soldiers. Like a military general, he taught us discipline and trained us. He trained not a handful of us but the millions in India to behave like soldiers. All this made us strong and we were able to challenge the British Government. Ultimately India won. These are now matters of history which you will read about in books. But please remember that this applies not only to India but to all the countries for no one can progress without hard work, discipline and organized strength. We cannot accomplish anything big, whether it is the Five Year Plan or anything else, without organization and discipline.

As you know, we have called in the Army to help in the relief operations and I have heard that they have done good work. Dakotas and helicopters have been brought in, the Government of West Bengal has sent boats and the Central Government has sent help. You are being helped from all sides. If people are afflicted in any part of India, people everywhere else must rally to their help. We cannot move in isolation. We must foster the sense of oneness in India so that wherever any part faces danger, the strength of the whole country protects and helps it.

If you think back, you will realize that floods have occurred for millions of years. There were major floods during the British rule but the people used to bear the disaster as a whim of fate. Now people are no longer willing to suffer in silence. Nor do they sit waiting for the astrologers or the stars to save them. They are prepared to work hard and protect themselves. If this attitude spreads all over the country, we shall become stronger. If a country lacks unity, the larger it is, the weaker it is likely to become. The problem is that in the last few centuries, the idea of unity disappeared completely from our country. Many factors were responsible for this, like casteism and internal squabbles in the various kingdoms. We became vulnerable to external aggression and succumbed easily. The British who gained control over large parts of India did not have to fight any great battles. There was no need because while we were busy

squabbling among ourselves they came, and finding the throne empty, occupied it. We must keep in mind the need for unity all the time.

Within a few days, the report of the States Reorganisation Commission will be published. You will be surprised to know that I do not know even now what their recommendations are going to be. There are speculations in the newspapers but I have had no indication officially or unofficially. I shall know when the report comes to me in a week or ten days' time. We shall examine the report carefully. It is obvious that whatever its recommendations may be, they are bound to upset some and make others happy, for it is impossible that everybody can be pleased. We have to consider the proposals carefully. Giving way to passion or working oneself up unnecessarily over small matters is a sign of weakness, not of strength.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. Many thoughts crowd into my mind and I want to share them with the people. We must understand each other because we are comrades. You can say we are fellow travellers on a journey. When freedom was attained, one destination was reached. Now we are embarked upon another lap in which we have to take 35 crore human beings with us. It is not a question of a handful of people. I was asked at a meeting in London what the big problems we faced were. My reply was that we had 35 crore problems, that is, we have had as many problems as there were people in the country. They were a little taken aback. So I explained to them that our difficulty was that whenever we took up any problem we had to take 35 crore people along with us. If it was a question of a few people going ahead, that would be easy.

Now I have taken enough of your time. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice What is it? You want me to say something about the Portuguese in India? I have said a great deal about Goa in the Lok Sabha. Please read the reports if you have the time. But I shall tell you a few things. Before that I would like to say that I am very happy to hear that our students, especially medical students, have helped a great deal in the flood-relief operations. I want to congratulate them. These young persons would have learnt something from this experience and such things help to mould one's character.

What is the Goa issue? It is very simple—how to liberate Goa from Portuguese domination. All of us know, the world knows and so does the Portuguese Government, that if we want we can liberate Goa in a day or two by military intervention. There is no doubt about it. But the problem is that we want to solve the question by peaceful methods and not by military intervention. We have to be quite clear in our minds about this. Our entire policy has been to solve disputes by peaceful methods. Especially in the last four or five years, when there has been a great danger of another world war, we have thrown our entire weight on the side of peace, and have had some impact too. If we use force the moment we are faced with some problem, then our entire argument

becomes weak. People will think that we are liars and cheats and hypocrites who advise others to follow the path of peace but fail to follow their own counsel when it suits their purpose. If we try to bring in the army for this small matter, we shall lose the respect of the world and get a bad name. It is not merely a question of getting a bad name, but we shall become weak in the international context. Even our friends will turn against us and we shall be setting a bad example to the world. I agree that an armed intervention will only be a small affair, but, in principle, there is no difference between a big war and a small one. How can we condone a small war? It will only imply that a big country can swallow a small one because that will only be a small war.

Therefore we have reached the conclusion that we should solve this problem not by using the army or the police, but by peaceful methods. We have had a number of economic ties with Goa and there used to be a flow of money and goods and foodgrains. We had a right to put a stop to it and we did. It is obvious that it has been causing great hardship to the people of Goa. We have, in a way, cut off Goa from India. Now, there are other measures which we can take. We shall do so after due consideration.

Now, there is the question of satyagraha. What is satyagraha, as taught by Mahatma Gandhi? It is not merely an unarmed conflict. Satyagraha is a way of protest and in taking recourse to it, clarity of mind and purity of action are important. It is obvious that satyagraha does not imply threatening the opponent, but increasing the confidence and courage of the people on one's side and demoralizing the opponent on the other. Now, the Government of India cannot offer satyagraha. An organization may do so but a government satyagraha, with boys being sent to face Portuguese guns and perhaps get killed, will become a laughing stock. This is impossible for any government. Any organisation which wishes to do so must decide for itself. Even the government comes into the picture, to decide whether it should permit the organisation to do satyagraha or not. If any step is taken which leads to fighting, it is no longer satyagraha. We get involved in the very thing that we want to avoid. That is why we decided right at the beginning that there should be no mass entry into Goa. This much we were clear in our minds, because any armed actions would have changed the picture completely. It can no longer be satyagraha in the eyes of the world or the Portuguese.

Mahatma Gandhi had often called off a satyagraha campaign when it was in full swing. I remember once I was in the Lucknow jail. I am talking of thirty or thirty-two years ago. I was full of enthusiasm about the movement when suddenly we heard that Mahatmaji had called it off throughout the country. The reason was that in Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district, some peasants had beaten up policemen and burnt the police station killing a handful of policemen. Over this incident, he called off a satyagraha in which already thousands of people were in jail in Uttar Pradesh alone, and a million or so in the rest of the

country. All of us were very upset because we could not see why we had to pay the price for the mistake of a few poor peasants of Gorakhpur. Later, when we came out of jail, we argued with him at great length about this. He said that he was not bothered about a handful of men going wrong but when he saw the atmosphere getting vitiated, he began to hesitate. He was quite determined that our struggle for freedom would not be fought in the usual way.

Sometimes Mahatmaji would ask a single individual to undertake satyagraha, as he did in the forties. He called off a mass satyagraha and named one individual to take its place. He chose Vinoba Bhave.⁶ I was designated number two. It seemed a kind of joke at the time. But after all, Mahatma Gandhi knew better and we too realized it later that what he was doing was to instil discipline in the country and prevent us from taking a wrong turn because satyagraha has nothing to do with mere chaos.

Terrible things happened in Goa on the 15th of August and we are all upset about them. There is no doubt about it that the satyagrahis who had gone there in a spirit of service were full of enthusiasm. But there were many others who used to think that by entering into Goa now, they would compel the government to send in troops. Now, satyagraha and armed intervention do not go together. Subsequently there have been big demonstrations in Bombay and elsewhere. I shall not go into the details, but what happened in Bombay that day was not a good thing. It is quite legitimate for people to express their grief and go on strike, etc. I have no objection to that. But the atmosphere in Bombay was one of violence. People surrounded foreign consulates and compelled them to lower their flags and what not. The Bombay Secretariat was surrounded and slogans and abuses filled the air. There was no law and order in Bombay for hours that day because the Bombay Police had been told by the people not to act. The whole thing was a strange exhibition of Bombay's weakness. No strong country would do such things. It became obvious that the Goa issue was taking a turn for the worse, not only in Goa but elsewhere too and the anti-social elements were taking advantage of it.

It is pretty obvious that Goa is not running away from India. Everyone, including the Portuguese, knows that they will have to leave Goa. It is also obvious that we shall continue to have friendly relations with the Portuguese. It is only a question of time. We are doing our best to solve the problem. But it would not be very wise to change our entire policy and reduce our stature in the world. You may be aware that just like Goa, there is a small Portuguese colony in China, called Macao, near Hong Kong. The Chinese government is a very powerful one and it is a day's work for it to take Macao from the Portuguese. But they have not done so, not because of weakness, but because it is wiser for them to hold their hand in this minor issue and because force

6. (1895-1982): freedom fighter and founder leader of the Bhoodan Movement.

might have undesirable repercussions on bigger issues. These things have to be done after careful considerations. It is foolish to do something rash today which might have an adverse effect later.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

4. History and Revolutions¹

If we want to understand India properly, we must also try to understand the world situation. The present political situation of the country should be studied in the light of the development of world events. The history of India which was written previously was misconceived. History does not mean mere reading of books or chronology of events or the rise and fall of certain empires. History meant the record of the march of progress of humanity through the years and centuries. There was a famous book—it was a sort of survey of history—in which the author wrote that the course of history was a tragedy. The first attempt at a systematic history was made by H.G. Wells.² It was not an ideal history, but it was a great advance on the previous histories. The histories written prior to this used to revolve round Greece and Rome. Generally, the European historians wrote things concerning Europe. To some extent, they were justified, but still it was not adequate.

There are numerous problems and questions which evade solution. There are always many questions and problems in an individual's life. If you try to go deep into those questions, it becomes metaphysics. You may go one step forward and may consider what you are to do as a member of society. For this, naturally, you will have to think what is the place of society in the world. What is the picture of the world? You are yourself a part of that entire human society.

You know I have written three books, all in jail. The first book was *The Glimpses of World History*, which I wrote in the form of letters to my daughter. I wrote these books with a purpose. In the first book, I tried to see a picture of the world. Two or three years later, I thought that I should continue this effort.

1. Speech at a gathering of Youth Congress workers at AICC youth camp, New Delhi, 27 September 1955. Summary as in the *Congress Bulletin*, November 1955.
2. (1866-1946); English novelist, sociologist and reformer; author of many books including, *An Outline of History* (1920), *A Short History of the World* (1922) and *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933).

The idea behind writing these books was that I wanted to understand the world. The whole picture of the world appeared before me. This attempt to write compelled me to think and helped me in my thought processes. I wanted to have a world perspective in which I could see India. After that I wrote my *Autobiography*. It contains the experiences of my life. But this is not, in the strict sense, merely the narration of my own experiences. I wanted a picture of the country to be put before the people. My purpose later was to study India through a magnifying glass, and so I wrote *The Discovery of India*. Through this book, I studied India and I wanted to find its personality, its strength and the base on which it stood.

I have not tried to answer any questions in my books. Rather, I posed several problems. I have never accepted anything till my mind was convinced. I have always kept my mind open and receptive, and it was only after reasoning and conviction about a particular thing that I accepted it. Unless you have confidence in yourself and are convinced, you cannot succeed. I came in contact with Gandhiji. He was a great personality, a strong personality, and he influenced my life and philosophy to a considerable extent. But, there was nothing dogmatic or religious about this influence. Gandhiji introduced strict discipline in the body politic for the first time, and it impressed me. He himself never wanted people to follow him blindly. I think of him as a man of action. I tried to have a clear concept of the mechanism of satyagraha introduced by him, and it was only after an appraisal of its technique that my mind accepted it.

I am keen to understand the young men of the present generation. If I go to Tamilnad, I try to become one of the people there and try to understand the situation, because I think that it is only by being receptive that one can understand others. As a man of action I have to think about what I should do and how I can gather proper strength to do effective work.

Thus, you have also to think about yourselves. You are living in an age which is moving fast. The Industrial Revolution changed the face of the earth. The entire society, perhaps the entire humanity, underwent a revolutionary change. The productive capacity multiplied itself with the introduction of improved means of production; and the additional sources of energy and power augmented the productive efficiency. But now there is a third stage which is coming into being and will soon set mankind to march at a tremendous speed. This is an age of atomic energy and there will be an onward sweep in human history. This will multiply the resources of energy and power. Men can use it as well as misuse it. The Industrial Revolution has made it possible to fight poverty. European civilization, as it is today, was the outcome of the Industrial Revolution. The USSR made rapid strides by utilising the essential means of production. But now atomic energy with its immense potentialities can usher in a new revolutionary era.

Let us assume that industrial development and the energy at the disposal

of mankind can do away with the poverty of the world. Then why is there any class conflict? The reason for class conflict is that interests are opposed. However, this conflict and class interest may also be reconciled, because tremendous sources of power and energy that are now available can provide things to satisfy the requirements of society.

Karl Marx wrote a book in the light of the then existing conditions of England, but that, as conceived then, need not apply to present day India. While several things proved correct, certain things he said did not prove correct. According to Marx, in a capitalist system the poor became poorer and the rich became richer. But take the example of America. In a way there is no proletariat class there. The minimum earnings of the people are considerably high. There is so much production and wealth in America that the problem before them is what to do with that wealth. If America does not send her wealth outside, then her internal economy may be upset. It means that some of the principles of Marx were correct, but all the things he said cannot be applicable for all times and in all circumstances. The thing which may apply in Russian conditions may be inapplicable in Indian conditions.

The Russian Communists tried to deal with the problems of their own country in the context of the conditions that obtained there and in full awareness of their responsibilities and with a definite constructive approach. But the Communists of India seem to make a negative approach since they have no responsibility to discharge. This attitude of theirs is sometimes counter-revolutionary, because their aim is just to break up the present set-up and they have only a destructive approach.

Revolution is not necessarily associated with violence. Young people and students should understand the true significance of revolution. A thing which is revolutionary at one time or at a particular place, may be counter-revolutionary in a different context. Revolution indicated a revolutionary change, social, economic and political. Gandhiji was the greatest revolutionary of the age in as much as he changed the entire outlook of the country and created the mighty force which ultimately led to the achievement of Independence through a unique technique of non-violence. So revolution does not necessarily mean a militant movement or the use of violence.

Now that India is free, her people have to realise their own responsibilities in building up their country and giving their best to the constructive effort that has started all-round. There should be no indiscipline amongst the students for instance. Violence and indiscipline indicate the weakness of a nation and one can hardly feel happy over ugly display of any form of hooliganism. Gandhiji knew well how the wind blew, and when he found something amiss in the movement, he took strong measures to maintain strict discipline amongst Congressmen. As a result, the nation gained in strength. It is a testing time for the people of India. India has to build. Immense problems are there. Amongst

One of the reasons for this standards going down is a great deal of confusion on the language issue. Nobody quite knows what language to learn properly and what not. The result is that they are equally ignorant in every language. You know that our Constitution has enumerated, twelve or thirteen languages of India and they all might be called national languages of India. Many of them are great languages, ancient languages like your own very great language, Tamil. They are national languages in the true sense of the word. We have also said that Hindi is and should be the all-India official language. Now, Hindi does not thereby become more of a national language than Tamil or Gujarati or Marathi or Bengali or Telugu. All it means is that among these national languages of India, Hindi, by virtue of the fact that it is spoken and understood by more people than other languages, is the easiest language to be adopted as an official language for all-India purposes. Otherwise, it has no pre-eminence over other languages. There is no conflict between Tamil and Hindi, just as there should be no conflict between Tamil and English. If you go to other countries, you will find almost every educated person learning at least two and usually three languages well and having a smattering of two or three more.

I want you to remember first of all that it is quite absurd to imagine that there is a kind of a conflict between Hindi and Tamil, or Telugu or any other language. Tamil is a great language of this area and I should like people in the North more and more to learn Tamil. At the same time it is obvious that we must have some common languages between us for official purposes. Otherwise, we have so many linguistic barriers that we cannot deal with each other. So Hindi has been chosen for practical purposes. No other language can serve that purpose better than Hindi. Hindi is not meant to be an imposition, coming in the way of any other language. It would be completely wrong if in practice any step is taken which casts a burden on the non-Hindi-knowing people whether in government services or otherwise. All these are obvious things. I am sorry that some people here, I mean, in Madras State, have started agitations against Hindi. It has no meaning, because nobody wants to impose Hindi upon people. I have no doubt that knowing Hindi would be to the advantage of everybody in every way, just as knowing English is also an advantage.

Now to the question of English. Obviously, English cannot continue to be a national language because you cannot introduce a foreign medium for the masses. But having said that, I want to make myself perfectly clear that it would be a very bad thing for India and for the future progress of India if we are ignorant of foreign languages. It is quite essential for us to learn foreign languages. I think that some foreign language, some non-Indian language, must be and should be a compulsory subject in our schools and universities. What the foreign language should be, I am prepared to leave it to the choice of the people. But it is obvious that for us English is the easiest foreign language,

easier than German or French or Russian or Chinese or Spanish. I hope people will also learn French, Chinese or Russian, German, Spanish, Arabic and Persian because we have to play our part in the wide world. We want young men who know these languages. We have to train them; we want them by the hundreds in our foreign service. Also, if you want to learn science, it does not matter how good a scholar in Hindi or Tamil or Telugu you might be, you just cannot learn science unless you know a foreign language. Let us be clear about it. Neither Hindi nor Tamil will help you today in learning science. No Indian language will; I hope they will in some years' time. But as we stand today, we cannot produce science out of nothing. And we cannot produce it by just translating some textbooks of physics and chemistry. The knowledge of a foreign language becomes essential.

Although you should learn Russian, Chinese, German, French, Spanish, Arabic and Persian it would obviously be a folly on our part to forget the English we know. English, after all, is not only one of the most important world languages, possibly it is the most widespread and in some ways the most important. Therefore, we have to keep up our teaching and learning of English—and a proper kind of English; not a mere smattering of English—that is not good enough. I say so because I know that we shall not be able to keep up our scientific work, industrial work and other work unless we have full acquaintance with some foreign languages and scientific periodicals. Even now no English scientist, I can tell you, can be a good scientist unless he knows French and German at least. An English scientist has to learn these two languages. A time is coming when he has to learn Russian too, because there are so many advanced papers and books in Russian. It is obvious that if we have to grow, we cannot continue to be an ill-bred nation, wrapped upon ourselves forgetting the world. We are just stepping out on the world stage. Stepping out on the world stage does not mean our going to the United Nations and one or two conferences. It means taking part in the intellectual life of the world, learning from others and teaching others, sometimes giving a lead, sometimes following a lead.

Unfortunately, we have been for hundreds of years a rather closed-in nation. Geography made us that with the high Himalayas in the north and the seas all round. But you know, in spite of that geography, a thousand, fifteen hundred, twenty-five hundred years ago, Indians ventured out to distant countries. More particularly from South India colonising expeditions went all over the southern seas, South-East Asia, and there we see the impress of India. These people went there very chiefly from the south-west and east coast of India. Indians in those days were not afraid of going abroad. They were adventurous in mind and spirit and body. They went, as they went to the Gobi Desert across the Himalayas and to Western Asia. That was the period of the maximum vitality of our race. Then comes a period when we become more and more a closed-in

people, what with caste and all that. Not only a closed-in people hardly knowing anything about the outside world, but thinking that we were self-sufficient here, and in our own country dividing ourselves up into innumerable little castes and erecting barriers. Is it surprising that we fell down? Is it surprising that we became a subject nation? Long before we became a subject nation, all the creative forces in India had stopped functioning. You can see that in our literature, our art, our sculpture. Our forefathers produced the most magnificent examples of sculpture, of art, of language. They created these magnificent classics. You can see the deterioration coming in as we become an in-bred and closed-in country.

I remind you of this because we have to profit by our own history as well as the history and experience of others. Now we have got independence at a time when the world is becoming more and more closely knit. You can communicate in no time at all by wireless or by radio with all parts of the earth. You can travel by air everywhere. You are here today and in London tomorrow, in America the day after. Probably in four or five years' time, you may go round the world in a day. These fast means of transport and scientific inventions are converting the world into a closely-knit unit. We have become independent at a time when all these physical barriers to travel and communications have simply faded away. People talk, wisely or not wisely, I do not know, of going to the moon or doing something else. Well, they are welcome to go to the moon. But for the moment I am more concerned with this earth. When all these physical barriers have broken down, it would be a terribly dangerous thing for us to revert to this closed-in mind, and in-bred mind in our country. We shall then be completely a nation which will take a back seat. We have to develop the vision of a free nation, and a vision corresponding to the modern developments in the wide world.

There are in India powerful tendencies towards unity and progress; and they will, I think, prevail. But there are also tendencies which are disruptive and disintegrating. Some of us often ignore them, or do not take them into account. But I do not think we should ever treat these disintegrating and disruptive forces casually. We have to be wide awake all the time. There has been this separatist factor in the Indian mind for a long time past; in fact the barriers of caste have separated us. Then we have provincialism and linguism. We have to be very wide awake. If one thing is dead certain it is this, that India's progress depends upon her unity, upon her pulling together, upon the way these 360 million people in India can work and cooperate together. That is the basic factor. The moment it appears that we cannot do it, well, it does not matter how clever you are or how clever I am, cleverness will not do us any good, and we shall go down as a nation.

You know that day before yesterday we received in Delhi the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. I am not going to talk about that report,

and you might be surprised to know that out of 267 pages of that report I have read 70 pages thus far. That was on my way here in the aeroplane—no doubt I shall read the whole of it in the course of the next few days. And you have the report soon enough, because we do not want to keep it as a secret document. All that we want is only the time required for printing enough copies. I hope that as soon as enough copies are printed, we shall give the report to the Press and to everybody who wants it. You can get it or buy it. We do not want to keep it a secret but we decided not to issue summaries on it and the members of the Commission also did not like the idea of issuing short summaries, especially when the whole thing is going to be issued so soon. It is better for you to have the full picture of what they say rather than just an odd recommendation without the background of their thinking. We want people all over India to consider it fully.

Obviously, it is a very important matter and we must give it our fullest thought and everyone should have full liberty to express his opinion, discuss it calmly and dispassionately. Then the matter will no doubt be considered in the State Assemblies. Ultimately, it would be for Parliament to decide. But the point I wish to stress before you is this: what matters is not what we decide but the manner of deciding it. First of all this subject—it is indeed a very important subject—must be considered in a mature way, in a cool and dispassionate way. It is obvious that no solution to this problem can be put forward which is acceptable to everybody in India because interests clash and views conflict. Whatever is put forward, therefore, will be acceptable to some and not acceptable to others. How then are we to find a way out? Well, in the normal democratic way. There is no other way. The only other way is breaking heads, and the heads that survive will win. Obviously, that is not a sensible or decent or mature way. So my appeal to you and to others is to approach this question in a cool and dispassionate way and not get terribly excited about it. An excited person becomes incapable of thinking. I see some people getting excited. I see some people—today in the papers—threatening to go on hunger strike or a fast unto death. I submit that this is an extraordinary way of dealing with national issues. In Allahabad, you find a young man, a young ex-student of the University, going on fast to make the University to do something. It is a most extraordinary approach. Two other students have started a hunger strike against this man on hunger strike. Where are we landing ourselves? Imagine, if somebody goes on hunger strike about some State issue, some others will do so against him. Are we to count how many people went on hunger strike in favour of a proposal and how many against? The whole world would laugh at us. The only way to do it is the democratic way, of full consideration, discussion, and then coming to a decision by normal majorities. It should be an approach of compromise, not of thrusting a decision down the throat of somebody else. That is the appeal I make to you and to others all over the country.

At the present moment, we are on the threshold of many things. Among them is the Second Five Year Plan. I attach the greatest importance to planning and to the Second Five Year Plan. The Second Plan represents our planned approach to all our problems, industrialisation, urban and rural, food, employment, everything, specially on how to become a country with a much higher standards of living. The vital thing naturally is our resources, our capacity to work and produce. That is today the biggest thing before India. I am glad that a very great deal of progress has been achieved in India, in making India planning-minded. People have begun to think of the Plan with some precision. We get reports from the States just now for the Second Five Year Plan which are extraordinarily good, carefully worked out about employment and everything else. The First Five Year Plan, if I may confess it, was hardly a plan. It was an approach to a plan. It was the first attempt but there was very little planning in it. It was a list of things we wanted to be done.

Now our approach is becoming more and more a real planning approach. People are being trained in planning. We are getting more statistics and we see how one thing will lead to another. Above all, we have in mind two things: one is how much the standard of living will go up and how much will be the rise in national income of India; the second is how much more employment will be generated. Employment is vital. Just at this time when we have this all-important Second Five Year Plan being drawn up and finalised, I do hope earnestly that the mind of India will not get wrapped up by this quarrelling over the States Reorganisation Commission's report. Of course, it is important and I do not mind how much thought you give to it. But it would be unfortunate if instead of giving thought people started cursing each other and get excited over it. That will not only make it difficult for us to consider the problem properly but even the Five Year Plan will rather go to the background.

You know, perhaps, that a large number of very distinguished visitors are coming to our country in the next few months. Some of them may come to Madras. I hope they will, because I think that the visitor who has not come to Madras has not got a fair picture of India. I have no doubt that when they come here, you will welcome them and impress them with the spirit of new India, an India which is full of energy, vitality, hope and all that, not a dispirited India but a disciplined India.

Well, I began by reminding you of Gandhiji and I told you something of our experiences in the past. All that has become history. But it is up to you now to make further history. You read history in your books. But it is your high privilege to make history now, as it was the high privilege of some of us to make history in India during the last twenty or thirty years. It is you young men and women who will be making the history of India. It means that you must strive your utmost to give a good account of your actions. Thank you.

Jai Hind.

7. Future of Pondicherry¹

I have come back to you after nine months to renew our old acquaintance.² I have long been a pilgrim, wandering about from place to place, and even more than that from people to people. For my pilgrimage is not so much to places as to the minds and hearts of my people. And so I wander about this great country, whenever I have the chance to meet our people, to look into their eyes, try to fathom what lies behind those eyes, try to understand their urges, their sufferings and what they need.

It is a difficult task, for we are many people, 360 millions. We are in effect, all of us, these 360 millions, on a pilgrimage. We were pilgrims to swaraj and after much labour, suffering and sacrifice, we achieved that goal of swaraj, and now we are on an even greater pilgrimage to better the condition of these 360 million people, to raise their standard of life, to lessen their unhappiness and misery and give all of them the opportunity to lead a good life, a peaceful and cooperative life, to serve not only themselves and their country, but also the larger cause of humanity and peace. When I came here last you gave me a great welcome, and today also, you have overwhelmed me by your affection. I do not quite know how to thank you for it. Nevertheless, I thank you, the councillors of the Government and the Mayor³ and his colleagues and all of you for this welcome.

We in the rest of India and you in Pondicherry lived under some kind of a colonial regime for a long period. Perhaps it needed a colonial regime to shake up our country, to rouse it from its stupor and passivity. But obviously it restricted the growth of a people. So, in India, we were restricted, we were choked and we could not keep pace with the events of the world. We lived a rather closed-in life. Now that the opportunity has come to us in India we want to go ahead fast. We want to catch up. We want to do many things which we might have done earlier if we had had the chance. Anyhow, we have got the chance today and the responsibility for doing things is entirely ours and nobody else's. We can blame nobody for our failures.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Pondicherry, 4 October 1955. From *The Hindu*, 5 October 1955, and AIR tapes. NMML.
2. Nehru visited Pondicherry in January 1955. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 234-237, for Nehru's speech at a reception in his honour at Pondicherry on 16 January 1955.
3. M. Joseph Latur.

So also with you, a change has come over here in Pondicherry and the change has come in a good way as it came in India. And it makes a lot of difference, whether we do things in the right way or the wrong way. Even good objectives, if we try to attain them in the wrong way, may lead to wrong results. So in India after a long struggle with the British authorities, we came to an agreement with them and we talked in a friendly way and we set an example, which was unique in world history, of a great country like India and a great country like England coming to terms on one of the biggest questions, namely, the freedom of India. It is true that circumstances always play an important part. There was a compulsion of circumstances behind that agreement. Nevertheless it is true that some people try to ignore certain circumstances and are oblivious of the temper of the age, of the temper of the times, and thereby get into needless difficulties. Anyhow, we came to an agreement with the British and this change in India was carried out peacefully and we are now friends with the British people. We have no longer any grievance against them. We do not nourish grievances of the past. We think of the future.

So also here in Pondicherry, after many ups and downs, there was a friendly agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the Republic of France, and, as a result of that agreement, as you know, what is called a *de facto* transfer of authority took place here. In law, *de jure*, constitutionally, the change has yet to take place. I hope it will take place soon. But because the state of affairs is somewhat confusing, it brings difficulties in its train. But the fact is that the real change has taken place and we have only to stamp it and endorse it formally.

This change took place ultimately by a friendly agreement with the French Government. That too was a unique example of settling a difficult and intricate problem peacefully and in a friendly way. And I congratulate you, the people of Pondicherry, upon it, and I congratulate the French Government upon it, and if I may say so in all modesty, I congratulate the Government of India upon it.

We have thus set two outstanding examples of settling great and difficult problems between nations peacefully and cooperatively. The agreements between England and India and France and India are examples not only for us but for the rest of the world as well. There are many grave international problems today—there always are—but gradually people are coming to believe that the way to solve the problems is not by war. War solves no problems and if it apparently appears to solve one problem it creates a dozen more in its place. Therefore people are beginning to recognise that the way to solve a problem, however difficult it might be, is through peaceful methods, by negotiations, even though that might take time. Even though it may not bring solutions immediately, that is the only right way. We have learnt that lesson, and I believe all of us in the world are learning it, and that lesson applies not only to international problems but to national problems.

We have many national problems. Are we trying to solve them by conflict, by breaking each other's heads, by rousing hatred? Surely, that is not the way. We have to solve all our national or international problems in a spirit of accommodation, in a spirit of cooperation and in a spirit of peace. That will not, however, be by giving up any principle. If the principle is important enough, one stands for it and tries to attain the objective peacefully and without violence and hatred.

I welcome you to the great brotherhood of the Indian people. It is a great family of 360 millions or more; and in joining that family you are entitled certainly to all the rights and privileges that come with the membership of that brotherhood.

But you have also to shoulder the obligations of that membership because there is no right without its corresponding obligation and duty. And a nation which only claims the rights of a nation or people and forgets to discharge its obligations, duties and responsibilities is likely to lose those rights also. Therefore, we have to function together in this big country and discharge our obligations, and work to build this new India.

During these few months since the changeover in Pondicherry, you have been passing through a period of transition and that transition period will, no doubt, continue. You are trying and we are trying, to adjust ourselves to this transition. There are many difficulties to surmount. At the same time, there are great gains also. You are free to advance, even though you may stumble when you advance. I can say with some confidence that during these few months you have made progress in many ways. It is for you to judge. I am expressing only my own opinion. Sometime back you had your elections. They were also held during this transition period. Since the election you have been functioning somewhat differently and I believe making progress in various ways.

As you know—and the Mayor just reminded us of it in his address—we have stated quite clearly that we want not only to continue the closest contact with the French language and culture here but also to maintain the centre of that language and culture in Pondicherry.

Culture is important in the life of a nation, but there can be no culture unless there is a measure of material well-being. There is no such thing as culture for the hungry, the naked and the poverty-stricken. Therefore the most important task for us here in Pondicherry and all over the rest of India is to raise the standard of our people and to fight the curse of poverty. It is not an easy matter because we have to deal with 360 million people. And they are going to raise themselves, not by any help from outside, but by their own efforts, their own labour, their own hard work, their own sweat, and, sometimes, by their own sufferings.

Having won political freedom, having reached one great stage in our pilgrimage, we have immediately to repack our bags and start afresh on another

pilgrimage—a pilgrimage that leads us to the welfare state, to a socialistic pattern of society, to the well-being of our people, so that every single individual in this country will have full opportunity for growth. That is our work now. It is a tremendous work and there is, perhaps, no end to that work. Each step leads to the next. We are marching along that path. I think it is true to say that even during the last eight years of the independence of India, we have proved ourselves.

So when I welcome you to the brotherhood of the Indian people, I offer you certainly such advantages as we have and ask you to share them with us. But I remind you that I am also inviting you to hard work. We permit no laziness, shall I say, no leisure, in India today. India is at work, building and building and people who do not join in that work will fall out—I am not concerned with nor interested in them. I am interested in the men and women of India who work, whatever their functions in life may be. We have no use for the lazy in India. We have no use for those who cannot help, with mind or body or something, in this great work of India. Therefore, it is to work that I invite you, to work for the benefit of India, to work for raising the stature of our country and the people, and to work for peace of the world. We are engaged in great adventure and this adventure, like other adventures, tests us and puts us on trial and demands the best that is in us.

We aim to establish all over India a socialistic pattern of society in a democratic and peaceful way. Some people always have a tendency to complain. You have every right to complain if anything goes wrong. Complaints should be enquired into and set right wherever possible, but very often I find that the people who complain do so from what I call the complaining habit. They have not got the mind to work. They have got into the habit of complaining. They go on complaining, whatever happens, right or wrong. Now, as I said, complaints should be made where they are necessary but it is not by complaints that we will make good but only by working and setting right complaints. This attitude of complaint is a legacy of the colonial times; it is a legacy which a subject race carries with it. Not being used to doing things by themselves and not being allowed to do things for themselves, they got into the mood of frustration and whining. That is not the way a young and vital people should look at things.

We are an ancient race in India, but today we are a young republic, a vital republic engaged in a tremendous adventure of building itself up. I hope we can combine the wisdom of our long past with the vitality of life and work. We have undertaken great tasks with the faith that we would fulfil them. Let us not waste too much time on past history and past complaints and running each other down because we are much too busy in these great tasks.

We know that Pondicherry has been facing a great many difficulties and we want to help Pondicherry to the best of our ability. Indeed we have been

helping Pondicherry far more, perhaps, than any other part of India. You will be glad to know that apart from other help that we are giving, we have decided to erect a new pier so that Pondicherry may again become a good port and its trade and commerce may increase. We have also decided to locate some new industries here so that the people of Pondicherry may have more employment and Pondicherry may produce more goods that are necessary and add to the wealth of this area.

You also know that we are extending our Community Development Project and National Extension Service all over India and also here, so that whether it is the city or the rural areas, both are going to be looked after and helped. But all this help that comes ultimately becomes real help only if the people of Pondicherry work hard and take advantage of it.

This great task that we have before us demands, first of all, unity amongst ourselves, work from each one of us, men or women, and peaceful methods and cooperative behaviour. The time for conflict between different sections and different classes is past now. That is a waste of energy and does not produce results. We must solve our problems cooperatively, and work for the great plans that are laid down in our Five Year Plans. One of them is completed. The other, the Second Plan, is being formulated and that will include a chapter or section on Pondicherry. So when the task is set, we shall set out to complete it.

I thank you again for your affection and welcome, and wish you all well. Now, say with me: *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

8. Importance of Training¹

Friends and Comrades,

I have been travelling around the districts of Tamil Nad during the last three days. Three days are a short time, but we have covered many districts, many towns, many villages and rural areas. People ask me: "Don't you get tired?" I may get tired occasionally, but when I pass through these towns and see large numbers of people and speak to them and look into their eyes, the inner feeling I get is not one of tiredness but one of strength, because I lose my sense of

1. Speech at a public meeting in Vellore, 5 October 1955. AIR tapes. NMML.

individuality in the large number of people who come to see me and with whom I share affection. Here at Vellore, I am nearing the end of my little journey. There is more of it still. From here I am going to Madras. I would like to express to you and to others my deep sense of gratitude for the very warm and affectionate welcome that you have given me.

I want to share a secret with you, and that is that I fell in love with India a long time ago. All these years the love has grown greater. I have been in love with the Indian people in their enormous and charming variety. And perhaps it is because of the affection they have been generous enough to give me, they have bound me hand and foot to them in every way. I believe it is one of life's immutable laws that what you give, you will receive. If you give affection, you will get back affection. If you give hatred, you will get back hatred. The saints and the mahatmas will not give hatred even in exchange. In their greatness they can overcome even natural laws. The law of the world is that you get what you give and because the Indian people are an affectionate people and give affection lavishly, they get back affection.

It is the age of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb—they are terrible things which create terrible destruction. Some people might think that the atomic bomb is just a noise and a slogan. But militarily it is rather difficult to meet it on its own ground. But you can meet the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb in a different way, not by a counter slogan or counter violence but through the more powerful bomb that affection can generate. Non-violence is something about which the hydrogen bomb knows nothing.

Many years ago, Mahatma Gandhi showed us the way of a non-violent struggle for our freedom, and for a generation or two, he trained our people. Many of us accepted it as a tactic, as a technique of action, to gain our freedom. We achieved our freedom by that technique. But gradually, now, because of the development of violent means of attack, like the nuclear weapons, many people are beginning to come to the conclusion that violence will not pay. Oddly enough, the scale of destruction in a war, of destruction that occurs in a nuclear war, is making people to think in terms of non-violence. Today every country hankers after peace and is afraid of war. Fortunately for our country, we have adhered a policy of peace and we have tried to serve the cause of peace in other countries also. It is because of this that we are respected more and more elsewhere. We may perhaps get a little conceited about what we may have done outside India in foreign affairs. We may think, in our conceit, that we are working wonders in other countries, that our influence is great. It is a natural human failing to exaggerate our own actions. But I would still say so with all modesty that our influence has been for good in the world. However big or small it may be, it has been for peace, for friendly relations between countries and for settling all problems by peaceful methods and by negotiations. But we are going to be judged by what we do inside India, within our own

country, and not by our doings outside. If we are respected to some extent in the world, it is because during the last seven or eight years of freedom we have worked hard, we have got some results out of our work. We have laid the foundations of the new India. We have solved quite a number of difficult problems through the non-violent approach. What is the situation in our country today? I said that we have some very fine achievements to our credit. We may well say that our record during the last seven or eight years compares well with the record of any other country, considering the circumstances and the magnitude of our country. So I am not at all afraid of having our record compared. But I am anxious that we should go ahead at a much faster pace. We have undertaken a very big task. Having achieved our political swaraj, we are working for our economic freedom, not only for the country as a whole but for every individual here. We are going all out for economic advance, for the welfare state, for a socialist pattern of society. We want to provide opportunity to every individual, man, woman and child, for achieving the maximum progress according to his or her competence and abilities. How are we to achieve them? Not surely by just hoping and shouting, but by hard work.

I travel about and I see many sights that please me. The most pleasing of them all are the faces of our young people, of our children, bright and intelligent and full of enthusiasm. But I also see many sights that displease me and sometimes anger me. These are the sights of poverty. I do not like poverty. I want to fight poverty. I am no friend of poverty and I am an enemy of poverty. I want to declare war with poverty. We shall have to fight long before we can put an end to poverty and the progeny that poverty breeds. I feel more especially for our children who do not get the opportunity which is their right. We may say it is the right of every child in this country to have education, to have a good upbringing, clothing and shelter and work. My government or any other government is not fulfilling its duty completely till every child in this country gets that right in reality. We cannot do this overnight by some law or uttering some magic formula. We have to work for it. It is for this that we formulate these Five Year Plans so that our energies shall not be wasted, and the nation's energy and resource should be directed into the right channels. That is the meaning of planning and the Five Year Plan. We have the First Five Year Plan in which, I am glad to say, we have succeeded. Because we succeeded in what we laid down, our strength is the greater today and we have a certain measure of confidence in ourselves and in our capacity to keep the promises that we make to our people. Now we are on the eve of launching the Second Five Year Plan and because we are more confident in our strength, we want to make a much bigger jump. All that depends ultimately on how hard you and all of us in this country are prepared to work. Planning depends on many factors—how much resources we have, how much money we have, how much iron ores and minerals we have; but ultimately it depends upon how many true

and hard-working human beings we have. People talk about the wealth of India. It lies in many things, in our rivers, in our mineral resources, in our gold and silver. But all of them are nothing when compared to the real wealth of India which is the people of the country, not people who do nothing and simply exist, but people who are trained, who are competent, who work with direction. They form the true wealth of the country.

The wealth of a country, I said, depends upon the people. But it does not depend upon their numbers. I want to make that quite clear. We were 300 million people but in spite of these large numbers for a long time we were dominated by a foreign power. Numbers do not count; quality counts, training counts. Unless allied to training and discipline numbers are a nuisance and a disaster. We have to think in terms of unity and discipline. We have to think in terms of the unity of those numbers and it is because we thought in these terms under Gandhiji's leadership that we grew strong and faced the might of the British Empire and ultimately achieved swaraj. Remember that. Our achievement of swaraj was the result of our training and discipline under Gandhiji, the result of developing the feeling of unity amongst people of different parts of India, different castes and different occupations. It is because we became united and we worked hard, and it is because we were prepared to suffer and actually did suffer a great deal that we became strong; we could not have become strong if we were merely a large crowd. Crowds have no strength. It is the disciplined people who have strength. A small army of disciplined people will have far greater strength than a crowd with no discipline.

In our work ahead, therefore, we must always remember the lesson of unity, the lesson of peace and non-violence, the lesson of hard work and cooperative work. If we learn these two or three lessons, then all will be well with us. I often find that there are people who try to break up this unity of the Indian people, who give false slogans to excite them and try to do as much mischief as they can. Fortunately they do not succeed because the people of India have sound commonsense. There are what are called communal parties which exploit religion for politics and degrade both. There is provincialism, which makes people get excited about their states and provinces. Then there are other barriers and divisions, such as caste divisions, all coming in the way of the essential unity of the nation.

We must remember a few basic things. We have had enough trouble because of the partition of India at the time of independence. That partition was accepted by us. We agreed to it and we agree to it now. There is no question about it. That is over. But let it be clearly understood that nowhere in India, under no circumstances whatever, will any cry of division or separation be tolerated in the future, from whatever quarter it comes. That is the first thing to remember. The second thing, is we have to carry on our work basically on peaceful lines and on cooperative lines. We have to remember that, in India, we have to be

actively good, not passively good. We have to work actively for good causes, not merely sympathise with them from a distance. What I mean is this, I often find a handful of mischief-makers creating trouble and the other people, being passively good, tolerating such trouble. That is not good enough. One has to be actively doing good. I find sometimes a handful of people—and I am thinking at present of the North—bringing about hartals and the like by coercion and fear. I do not mind a hartal for a good purpose, but it is wrong to organise it for a wrong purpose.

Now, I was telling you about the Five Year Plan. That is the big thing that is coming before us all and we have to cooperate fully to make it a success—in each area, in each district, and each town and in each State as well as in the whole of India. The Second Five Year Plan is going to lay emphasis on big industries on the one hand and village and cottage industries on the other. Our country needs both.

I should like to say a few words to the young men and women who are present here, specially to college students, and high school students. It is obvious that those who are studying in colleges today will tomorrow have to shoulder the burden of India. We are a passing generation, in the afternoon or evening of our lives. We shall pass away. That is the way of the world and others will have to take our place and carry the burden that we now carry. How are those who are in the colleges and schools today training themselves for carrying this burden? To serve India in any way and to carry this great burden is no light task and it requires a great deal of training of the mind and the spirit. How are you fitting yourselves for this task? That is the question which every young man and woman must ask himself or herself. When I see these young men and young women forgetting every lesson and discipline that we learnt through hard experience when we were young, then I wonder how they will be able to serve India in the future. When I see some of them, in their madness and folly and stupidity, even forget the honour that is due to our national flag, what am I to think of them? I have heard that some people in Tamil Nad also dared to say that they would dishonour our flag. If any man lifts up his finger against the national flag, we shall deal with him. That is one thing that will not be tolerated.

I want to make this quite clear because people are misled and people do not think straight about these matters. But there can be no doubt that there are some matters on which there is going to be no compromise. These are the unity of India and the honour of the flag of India. If necessary every power of the state will be used to meet any challenges in these matters. From the northern tip of India to Cape Comorin in the South, India is one and will remain one in spite of anybody trying to challenge it.

I want to say something more to students all over India. I want them to realise the tremendous opportunities they now have for training themselves. If

they do not avail themselves of these opportunities, they will be committing a grave mistake. It is a small matter whether they get through their wretched examinations or not. That is a very small matter. I can tell you I have ceased to attach much importance to your BAs and MAs. Many of them have come to me, who were stupid and foolish beyond measure. I do not know what they learn in the Universities today. They come to me and it seems to me that standards are going down. What am I do with the scrap of paper on which is written that you are a BA. I want intelligence, I want character, I want ability, I want competence, I want the capacity to do things, not pieces of paper and chits from other people. And the standards are going down in this country and if that is not checked, it will be a sad thing for our country. Our students do not realise this and they are spoiling their careers and their future life by shouting a few slogans and by mixing up politics with their day to day work and forgetting the right ideals. If there is one thing which distresses me beyond measure, it is what is happening to a good deal of our student-folk in some parts of India.

I should be leaving now, and I invite you again to join wholeheartedly, cooperatively, peacefully and with all goodwill, in this great adventure of building new India. It is a magnificent adventure. Those of us who have been associated with this adventure in various ways during the last generation or two, have been greatly privileged to do so. And they realise how empty their lives would have been but for the great opportunity that came their way. We were engaged for the greater part of our lives in struggle, in opposition and in trying to remove foreign rule from this country. It was largely a negative attitude, although of course, there were many positive aspects too. But now, for you and all of us, it is a time of construction, for the exciting work of building our country. Building for whom? Building for yourselves, for your children, for your children's children. What greater task can any one be engaged in? Once again I invite you all to join me in this great adventure and this great task.

Will you repeat after me *Jai Hind* three times?

9. Integrative Quality of Indian Culture¹

Always when I come to South India, the question arises as to what language I

1. Speech at a public meeting in Bangalore. 6 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.

should speak in. I am afraid I do not know your language, Kannada. Otherwise I would most certainly speak in that. Since my object here is to be understood, and not to propagate any language, I shall choose the language in which I can make myself understood best of all. Unfortunately, I can only speak with some fluency in two languages, Hindi and English. Normally, of course, I speak in Hindi. I have no ideas how many of you here understand Hindi and how many of you understand English. So I am in a quandary. Perhaps it might be best for me to be bilingual on this occasion, and speak a little in English and a little in Hindi. Anyhow, I should like your help in this matter. Will those of you who understand English, please raise your hands?

Friends, I shall continue in English.

As I have begun with a reference to the question of language, I might as well say a few words about it, because it appears that some people in South India are rather anxious and even somewhat excited over this question.

Situated as we are in India any decision that we might take about language is likely to cause inconvenience to some. First of all, India is a multilingual country. It is true that all our languages are in some way or other associated with Sanskrit. Some are descended from Sanskrit, like the Northern languages and some have independent histories but have nevertheless many words from Sanskrit. Indeed, as you perhaps know well, in the later years South India became, if I may say so, a greater home of Sanskrit learning than North India. So our languages are fairly intimately connected with one another. Nevertheless, they are separate languages, great languages, and they are all languages of India. Therefore in our Constitution we have enumerated these great languages as national languages of India. All of them are the national languages of India. But Hindi has been mentioned as the official all-India language of India. Why is that so? The reason is that the purpose for which English has been used over these many years should be gradually replaced by an Indian language. The most appropriate language for that purpose in India had to be Hindi. That does not mean the slightest conflict between Hindi and the other Indian languages like Kannada, Tamil, Telugu or the northern languages. As you know, all the Indian languages are developing fast as they should. They are becoming the medium of instruction in the various States, as they should. So there is no question of conflict between Hindi and other languages.

Now, what does this idea of an official all-India language mean? English has been more or less our official language. Now, we cannot obviously continue English as the official language. Mind you, I do not mean that you should give up learning English. I am anxious that you should continue to learn English as a foreign language and learn it well. I should like you also to learn other foreign languages—French, German, Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Spanish. These are the principal foreign languages. As a great independent country we have naturally to play a part in international affairs, in politics, in economics,

One of the reasons for this standards going down is a great deal of confusion on the language issue. Nobody quite knows what language to learn properly and what not. The result is that they are equally ignorant in every language. You know that our Constitution has enumerated, twelve or thirteen languages of India and they all might be called national languages of India. Many of them are great languages, ancient languages like your own very great language, Tamil. They are national languages in the true sense of the word. We have also said that Hindi is and should be the all-India official language. Now, Hindi does not thereby become more of a national language than Tamil or Gujarati or Marathi or Bengali or Telugu. All it means is that among these national languages of India, Hindi, by virtue of the fact that it is spoken and understood by more people than other languages, is the easiest language to be adopted as an official language for all-India purposes. Otherwise, it has no pre-eminence over other languages. There is no conflict between Tamil and Hindi, just as there should be no conflict between Tamil and English. If you go to other countries, you will find almost every educated person learning at least two and usually three languages well and having a smattering of two or three more.

I want you to remember first of all that it is quite absurd to imagine that there is a kind of a conflict between Hindi and Tamil, or Telugu or any other language. Tamil is a great language of this area and I should like people in the North more and more to learn Tamil. At the same time it is obvious that we must have some common languages between us for official purposes. Otherwise, we have so many linguistic barriers that we cannot deal with each other. So Hindi has been chosen for practical purposes. No other language can serve that purpose better than Hindi. Hindi is not meant to be an imposition, coming in the way of any other language. It would be completely wrong if in practice any step is taken which casts a burden on the non-Hindi-knowing people whether in government services or otherwise. All these are obvious things. I am sorry that some people here, I mean, in Madras State, have started agitations against Hindi. It has no meaning, because nobody wants to impose Hindi upon people. I have no doubt that knowing Hindi would be to the advantage of everybody in every way, just as knowing English is also an advantage.

Now to the question of English. Obviously, English cannot continue to be a national language because you cannot introduce a foreign medium for the masses. But having said that, I want to make myself perfectly clear that it would be a very bad thing for India and for the future progress of India if we are ignorant of foreign languages. It is quite essential for us to learn foreign languages. I think that some foreign language, some non-Indian language, must be and should be a compulsory subject in our schools and universities. What the foreign language should be, I am prepared to leave it to the choice of the people. But it is obvious that for us English is the easiest foreign language,

easier than German or French or Russian or Chinese or Spanish. I hope people will also learn French, Chinese or Russian, German, Spanish, Arabic and Persian because we have to play our part in the wide world. We want young men who know these languages. We have to train them; we want them by the hundreds in our foreign service. Also, if you want to learn science, it does not matter how good a scholar in Hindi or Tamil or Telugu you might be, you just cannot learn science unless you know a foreign language. Let us be clear about it. Neither Hindi nor Tamil will help you today in learning science. No Indian language will; I hope they will in some years' time. But as we stand today, we cannot produce science out of nothing. And we cannot produce it by just translating some textbooks of physics and chemistry. The knowledge of a foreign language becomes essential.

Although you should learn Russian, Chinese, German, French, Spanish, Arabic and Persian it would obviously be a folly on our part to forget the English we know. English, after all, is not only one of the most important world languages, possibly it is the most widespread and in some ways the most important. Therefore, we have to keep up our teaching and learning of English—and a proper kind of English; not a mere smattering of English—that is not good enough. I say so because I know that we shall not be able to keep up our scientific work, industrial work and other work unless we have full acquaintance with some foreign languages and scientific periodicals. Even now no English scientist, I can tell you, can be a good scientist unless he knows French and German at least. An English scientist has to learn these two languages. A time is coming when he has to learn Russian too, because there are so many advanced papers and books in Russian. It is obvious that if we have to grow, we cannot continue to be an ill-bred nation, wrapped upon ourselves forgetting the world. We are just stepping out on the world stage. Stepping out on the world stage does not mean our going to the United Nations and one or two conferences. It means taking part in the intellectual life of the world, learning from others and teaching others, sometimes giving a lead, sometimes following a lead.

Unfortunately, we have been for hundreds of years a rather closed-in nation. Geography made us that with the high Himalayas in the north and the seas all round. But you know, in spite of that geography, a thousand, fifteen hundred, twenty-five hundred years ago, Indians ventured out to distant countries. More particularly from South India colonising expeditions went all over the southern seas, South-East Asia, and there we see the impress of India. These people went there very chiefly from the south-west and east coast of India. Indians in those days were not afraid of going abroad. They were adventurous in mind and spirit and body. They went, as they went to the Gobi Desert across the Himalayas and to Western Asia. That was the period of the maximum vitality of our race. Then comes a period when we become more and more a closed-in

people, what with caste and all that. Not only a closed-in people hardly knowing anything about the outside world, but thinking that we were self-sufficient here, and in our own country dividing ourselves up into innumerable little castes and erecting barriers. Is it surprising that we fell down? Is it surprising that we became a subject nation? Long before we became a subject nation, all the creative forces in India had stopped functioning. You can see that in our literature, our art, our sculpture. Our forefathers produced the most magnificent examples of sculpture, of art, of language. They created these magnificent classics. You can see the deterioration coming in as we become an in-bred and closed-in country.

I remind you of this because we have to profit by our own history as well as the history and experience of others. Now we have got independence at a time when the world is becoming more and more closely knit. You can communicate in no time at all by wireless or by radio with all parts of the earth. You can travel by air everywhere. You are here today and in London tomorrow, in America the day after. Probably in four or five years' time, you may go round the world in a day. These fast means of transport and scientific inventions are converting the world into a closely-knit unit. We have become independent at a time when all these physical barriers to travel and communications have simply faded away. People talk, wisely or not wisely, I do not know, of going to the moon or doing something else. Well, they are welcome to go to the moon. But for the moment I am more concerned with this earth. When all these physical barriers have broken down, it would be a terribly dangerous thing for us to revert to this closed-in mind, and in-bred mind in our country. We shall then be completely a nation which will take a back seat. We have to develop the vision of a free nation, and a vision corresponding to the modern developments in the wide world.

There are in India powerful tendencies towards unity and progress; and they will, I think, prevail. But there are also tendencies which are disruptive and disintegrating. Some of us often ignore them, or do not take them into account. But I do not think we should ever treat these disintegrating and disruptive forces casually. We have to be wide awake all the time. There has been this separatist factor in the Indian mind for a long time past; in fact the barriers of caste have separated us. Then we have provincialism and linguism. We have to be very wide awake. If one thing is dead certain it is this, that India's progress depends upon her unity, upon her pulling together, upon the way these 360 million people in India can work and cooperate together. That is the basic factor. The moment it appears that we cannot do it, well, it does not matter how clever you are or how clever I am, cleverness will not do us any good, and we shall go down as a nation.

You know that day before yesterday we received in Delhi the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. I am not going to talk about that report,

and you might be surprised to know that out of 267 pages of that report I have read 70 pages thus far. That was on my way here in the aeroplane—no doubt I shall read the whole of it in the course of the next few days. And you have the report soon enough, because we do not want to keep it as a secret document. All that we want is only the time required for printing enough copies. I hope that as soon as enough copies are printed, we shall give the report to the Press and to everybody who wants it. You can get it or buy it. We do not want to keep it a secret but we decided not to issue summaries on it and the members of the Commission also did not like the idea of issuing short summaries, especially when the whole thing is going to be issued so soon. It is better for you to have the full picture of what they say rather than just an odd recommendation without the background of their thinking. We want people all over India to consider it fully.

Obviously, it is a very important matter and we must give it our fullest thought and everyone should have full liberty to express his opinion, discuss it calmly and dispassionately. Then the matter will no doubt be considered in the State Assemblies. Ultimately, it would be for Parliament to decide. But the point I wish to stress before you is this: what matters is not what we decide but the manner of deciding it. First of all this subject—it is indeed a very important subject—must be considered in a mature way, in a cool and dispassionate way. It is obvious that no solution to this problem can be put forward which is acceptable to everybody in India because interests clash and views conflict. Whatever is put forward, therefore, will be acceptable to some and not acceptable to others. How then are we to find a way out? Well, in the normal democratic way. There is no other way. The only other way is breaking heads, and the heads that survive will win. Obviously, that is not a sensible or decent or mature way. So my appeal to you and to others is to approach this question in a cool and dispassionate way and not get terribly excited about it. An excited person becomes incapable of thinking. I see some people getting excited. I see some people—today in the papers—threatening to go on hunger strike or a fast unto death. I submit that this is an extraordinary way of dealing with national issues. In Allahabad, you find a young man, a young ex-student of the University, going on fast to make the University to do something. It is a most extraordinary approach. Two other students have started a hunger strike against this man on hunger strike. Where are we landing ourselves? Imagine, if somebody goes on hunger strike about some State issue, some others will do so against him. Are we to count how many people went on hunger strike in favour of a proposal and how many against? The whole world would laugh at us. The only way to do it is the democratic way, of full consideration, discussion, and then coming to a decision by normal majorities. It should be an approach of compromise, not of thrusting a decision down the throat of somebody else. That is the appeal I make to you and to others all over the country.

At the present moment, we are on the threshold of many things. Among them is the Second Five Year Plan. I attach the greatest importance to planning and to the Second Five Year Plan. The Second Plan represents our planned approach to all our problems, industrialisation, urban and rural, food, employment, everything, specially on how to become a country with a much higher standards of living. The vital thing naturally is our resources, our capacity to work and produce. That is today the biggest thing before India. I am glad that a very great deal of progress has been achieved in India, in making India planning-minded. People have begun to think of the Plan with some precision. We get reports from the States just now for the Second Five Year Plan which are extraordinarily good, carefully worked out about employment and everything else. The First Five Year Plan, if I may confess it, was hardly a plan. It was an approach to a plan. It was the first attempt but there was very little planning in it. It was a list of things we wanted to be done.

Now our approach is becoming more and more a real planning approach. People are being trained in planning. We are getting more statistics and we see how one thing will lead to another. Above all, we have in mind two things: one is how much the standard of living will go up and how much will be the rise in national income of India; the second is how much more employment will be generated. Employment is vital. Just at this time when we have this all-important Second Five Year Plan being drawn up and finalised, I do hope earnestly that the mind of India will not get wrapped up by this quarrelling over the States Reorganisation Commission's report. Of course, it is important and I do not mind how much thought you give to it. But it would be unfortunate if instead of giving thought people started cursing each other and get excited over it. That will not only make it difficult for us to consider the problem properly but even the Five Year Plan will rather go to the background.

You know, perhaps, that a large number of very distinguished visitors are coming to our country in the next few months. Some of them may come to Madras. I hope they will, because I think that the visitor who has not come to Madras has not got a fair picture of India. I have no doubt that when they come here, you will welcome them and impress them with the spirit of new India, an India which is full of energy, vitality, hope and all that, not a dispirited India but a disciplined India.

Well, I began by reminding you of Gandhiji and I told you something of our experiences in the past. All that has become history. But it is up to you now to make further history. You read history in your books. But it is your high privilege to make history now, as it was the high privilege of some of us to make history in India during the last twenty or thirty years. It is you young men and women who will be making the history of India. It means that you must strive your utmost to give a good account of your actions. Thank you.
Jai Hind.

7. Future of Pondicherry¹

I have come back to you after nine months to renew our old acquaintance.² I have long been a pilgrim, wandering about from place to place, and even more than that from people to people. For my pilgrimage is not so much to places as to the minds and hearts of my people. And so I wander about this great country, whenever I have the chance to meet our people, to look into their eyes, try to fathom what lies behind those eyes, try to understand their urges, their sufferings and what they need.

It is a difficult task, for we are many people, 360 millions. We are in effect, all of us, these 360 millions, on a pilgrimage. We were pilgrims to swaraj and after much labour, suffering and sacrifice, we achieved that goal of swaraj, and now we are on an even greater pilgrimage to better the condition of these 360 million people, to raise their standard of life, to lessen their unhappiness and misery and give all of them the opportunity to lead a good life, a peaceful and cooperative life, to serve not only themselves and their country, but also the larger cause of humanity and peace. When I came here last you gave me a great welcome, and today also, you have overwhelmed me by your affection. I do not quite know how to thank you for it. Nevertheless, I thank you, the councillors of the Government and the Mayor³ and his colleagues and all of you for this welcome.

We in the rest of India and you in Pondicherry lived under some kind of a colonial regime for a long period. Perhaps it needed a colonial regime to shake up our country, to rouse it from its stupor and passivity. But obviously it restricted the growth of a people. So, in India, we were restricted, we were choked and we could not keep pace with the events of the world. We lived a rather closed-in life. Now that the opportunity has come to us in India we want to go ahead fast. We want to catch up. We want to do many things which we might have done earlier if we had had the chance. Anyhow, we have got the chance today and the responsibility for doing things is entirely ours and nobody else's. We can blame nobody for our failures.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Pondicherry, 4 October 1955. From *The Hindu*, 5 October 1955, and AIR tapes. NMML.
2. Nehru visited Pondicherry in January 1955. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27. pp. 234-237, for Nehru's speech at a reception in his honour at Pondicherry on 16 January 1955.
3. M. Joseph Latur.

So also with you, a change has come over here in Pondicherry and the change has come in a good way as it came in India. And it makes a lot of difference, whether we do things in the right way or the wrong way. Even good objectives, if we try to attain them in the wrong way, may lead to wrong results. So in India after a long struggle with the British authorities, we came to an agreement with them and we talked in a friendly way and we set an example, which was unique in world history, of a great country like India and a great country like England coming to terms on one of the biggest questions, namely, the freedom of India. It is true that circumstances always play an important part. There was a compulsion of circumstances behind that agreement. Nevertheless it is true that some people try to ignore certain circumstances and are oblivious of the temper of the age, of the temper of the times, and thereby get into needless difficulties. Anyhow, we came to an agreement with the British and this change in India was carried out peacefully and we are now friends with the British people. We have no longer any grievance against them. We do not nourish grievances of the past. We think of the future.

So also here in Pondicherry, after many ups and downs, there was a friendly agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the Republic of France, and, as a result of that agreement, as you know, what is called a *de facto* transfer of authority took place here. In law, *de jure*, constitutionally, the change has yet to take place. I hope it will take place soon. But because the state of affairs is somewhat confusing, it brings difficulties in its train. But the fact is that the real change has taken place and we have only to stamp it and endorse it formally.

This change took place ultimately by a friendly agreement with the French Government. That too was a unique example of settling a difficult and intricate problem peacefully and in a friendly way. And I congratulate you, the people of Pondicherry, upon it, and I congratulate the French Government upon it, and if I may say so in all modesty, I congratulate the Government of India upon it.

We have thus set two outstanding examples of settling great and difficult problems between nations peacefully and cooperatively. The agreements between England and India and France and India are examples not only for us but for the rest of the world as well. There are many grave international problems today—there always are—but gradually people are coming to believe that the way to solve the problems is not by war. War solves no problems and if it apparently appears to solve one problem it creates a dozen more in its place. Therefore people are beginning to recognise that the way to solve a problem, however difficult it might be, is through peaceful methods, by negotiations, even though that might take time. Even though it may not bring solutions immediately, that is the only right way. We have learnt that lesson, and I believe all of us in the world are learning it, and that lesson applies not only to international problems but to national problems.

We have many national problems. Are we trying to solve them by conflict, by breaking each other's heads, by rousing hatred? Surely, that is not the way. We have to solve all our national or international problems in a spirit of accommodation, in a spirit of cooperation and in a spirit of peace. That will not, however, be by giving up any principle. If the principle is important enough, one stands for it and tries to attain the objective peacefully and without violence and hatred.

I welcome you to the great brotherhood of the Indian people. It is a great family of 360 millions or more; and in joining that family you are entitled certainly to all the rights and privileges that come with the membership of that brotherhood.

But you have also to shoulder the obligations of that membership because there is no right without its corresponding obligation and duty. And a nation which only claims the rights of a nation or people and forgets to discharge its obligations, duties and responsibilities is likely to lose those rights also. Therefore, we have to function together in this big country and discharge our obligations, and work to build this new India.

During these few months since the changeover in Pondicherry, you have been passing through a period of transition and that transition period will, no doubt, continue. You are trying and we are trying, to adjust ourselves to this transition. There are many difficulties to surmount. At the same time, there are great gains also. You are free to advance, even though you may stumble when you advance. I can say with some confidence that during these few months you have made progress in many ways. It is for you to judge. I am expressing only my own opinion. Sometime back you had your elections. They were also held during this transition period. Since the election you have been functioning somewhat differently and I believe making progress in various ways.

As you know—and the Mayor just reminded us of it in his address—we have stated quite clearly that we want not only to continue the closest contact with the French language and culture here but also to maintain the centre of that language and culture in Pondicherry.

Culture is important in the life of a nation, but there can be no culture unless there is a measure of material well-being. There is no such thing as culture for the hungry, the naked and the poverty-stricken. Therefore the most important task for us here in Pondicherry and all over the rest of India is to raise the standard of our people and to fight the curse of poverty. It is not an easy matter because we have to deal with 360 million people. And they are going to raise themselves, not by any help from outside, but by their own efforts, their own labour, their own hard work, their own sweat, and, sometimes, by their own sufferings.

Having won political freedom, having reached one great stage in our pilgrimage, we have immediately to repack our bags and start afresh on another

pilgrimage—a pilgrimage that leads us to the welfare state, to a socialistic pattern of society, to the well-being of our people, so that every single individual in this country will have full opportunity for growth. That is our work now. It is a tremendous work and there is, perhaps, no end to that work. Each step leads to the next. We are marching along that path. I think it is true to say that even during the last eight years of the independence of India, we have proved ourselves.

So when I welcome you to the brotherhood of the Indian people, I offer you certainly such advantages as we have and ask you to share them with us. But I remind you that I am also inviting you to hard work. We permit no laziness, shall I say, no leisure, in India today. India is at work, building and building and people who do not join in that work will fall out—I am not concerned with nor interested in them. I am interested in the men and women of India who work, whatever their functions in life may be. We have no use for the lazy in India. We have no use for those who cannot help, with mind or body or something, in this great work of India. Therefore, it is to work that I invite you, to work for the benefit of India, to work for raising the stature of our country and the people, and to work for peace of the world. We are engaged in great adventure and this adventure, like other adventures, tests us and puts us on trial and demands the best that is in us.

We aim to establish all over India a socialistic pattern of society in a democratic and peaceful way. Some people always have a tendency to complain. You have every right to complain if anything goes wrong. Complaints should be enquired into and set right wherever possible, but very often I find that the people who complain do so from what I call the complaining habit. They have not got the mind to work. They have got into the habit of complaining. They go on complaining, whatever happens, right or wrong. Now, as I said, complaints should be made where they are necessary but it is not by complaints that we will make good but only by working and setting right complaints. This attitude of complaint is a legacy of the colonial times; it is a legacy which a subject race carries with it. Not being used to doing things by themselves and not being allowed to do things for themselves, they got into the mood of frustration and whining. That is not the way a young and vital people should look at things.

We are an ancient race in India, but today we are a young republic, a vital republic engaged in a tremendous adventure of building itself up. I hope we can combine the wisdom of our long past with the vitality of life and work. We have undertaken great tasks with the faith that we would fulfil them. Let us not waste too much time on past history and past complaints and running each other down because we are much too busy in these great tasks.

We know that Pondicherry has been facing a great many difficulties and we want to help Pondicherry to the best of our ability. Indeed we have been

helping Pondicherry far more, perhaps, than any other part of India. You will be glad to know that apart from other help that we are giving, we have decided to erect a new pier so that Pondicherry may again become a good port and its trade and commerce may increase. We have also decided to locate some new industries here so that the people of Pondicherry may have more employment and Pondicherry may produce more goods that are necessary and add to the wealth of this area.

You also know that we are extending our Community Development Project and National Extension Service all over India and also here, so that whether it is the city or the rural areas, both are going to be looked after and helped. But all this help that comes ultimately becomes real help only if the people of Pondicherry work hard and take advantage of it.

This great task that we have before us demands, first of all, unity amongst ourselves, work from each one of us, men or women, and peaceful methods and cooperative behaviour. The time for conflict between different sections and different classes is past now. That is a waste of energy and does not produce results. We must solve our problems cooperatively, and work for the great plans that are laid down in our Five Year Plans. One of them is completed. The other, the Second Plan, is being formulated and that will include a chapter or section on Pondicherry. So when the task is set, we shall set out to complete it.

I thank you again for your affection and welcome, and wish you all well. Now, say with me: *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

8. Importance of Training¹

Friends and Comrades,

I have been travelling around the districts of Tamil Nad during the last three days. Three days are a short time, but we have covered many districts, many towns, many villages and rural areas. People ask me: "Don't you get tired?" I may get tired occasionally, but when I pass through these towns and see large numbers of people and speak to them and look into their eyes, the inner feeling I get is not one of tiredness but one of strength, because I lose my sense of

1. Speech at a public meeting in Vellore, 5 October 1955. AIR tapes. NMML.

individuality in the large number of people who come to see me and with whom I share affection. Here at Vellore, I am nearing the end of my little journey. There is more of it still. From here I am going to Madras. I would like to express to you and to others my deep sense of gratitude for the very warm and affectionate welcome that you have given me.

I want to share a secret with you, and that is that I fell in love with India a long time ago. All these years the love has grown greater. I have been in love with the Indian people in their enormous and charming variety. And perhaps it is because of the affection they have been generous enough to give me, they have bound me hand and foot to them in every way. I believe it is one of life's immutable laws that what you give, you will receive. If you give affection, you will get back affection. If you give hatred, you will get back hatred. The saints and the mahatmas will not give hatred even in exchange. In their greatness they can overcome even natural laws. The law of the world is that you get what you give and because the Indian people are an affectionate people and give affection lavishly, they get back affection.

It is the age of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb—they are terrible things which create terrible destruction. Some people might think that the atomic bomb is just a noise and a slogan. But militarily it is rather difficult to meet it on its own ground. But you can meet the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb in a different way, not by a counter slogan or counter violence but through the more powerful bomb that affection can generate. Non-violence is something about which the hydrogen bomb knows nothing.

Many years ago, Mahatma Gandhi showed us the way of a non-violent struggle for our freedom, and for a generation or two, he trained our people. Many of us accepted it as a tactic, as a technique of action, to gain our freedom. We achieved our freedom by that technique. But gradually, now, because of the development of violent means of attack, like the nuclear weapons, many people are beginning to come to the conclusion that violence will not pay. Oddly enough, the scale of destruction in a war, of destruction that occurs in a nuclear war, is making people to think in terms of non-violence. Today every country hankers after peace and is afraid of war. Fortunately for our country, we have adhered a policy of peace and we have tried to serve the cause of peace in other countries also. It is because of this that we are respected more and more elsewhere. We may perhaps get a little conceited about what we may have done outside India in foreign affairs. We may think, in our conceit, that we are working wonders in other countries, that our influence is great. It is a natural human failing to exaggerate our own actions. But I would still say so with all modesty that our influence has been for good in the world. However big or small it may be, it has been for peace, for friendly relations between countries and for settling all problems by peaceful methods and by negotiations. But we are going to be judged by what we do inside India, within our own

country, and not by our doings outside. If we are respected to some extent in the world, it is because during the last seven or eight years of freedom we have worked hard, we have got some results out of our work. We have laid the foundations of the new India. We have solved quite a number of difficult problems through the non-violent approach. What is the situation in our country today? I said that we have some very fine achievements to our credit. We may well say that our record during the last seven or eight years compares well with the record of any other country, considering the circumstances and the magnitude of our country. So I am not at all afraid of having our record compared. But I am anxious that we should go ahead at a much faster pace. We have undertaken a very big task. Having achieved our political swaraj, we are working for our economic freedom, not only for the country as a whole but for every individual here. We are going all out for economic advance, for the welfare state, for a socialist pattern of society. We want to provide opportunity to every individual, man, woman and child, for achieving the maximum progress according to his or her competence and abilities. How are we to achieve them? Not surely by just hoping and shouting, but by hard work.

I travel about and I see many sights that please me. The most pleasing of them all are the faces of our young people, of our children, bright and intelligent and full of enthusiasm. But I also see many sights that displease me and sometimes anger me. These are the sights of poverty. I do not like poverty. I want to fight poverty. I am no friend of poverty and I am an enemy of poverty. I want to declare war with poverty. We shall have to fight long before we can put an end to poverty and the progeny that poverty breeds. I feel more especially for our children who do not get the opportunity which is their right. We may say it is the right of every child in this country to have education, to have a good upbringing, clothing and shelter and work. My government or any other government is not fulfilling its duty completely till every child in this country gets that right in reality. We cannot do this overnight by some law or uttering some magic formula. We have to work for it. It is for this that we formulate these Five Year Plans so that our energies shall not be wasted, and the nation's energy and resource should be directed into the right channels. That is the meaning of planning and the Five Year Plan. We have the First Five Year Plan in which, I am glad to say, we have succeeded. Because we succeeded in what we laid down, our strength is the greater today and we have a certain measure of confidence in ourselves and in our capacity to keep the promises that we make to our people. Now we are on the eve of launching the Second Five Year Plan and because we are more confident in our strength, we want to make a much bigger jump. All that depends ultimately on how hard you and all of us in this country are prepared to work. Planning depends on many factors—how much resources we have, how much money we have, how much iron ores and minerals we have; but ultimately it depends upon how many true

and hard-working human beings we have. People talk about the wealth of India. It lies in many things, in our rivers, in our mineral resources, in our gold and silver. But all of them are nothing when compared to the real wealth of India which is the people of the country, not people who do nothing and simply exist, but people who are trained, who are competent, who work with direction. They form the true wealth of the country.

The wealth of a country, I said, depends upon the people. But it does not depend upon their numbers. I want to make that quite clear. We were 300 million people but in spite of these large numbers for a long time we were dominated by a foreign power. Numbers do not count; quality counts, training counts. Unless allied to training and discipline numbers are a nuisance and a disaster. We have to think in terms of unity and discipline. We have to think in terms of the unity of those numbers and it is because we thought in these terms under Gandhiji's leadership that we grew strong and faced the might of the British Empire and ultimately achieved swaraj. Remember that. Our achievement of swaraj was the result of our training and discipline under Gandhiji, the result of developing the feeling of unity amongst people of different parts of India, different castes and different occupations. It is because we became united and we worked hard, and it is because we were prepared to suffer and actually did suffer a great deal that we became strong; we could not have become strong if we were merely a large crowd. Crowds have no strength. It is the disciplined people who have strength. A small army of disciplined people will have far greater strength than a crowd with no discipline.

In our work ahead, therefore, we must always remember the lesson of unity, the lesson of peace and non-violence, the lesson of hard work and cooperative work. If we learn these two or three lessons, then all will be well with us. I often find that there are people who try to break up this unity of the Indian people, who give false slogans to excite them and try to do as much mischief as they can. Fortunately they do not succeed because the people of India have sound commonsense. There are what are called communal parties which exploit religion for politics and degrade both. There is provincialism, which makes people get excited about their states and provinces. Then there are other barriers and divisions, such as caste divisions, all coming in the way of the essential unity of the nation.

We must remember a few basic things. We have had enough trouble because of the partition of India at the time of independence. That partition was accepted by us. We agreed to it and we agree to it now. There is no question about it. That is over. But let it be clearly understood that nowhere in India, under no circumstances whatever, will any cry of division or separation be tolerated in the future, from whatever quarter it comes. That is the first thing to remember. The second thing, is we have to carry on our work basically on peaceful lines and on cooperative lines. We have to remember that, in India, we have to be

actively good, not passively good. We have to work actively for good causes, not merely sympathise with them from a distance. What I mean is this, I often find a handful of mischief-makers creating trouble and the other people, being passively good, tolerating such trouble. That is not good enough. One has to be actively doing good. I find sometimes a handful of people—and I am thinking at present of the North—bringing about hartals and the like by coercion and fear. I do not mind a hartal for a good purpose, but it is wrong to organise it for a wrong purpose.

Now, I was telling you about the Five Year Plan. That is the big thing that is coming before us all and we have to cooperate fully to make it a success—in each area, in each district, and each town and in each State as well as in the whole of India. The Second Five Year Plan is going to lay emphasis on big industries on the one hand and village and cottage industries on the other. Our country needs both.

I should like to say a few words to the young men and women who are present here, specially to college students, and high school students. It is obvious that those who are studying in colleges today will tomorrow have to shoulder the burden of India. We are a passing generation, in the afternoon or evening of our lives. We shall pass away. That is the way of the world and others will have to take our place and carry the burden that we now carry. How are those who are in the colleges and schools today training themselves for carrying this burden? To serve India in any way and to carry this great burden is no light task and it requires a great deal of training of the mind and the spirit. How are you fitting yourselves for this task? That is the question which every young man and woman must ask himself or herself. When I see these young men and young women forgetting every lesson and discipline that we learnt through hard experience when we were young, then I wonder how they will be able to serve India in the future. When I see some of them, in their madness and folly and stupidity, even forget the honour that is due to our national flag, what am I to think of them? I have heard that some people in Tamil Nad also dared to say that they would dishonour our flag. If any man lifts up his finger against the national flag, we shall deal with him. That is one thing that will not be tolerated.

I want to make this quite clear because people are misled and people do not think straight about these matters. But there can be no doubt that there are some matters on which there is going to be no compromise. These are the unity of India and the honour of the flag of India. If necessary every power of the state will be used to meet any challenges in these matters. From the northern tip of India to Cape Comorin in the South, India is one and will remain one in spite of anybody trying to challenge it.

I want to say something more to students all over India. I want them to realise the tremendous opportunities they now have for training themselves. If

they do not avail themselves of these opportunities, they will be committing a grave mistake. It is a small matter whether they get through their wretched examinations or not. That is a very small matter. I can tell you I have ceased to attach much importance to your BAs and MAs. Many of them have come to me, who were stupid and foolish beyond measure. I do not know what they learn in the Universities today. They come to me and it seems to me that standards are going down. What am I to do with the scrap of paper on which is written that you are a BA. I want intelligence, I want character, I want ability, I want competence, I want the capacity to do things, not pieces of paper and chits from other people. And the standards are going down in this country and if that is not checked, it will be a sad thing for our country. Our students do not realise this and they are spoiling their careers and their future life by shouting a few slogans and by mixing up politics with their day to day work and forgetting the right ideals. If there is one thing which distresses me beyond measure, it is what is happening to a good deal of our student-folk in some parts of India.

I should be leaving now, and I invite you again to join wholeheartedly, cooperatively, peacefully and with all goodwill, in this great adventure of building new India. It is a magnificent adventure. Those of us who have been associated with this adventure in various ways during the last generation or two, have been greatly privileged to do so. And they realise how empty their lives would have been but for the great opportunity that came their way. We were engaged for the greater part of our lives in struggle, in opposition and in trying to remove foreign rule from this country. It was largely a negative attitude, although of course, there were many positive aspects too. But now, for you and all of us, it is a time of construction, for the exciting work of building our country. Building for whom? Building for yourselves, for your children, for your children's children. What greater task can any one be engaged in? Once again I invite you all to join me in this great adventure and this great task.

Will you repeat after me *Jai Hind* three times?

9. Integrative Quality of Indian Culture¹

Always when I come to South India, the question arises as to what language I

1. Speech at a public meeting in Bangalore, 6 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.

should speak in. I am afraid I do not know your language, Kannada. Otherwise I would most certainly speak in that. Since my object here is to be understood, and not to propagate any language, I shall choose the language in which I can make myself understood best of all. Unfortunately, I can only speak with some fluency in two languages, Hindi and English. Normally, of course, I speak in Hindi. I have no ideas how many of you here understand Hindi and how many of you understand English. So I am in a quandary. Perhaps it might be best for me to be bilingual on this occasion, and speak a little in English and a little in Hindi. Anyhow, I should like your help in this matter. Will those of you who understand English, please raise your hands?

Friends, I shall continue in English.

As I have begun with a reference to the question of language, I might as well say a few words about it, because it appears that some people in South India are rather anxious and even somewhat excited over this question.

Situated as we are in India any decision that we might take about language is likely to cause inconvenience to some. First of all, India is a multilingual country. It is true that all our languages are in some way or other associated with Sanskrit. Some are descended from Sanskrit, like the Northern languages and some have independent histories but have nevertheless many words from Sanskrit. Indeed, as you perhaps know well, in the later years South India became, if I may say so, a greater home of Sanskrit learning than North India. So our languages are fairly intimately connected with one another. Nevertheless, they are separate languages, great languages, and they are all languages of India. Therefore in our Constitution we have enumerated these great languages as national languages of India. All of them are the national languages of India. But Hindi has been mentioned as the official all-India language of India. Why is that so? The reason is that the purpose for which English has been used over these many years should be gradually replaced by an Indian language. The most appropriate language for that purpose in India had to be Hindi. That does not mean the slightest conflict between Hindi and the other Indian languages like Kannada, Tamil, Telugu or the northern languages. As you know, all the Indian languages are developing fast as they should. They are becoming the medium of instruction in the various States, as they should. So there is no question of conflict between Hindi and other languages.

Now, what does this idea of an official all-India language mean? English has been more or less our official language. Now, we cannot obviously continue English as the official language. Mind you, I do not mean that you should give up learning English. I am anxious that you should continue to learn English as a foreign language and learn it well. I should like you also to learn other foreign languages—French, German, Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Spanish. These are the principal foreign languages. As a great independent country we have naturally to play a part in international affairs, in politics, in economics,

in trade, in science, in technology and in so many other matters. Therefore, it becomes necessary that a sufficient number of us should learn foreign languages. I hope you will learn as many foreign languages as you can. Many of us are well acquainted with English and it would be foolish for us not to take advantage of our knowing English and not to continue learning English. And if we learn it, we should learn it well, not be content with just a smattering. I am not at all opposed to English. I think English is one of the great world languages today, perhaps used and spoken more widely than any other world language. Nevertheless, I think it would be totally unbecoming for us in India to adopt a foreign language as the official language. Let us know that foreign language well. But I can tell you that it has been rather embarrassing for me, as for others who go to foreign countries, to have to talk in English to our own countrymen there. People there are surprised. They say, "Have you not got your own language that you have to talk in a foreign language?" Take a very small thing. Until recently in our defence forces the words of command were given in English although the average soldier obviously did not know English. He had to learn the words of command in English. This was absurd. It was unbecoming. It was embarrassing for me to see a foreigner coming here and hearing words of command given in English to our soldiery or our airmen or our sailors. We had to change over to our own language. We could not obviously have words of command in a dozen languages in our army. That would be patently wrong. And so for many reasons we had to have one official language.

Then comes the question of communication between two States or between a State and the Central Government. Naturally we would like to communicate in an Indian language, when we are ready for it, and not in English. Not that we rule out English. English may be used when necessary, for scientific and other such specific purposes. I am merely saying that from the point of view of national self-respect and convenience we cannot carry on official work continuously in a foreign language.

An apprehension in the minds of many people of the South arises and that is that this constitutional provision about Hindi may lead to a disadvantage to them in regard to many matters, more particularly in regard to the all-India Services. Obviously all-India Services are recruited all over India. It would be improper for them to be limited. It would be improper for the examinations or tests for the all-India Services to be held in such a manner that they lead to a disadvantage to those who do not know Hindi. That would be unfair and improper. Many of you may have been to Delhi and noticed how the Central Secretariat is full of people from South India. Why are they there? Well, simply because they were found competent and capable. There is no question of partiality. They were capable, they came there, they are there. So we have to guard against any disability attaching to people of any non-Hindi parts of India. Therefore, we have laid down that any tests or examinations for the all-India

Services may be, when the time comes, in three languages, in Hindi or in English or in the regional language of the candidate, so that he has no difficulty in undertaking that examination. After he has passed the examination, he has to take Hindi as a new subject to learn to do his work, just as we are trying to make the Hindi-knowing people at that stage take up a South Indian language and pass a test in that. Provincial Services may be confined to a State and it is not necessary for them to know some other language. But all-India Services have to serve all over India. So you will see that there is absolutely no cause for any apprehension or excitement in this matter, when we have clearly laid it down that in regard to entrance to all-India Services, etc., no disability should be attached to people coming from the non-Hindi speaking areas and they can take their tests and examinations, when the time comes, not only in English if they so choose but in their own mother tongue, state language. So much about language.

I might tell you that in every State, efforts are being made to encourage the language of that State in every way. We are doing so even at the centre. The Sahitya Akademi, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, deals with all the languages of India enumerated in the Constitution and it impartially helps all of them to develop. We are thinking now of establishing a central cell to publish books in all the languages of India and make them available at very moderate prices. The books chosen will consist of translations from all languages, Indian and foreign, as well as new books written by competent persons. I know that there are enthusiasts in Hindi, as well as in other languages, who get very excited and who place their language so high, they naturally irritate others. But we must think in terms of not one State or another, but all the States put together, that is, the whole of India.

At the present moment there is another very important question, the report of the Commission on the reorganisation of our States. That report was delivered to us five or six days ago and we are anxious to publish it as soon as possible. The delay is only caused by the time needed for printing and distribution and has no other reason. I hope that within a week, it will be available to the public so that everybody can read it fully, consider it, digest it and be in a position to form an opinion and express it. There is no desire to hustle this or rush this report through and we want to give the fullest opportunity for the public to consider it and therefore we are publishing it before Government itself has formally considered it or made up its mind about it. Of course, it will be considered by the different State governments, by the State legislatures. No change in the Constitution can be made without this complicated process. The point is that this question should be considered by all of us as calmly and dispassionately as possible. It does not help for us to get excited and it helps still less for people to hold out threats, to do this or that. There is a modern form of threat which is particularly unfortunate, namely, the threat of hunger

strike, threat to go on a long fast. Surely we cannot consider state questions under the coercion of some individual hunger strikes. That method of considering matters of high policy appears quite absurd to me. It is obvious that any decision in regard to state boundaries conflicts with the interests of someone or other. Now, when there are conflicts of interests, how is one to decide? Obviously there are only two ways of deciding—one is by force, by the power of the stick; the other way is the democratic way, of consideration, of discussion, and finally of deciding and everybody accepting that decision. Obviously we are not going to decide this or any other question by armed force. That would be ridiculous. The only other course left for us is to decide it by the fullest discussion amongst ourselves.

The democratic method inevitably means a certain measure of trying to understand the other side's opinion, a certain give-and-take and a certain adjustment by everybody to that final decision. Otherwise we simply go to pieces. In a large country like India, there is a variety of opinions over almost every subject. We are not regimented into thinking in only one way. I object to regimentation. I object to authoritarianism. I want people to develop their own minds and give free expression to their thoughts. But democracy, while it ensures free expression and free thinking, also demands something else. It demands acceptance of decisions taken. It demands unified action afterwards. Otherwise, you break up, you split up.

You are acquainted with the history of India. It has been our misfortune through long periods of history to be very factious and disunited, with the result that the great potential strength of India has been wasted, wasted in inner conflict, in inner argument and in fissiparous and separatist tendencies. Surely we should learn something from this past history of India. We have produced great men in every field of human endeavour, great men in thought, great men in action, great men in art, great men in literature, great men in music. In every field, India has produced the highest types of humanity, and yet we have failed to take advantage of this greatness because of this tendency amongst us to disrupt, to go our individual ways. Hence we have been weak, and been often subjugated and dominated over by foreigners who have come here. I think it is correct to say that foreigners who have come here hardly ever really conquered India. Certainly the British did not in spite of their superior arms. They simply took advantage of the divisions of India. Others who came did the same thing. That is the big lesson of Indian history. We have to learn from it how to hold together.

Let us have all kinds of arguments and disputes amongst ourselves. But once we reach a decision democratically and peacefully, we must act upto it. It was in the measure that we acted up to this principle during the great movements led by Gandhiji that the strength of the Indian nation built up. The last thirty or forty years have been a great period in India's history and much will be

written about them by future historians. Those of us who were privileged to live through them and to be minor actors in that great drama of Indian history can never forget them. Others will read about them in history books later, but they will never have that vivid impression which those who participated in them had. During these forty years or so, Gandhiji gave us good training; he repeatedly pulled us up when we went wrong and taught us about unity; unity in this great diversity of India, diversity of provinces, of climate, of languages, of religions and so many other things. And if you travelled with me to the far corners of India, you will realise that diversity even more than you do now. If you came with me to Ladakh, which is across the Himalayas, almost a continuation of the Tibetan Plateau, you will see a different picture of India. If you come with me to the North East Frontier Agency or the other hill states of the North East you will see an entirely different picture of India. If you go even in the Himalayas you will see Himalayan India which is very different from the great central plains or the plateau of the south. So with this great and tremendous diversity and variety we have come together.

We came together long ago really and the first coming together so far as we know, was with the great impact between two mighty civilizations, between what might be called the Dravidian civilization of India, which was a very fine civilization, very highly developed, and which perhaps was connected with the old Indus Valley Civilization, Mohenjodaro and the rest, going back to 5,000 years from now, and the Aryan hordes that came across the north-west frontier of India. It is the impact of these two civilizing forces that produced the civilization of India. The two together laid such a strong foundation that in a sense it has lasted throughout these ages. Of course, it has been further influenced repeatedly because it was a dynamic civilization. If it had been static, it would have been dead long ago. But it had dynamism in it. And therefore it changed itself from time to time, although basically it clung to its roots. And others came, in North India especially. All kinds of people came—the Greeks and the Scythians came, the Huns came, and all kinds of Turkish races, who were Buddhists. Then there was the so-called Muslim invasion. I think it is a wrong use of the term. However, for the present moment I refer to that. India and they were all absorbed in this mighty structure of Indian civilization.

So great was our capacity to absorb. Ultimately, of course the Afghans came, the Mughals came. But throughout this period of Indian history you might remember one important fact, that always the authority of the Indian Government was in India. It does not matter who came and from where, whether a Mughal or somebody else. He was in India. He became an Indian. He functioned as an Indian, from Indian soil. There was no foreign authority in the sense of an authority situated in a foreign country ruling India. It was only when the British came, that authority of ruling India was situated outside India

and 5,000 miles away. A new thing came into the picture: the European civilization or, what is more correct to say, the industrial civilization of the West, crept in and also influenced us. Their language influenced us. I speak their language now to you.

In this manner India became a strange land whose peculiar quality was absorption, synthesis. When the capacity for synthesis became less, then India became weak, and India was weak for several hundred years because it had become a closed country, not looking outward. Going further back you remember the old times when India was dynamic and Indian expeditions went the whole way all over South-East Asia, carrying India's religion and language and culture and habits and art and architecture all over the South-East portion of Asia, and Western Asia and Central Asia. If you go to the Gobi Desert today you will find there in the city of Turfan, the remains of Indian culture, of Indian art and Indian archaeology. In fact, some of the oldest books in Sanskrit have been found in the Gobi desert, not in India. So Indian culture was dynamic. This Indian culture, which had been derived from this fusion of Dravidian and Aryan elements with the vitality of both, was a dynamic thing, which spread out all over. And Asoka, the great emperor, sent his missions with the message of Buddhism all over the then known world to him. Then comes the static period of India's culture, when we were closed in our country, and forgot other countries. We did not go out. We were afraid of going out. We developed all kinds of religious taboos and customs—that we must not go out, lest we lose our religion, our caste, and what not. We developed this tremendously narrow idea of caste here and we were divided into innumerable divisions called castes. That was the period of deterioration for India politically, culturally, socially, artistically and in every way. It is because of that, that we became weak and again foreign conquest came to us which we could not absorb. We were too weak. And there were other reasons. Now that we are free again, we have got the opportunity to shed these shackles. We have shed the political shackles. But we have to shed many other shackles. And we have to develop this dynamic mentality again, this daring, this spirit of adventure, and cast aside every custom and everything that binds us down. Our great ancestors were daring enough. In the realm of thought they dared to pierce the heavens; they were not afraid of any idea, any thinking. They were not bound down to any dogma. They developed a magnificent language, the Sanskrit language, for the whole of India. The Sanskrit language was the classic language. After doing all this, we became static.

We have the opportunity again. History has taken a turn and we are free politically. And we are free politically not by political manoeuvre. We are free because we developed certain qualities to be free. We developed discipline, we developed a new dynamism, we developed a capacity for sacrifice for freedom. And above all we developed a habit of united working under Gandhiji. It is on

developing all those qualities that we became free. Now we have to keep not only those qualities going, but develop them still further. We have to develop this dynamism, this living quality in a nation. After all what is life? Life is not merely breathing, eating and drinking and propagating children. That is not life. Life is something more vital, something creative, something constructive, something that carries you forward: the urge that life is always going forward. When we lost that urge, we fell down. The question is, how far that urge animates you and all the people of India today. I think it was that urge that made us free. It is that urge which is making us to go forward now. Whether it is in our Five Year Plans or Community Schemes or our dancing or our music or our literature, you see a certain vitality all over India. This life force is coming into action not on a new race, not on an inexperienced people, but a race full of thousands of years of experience. Only we had forgotten much of

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stand up straight, with straight backs, and look up to the skies, keeping our feet firmly planted on the ground and bring about this integration of the Indian people. Political integration, of course, there is. Our States have been integrated, but what I am after is something deeper than that: an emotional integration of the Indian people so that we might be one, welded into and made into one strong national unit, with all this wonderful diversity maintained. I do not want this diversity to be regimented and taken away. That is what we have to aim at. And if we aim at this, then we must be wary, and not get lost in our petty quarrels. Often, we may have to accept somebody else's opinion even though we do not like it; that is the way of democracy. How do you think we functioned in this Congress movement for forty years? Gandhiji was our great, unquestioned leader. But Gandhiji was an autocrat, in the sense that he could impose his will on anybody. If he imposed his will, it was through his love and affection and through the regard we had for him and for his wisdom. But time and again we argued with him, we fought with him, and sometimes we even convinced him to some extent. The main thing we have to keep in view is the emotional integration of India, preventing ourselves from being swept away by momentary passion misapplied to religion, politics, communalism, or provincialism or casteism, and thus building up this great country into a mighty nation, mighty not in the ordinary sense of the word, that is to say, with great armies and all that, but mighty in thought mighty in action, mighty in culture, mighty in its peaceful service to humanity.

10. Unity for Strength¹

I am here for a very short while. I am actually on my way to the Damodar Valley where the Konar dam² has been built. I am going there for the

1. Speech at the first convention of the Bihar State Bharat Sevak Samaj, Gaya, 15 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. The Konar dam, inaugurated by Nehru on 15 October 1955, was the second of the four multi-purpose dams included in the first phase of the Damodar Valley Corporation Project. It created a lake of over ten square miles, provided irrigation to lower valleys and generated electric power. The dam was formally opened by Lester Pearson, Foreign Minister of Canada, on 1 November 1955. For Nehru's speech while inaugurating the Konar dam, see *post.* pp. 177-181.

inauguration of the dam. But as I happened to pass this way I have taken the opportunity to meet you and talk to you for a few moments. My mind is filled with many thoughts which I would like to share with you. You are having a conference of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Wherever I look, whether at the Bharat Sevak Samaj or the the Damodar Valley Project, big things seem to be happening all around me. I try to understand how these things relate to the people. Everything has to be measured by the yardstick of the progress of the country and our people. All of us do our own appointed tasks but ultimately the biggest task before us is that of national reconstruction. How do our little tasks fit in into this larger one? This is the yardstick which has to be used. Every man has a goal before him. Every journey has a destination and an end. But the great journey upon which we have embarked in this country is never-ending. There are goals before us and one by one we achieve them. One of them was freedom, which we attained after a great deal of hard work and sacrifice. The moment we attained freedom, we had to embark on another long journey and the goal is nowhere in sight. Freedom meant the removal of British rule and the establishment of democracy. But ultimately our goal is the uplift of India's thirty-six crore human beings and the alleviation of their suffering and poverty. We want to ensure that the people should get the daily necessities of life like food, clothes, houses to live in, education, health care and the opportunity to work. These are very essential. Everyone must get equal opportunities to work and progress. Now all of us are aware that people in India do not get even the basic necessities of life. How are we to solve this problem? We cannot look to outsiders for help. We have to work hard to help the people. A poor country like ours can become rich only by the hard work of the people. We must work hard to remove the poverty of the people.

How is wealth produced? It cannot be done by magic or by transferring it from one pocket to another. We can produce wealth only by hard work. So this is the big task which confronts us today in the country. Gold and silver do not constitute wealth, for they are merely tools of trade. Real wealth is what is produced from land and factories and other industries. What a carpenter produces is wealth. The interest that a moneylender earns is not wealth because it comes out of the pockets of another. The United States is a very rich country because it produces a great deal. After the Revolution, the Soviet Union was faced with the problem of making their country rich. So they put up big industries and increased the production from land and ensured the proper distribution of the wealth thus produced among the people. Therefore it is essential that we must produce goods for our basic needs. You must have heard of the Five Year Plan, etc. It is aimed at making the country self-sufficient in our basic requirements. We must be able to produce whatever we need. In that way both the people and the country benefit. This is a broad fact. We are facing this problem.

Another dilemma before us is the direction that we should take. After all wealth is not everything, though it is important. There are other things like ideals and principles and values which are equally important. Money can be acquired even by plunder. What should our goal be and what methods should we follow? Are we going to do our work peacefully, or by violence and tension? The question before us is whether we are going to build a nation of high-class citizens or of third-rate people? This is a crucial issue. So, as I told you, we must understand where we are going and what our goal is. We must watch carefully to see whether in the process of attaining our goal, we are able to instill proper values in the people or not. The world is watching to see where this great country of ours is going. Are we people of quality, or narrow-minded, quarrelsome people who wallow in petty things and do not have a larger vision? This is a question that all of us in this country will have to answer. Shouting and slogan-mongering is not an answer. Ultimately we have to prove ourselves by our way of life and behaviour.

What we need is hard work, for without that we cannot produce anything. Work moulds and makes a man. Those who do not work become useless whether they are rich or poor. We often see that the children of rich parents are spoilt by overindulgence and lack of proper upbringing. On the other hand, the poor people are ruined if they do not find work. Therefore hard work is essential for everyone. There are two advantages in that. One is that the people benefit by hard work, themselves and do good to the country also.

Why has the Bharat Sevak Samaj been established? Its aim is service to the country and the people of India. Its basic principle is work. The members of the Bharat Sevak Samaj do not get remuneration or salaries and nor are they put up for elections to municipalities or district boards or any other public office. In short, they are not doing this in the hope of money or position or any other benefit. All they are given is an opportunity to work and I am fully convinced that they will thereby be doing great service to their country and the people. They cannot hope for any position or kudos.

Bharat Sevak Samaj is not a political organization. It is there to do what it can in the economic field, to help the afflicted people in villages and cities. One outcome of its activities would be to teach people to work in harmony. Unity means strength. We attained swaraj by fostering unity among us and the organized strength of the people became a tremendous force. The Congress was a mighty organization which led the country towards freedom. The Bharat Sevak Samaj draws your attention to an extremely important and essential point, that is, service to the country with no ulterior motives and in the right spirit.

We have many tasks before us. I am going today to the Konar dam. The Damodar Valley Scheme is a gigantic project. There are similar things being done all over the country. We are in the process of building a new India and

the more work we put in together, the faster we can change the face of this country and alleviate the suffering of her people. We have to get rid of the many ancient maladies which grip this nation. The biggest of them is our disunity and the habit of living in compartments. Casteism is another great malady which afflicts the whole country, including your province of Bihar. Casteism, provincialism, the tendency to live in compartments, forgetting the country—all these are bad things. Let me tell you that Bihar will be ruined unless it gives up casteism. It has already done enough damage to this state and if our attention is absorbed all the time by such things, it will be incapable of achieving anything. This state of yours, Bihar, is a beautiful province. Its soil is fertile and some areas are rich in minerals like coal and iron which can be used to put up big industries and produce thousands of things. Why did England advance so much in the last 200-250 years? It is because they discovered coal and iron which were their lifelines to progress. Now Bihar has plenty of both. So we are putting up big industries here. Moreover the soil is good and the people are strong. Why should your province not progress rapidly? It can and will progress and take the country with it if it gets out of the rut of petty feuds and quarrels. It cannot progress by indulging in casteism.

Take your students, for instance. I have already expressed my opinion about our students who have become absolutely useless. There is no respect for them in my mind. I may have some affection for them but there is absolutely no respect. They seem to have taken leave of their senses entirely and lack discipline and strength. Their ways can benefit neither themselves nor the country. Men can easily lose themselves in a morass of pettiness while the big tasks remain unfinished. We are now at a stage in this country when the whole world is looking on with surprise at the speed with which this ancient country of ours is advancing. India has been making great strides in the last eight years. If you wish to understand the present situation in India, strangely enough you can do so best by looking at her from a distance for distance lends clarity. If you get the chance to go abroad and look at our country from a distance, you will see the image of a changing, revolutionary India that is emerging. Revolution does not necessarily mean violence and chaos and bloodshed. I mean revolutionary in the sense of changing the economic and social organization. We completed a political revolution by removing the British. Now we are embarked upon a different kind of revolution. We have merged the innumerable princely states in India and abolished the zamindari system. We are bringing about all kinds of far-reaching changes which took years in other countries to be completed and we are doing it in a short time and without any violence. All this is no doubt true but I sometimes wonder where our strength really lies. Ultimately strength has to come from the intellect.

What has been our greatest source of strength? It was Mahatma Gandhi. A

frail little man physically, he had the internal strength to shake a mighty empire to its foundations. How far have we inherited this great inner, spiritual strength of his? Do we have any of it? Sometimes I think that we marched ahead on Mahatmaji's momentum which was there even after his death. People sometimes forget the lessons taught by him and are easily led astray. We cannot hope to attain our goals in this way. We must understand fully where we are going and how we are going to achieve our goal. Are we going to do all this in unity and harmony, or lose ourselves in a morass of trivialities? These are some of the things for you to consider seriously.

For the last few days we have been having a debate on the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. It has generated great heat. It is proper that people should express their views on such an important subject. But the moment an individual loses sight of the larger interests of his country and gives importance to the narrow interests of his own or those of his caste, province, district or village, he harms his country. Where will your interests be if India falls? All of us will fall with her. We can progress only if the whole country progresses. All of us stood to gain when India attained freedom. Similarly our progress depends on the progress of the whole country. It is impossible that while the city of Gaya or a district or a caste in Bihar goes ahead, India can remain where she is. That is out of the question. We are thirty-six crore people sailing on a single ship and we all sail or sink with it. Therefore you must look at every problem before you from the point of view of whether or not a particular course of action will benefit the whole country. You can think about your personal interests or those of your organization or caste or whatever it is after that. This is the true yardstick. Ultimately what it amounts to is whether we are narrow-minded and involved in petty matters of our own caste or party or organization or broad-minded with a wide window on the whole world. This is the true test of greatness. If a man is narrow-minded, he cannot be a big man. It is the large-hearted who are great.

I wanted to put these things before you because they are in my mind constantly and I want all of you to think about them. We have taken on great tasks. It is a tremendous job to try to uplift India's thirty-six crore people and alleviate their sufferings and make them better off. Who is to do it? It is the people themselves who will have to do it. I cannot do it by myself or by magic or chanting a mantra. Nowadays people seem to think that chanting a mantra will remove all difficulties. If you want to do farming, you cannot do it by sitting on your charpoys and chanting a mantra. You can certainly chant mantras to attain peace of mind, but what is required is hard work. The greatest mantra today is hard work and the biggest temples and mosques and gurdwaras of modern India are places where the people are engaged in some mighty task. When I visit the Konar dam and Damodar Valley, I feel as if I am going to a place of worship because it is the symbol of the hard work of millions of

people. Their work will benefit people not only today but for centuries to come in the villages and cities in the surrounding areas. It is a tremendous achievement. So this is the feeling that I want to create in you. If the Bharat Sevak Samaj has a task, it is to create this devotion to duty among the people. It can be created not by listening to my lectures but by doing something. Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us to spin the charkha. Some people in their foolishness used to laugh and say it was an absurd idea because there could be no competition between a charkha and a large factory or a mill. It is obvious that a large factory can produce a great deal. I accept that and we are putting up such factories. But the charkha was a symbol of a greater strength apart from what it could produce. For the short period that you were spinning, you were dedicating yourself to the service of India and became a soldier in her army. This was the greatness of the charkha.

Therefore whether you spin a charkha or do one of the innumerable tasks before us what is essential is hard work. It is only by working hard that we can build a new India, not by shouting slogans or something else. So the Bharat Sevak Samaj must invite you to participate in this great task. You can choose what you would like to do and give as much time as you can to it. You are not asked to give up your regular work. This is in addition to that. Moreover there is no casteism or groupism in this, only service to India or a part of her where you happen to live. We must serve our nation together and well, in a spirit of unity which will give us strength and peace of mind, especially in these troubled times when our youth are easily led astray. Therefore I am happy to be here to inaugurate this conference which I do now.

11. The True Meaning of Revolution¹

Friends and Comrades,

First of all we have to decide two things. One is, in which language I should speak. I am not here to do propaganda for any language, English or Hindi. I am here to talk to you so that you might understand me. That is the purpose of my coming here. We can discuss the merits of languages at some other time. So I merely want to know which language you are more likely to understand

1. Speech at a gathering of students in Kolkata, 16 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.

me. Somebody shouted *rashttrabhasha*. Well, in India there are fourteen *rashttrabhashas* I think they are all mentioned in a schedule of the Constitution. It is also true that because of certain practical circumstances the Constitution has decided that for all-India official purposes Hindi should be the all-India national language.

It has also been decided that all these major languages of India should be encouraged in every way. Indeed you know that even in the last seven or eight years, all our national languages have made great advance, as they were bound to do. It is absurd for us to think in terms of a conflict between Hindi on the one hand and Bengali or Marathi or Gujarati or Tamil or Telugu on the other. In fact, you will find that the advance of any one of these languages helps the advance of all the others. It is completely wrong for anyone to think that the advance of some other language comes in the way of his own. I am quite sure that if Hindi advances, as it will, it will help the advance of others, just as if Bengali advances it will help the advance of Hindi.

Now, I should like those of you who can understand my English to raise your hands. Please put your hands down; and those of you who can understand my Hindi will now raise your hands. You will have observed that I said "my English" and "my Hindi", because it is possible that even knowing either of these languages you may not have understood my version of them. Well, it seems to me that considerably more hands went up when I said English. Now, wait a minute, for I am not quite sure if all of them are able to understand my English.

The only hope for us in India is that a large number of us should become not only bilingual but multilingual and that each one of us should know at least three languages, if not more. And this is nothing surprising or odd. You will find an average educated person in Europe knows at least three languages apart from a classical language; sometimes they know four or five languages. It is quite ordinary. So I do not understand so much argument and shouting in India on this subject. I propose to talk to you for a while in English and later in Hindi. I am not going to deliver an oration to you but shall try to put across some ideas. It is necessary that we should think about them.

I am coming today from the Damodar Valley, having performed the opening ceremony of the Konar dam yesterday afternoon.² For the last four or five years, I have been visiting the Damodar Valley every year and gradually seeing this tremendous work taking shape. It was and is a very ambitious scheme. It required a great deal of daring on our part even to think of and to accept some of these great projects like the Damodar Valley Project and Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab. The daring was needed not because they involve a large sum of

2. For Nehru's speech while inaugurating the Konar dam, see *post*, pp. 177-181.

money, which they do, but because they are great engineering feats requiring the highest skill. And it does not matter how much money you spend; if the skill is lacking then you cannot do it. In Bhakra-Nangal, I believe, two thousand engineers are employed. Think of that! Two thousand engineers working in just one project, Bhakra-Nangal—engineers of various grades, big engineers, or middle engineers and lower grade engineers. I do not know how many engineers are employed in the Damodar Valley. I have no doubt that it is quite a large number. The Bhakra dam is a very huge and a very difficult one. The Damodar Valley Project probably has no such individual dam of exceptional difficulty. But it is a more spread-out scheme. There are several major dams and barrages.

I remember opening the Bokaro thermal power station a couple of years ago. I saw it again today and the Tilaiya dam that I opened. Yesterday I opened the Konar dam. Today I visited a dam which is in the process of construction at a place called Maithon. And I saw the Durgapur barrage which was opened by the Vice-President³ some three months ago. So now we see this enormous scheme taking shape and a great part of it has been accomplished. It will take three years or more to complete. I had seen the Konar dam when it was being constructed. Unfortunately none of you would have seen it as it was being constructed, and so you will not be able to realise, seeing the finished article, what has gone towards making it, because a great deal of the work was deep underground. Huge machinery, digging, all kinds of complicated techniques and machines and thousands of men working there, mechanics, engineers, draftsmen—all that is covered up and you will not see any of it. It is true the finished article is very imposing and I must say that it is not only imposing and very useful but it is rather beautiful to look at.

Then I paid another visit to the Bokaro thermal power station which I had opened some two and a half years ago. I have seen a large number of big factories in countries like the United States of America, England, Soviet Union and European countries, and some here too in India. It is not a factory in that sense, it is a power station. I do not think I have seen any plant which is quite so attractive, neat, clean, pleasing in appearance as the Bokaro plant which I saw again last night. If some of you can have a chance to see it, do so, because it gives a great sense of satisfaction. It is hundred per cent shining, neat and clean. Machines humming away quietly, doing their work, sending electric power out for the nation. No fuss, no shouting. It is quiet. It is a whisper there. So I returned from this two-day visit to the Damodar Valley with a great sense of satisfaction and gratification at big things being done well. If you travel about India—south India, west India, north India and east India, wherever you go—

3. S. Radhakrishnan.

you will see other tremendous undertakings. You will see not only huge river valley schemes but also big plants being put up, huge machinery.

We are going to have, as you perhaps know, three additional iron and steel plants. An iron and steel plant is a basic plant; out of that other things grow. We cannot really industrialise our country unless we produce enough iron and steel. We have had two or three plants in India—one famous plant, the Tatas at Jamshedpur, which has been working for the last forty years or so, and other plants round about in Bengal; one or two small plants in south India. But they are not enough. And I must confess to you that we have not paid enough attention to this matter early enough. It would have been a good thing if we had taken steps in regard to a new iron and steel plant three or four years ago. We could not do everything. Anyhow, there it is and now we are taking the big step of going in for three additional plants, apart from the extension of Tatas and others. We are going to increase our iron and steel production four-fold by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. After that we intend to increase it even more.

Only the other day I was in Madras and I inaugurated a huge factory which has been put up by our railways called the Integral Coach Factory.⁴ I won't take up your time explaining to you what an "integral coach" means except that the whole body is altogether welded. It is much stronger than the traditional coach, much more enduring and if by mischance an accident occurs, the damage is much less. You know we have a locomotive making factory at Chittaranjan, and in Sindri we have a fertilizer plant. There are many others which need not be mentioned here. All these are what are called basic industries. If we have got to make this country industrialised, then we must put in the basic industries, or as they are sometimes called, the mother industries. Of course, the biggest of them is the machine making industry, the plant which makes machines. We are putting up three iron and steel factories. Unfortunately we cannot manufacture at present the plant itself. We are getting one from Germany, another from the Soviet Union and a third from England. We do not manufacture it. We manufacture plenty of small machines such as textile machines in Calcutta and elsewhere. That is good, but the main thing is manufacturing the really big machines. Till we do that, we are not independent. We are dependent on some other country for machinery.

We talk about independent India doing this or that. Independence is an evocative word. Let us try to understand it. There is the independence that might be called independence on the map. A country is considered independent

4. For Nehru's speech at the Integral Coach Factory in Perambur on 2 October 1955, see *ante*, pp. 35-41.

in law, and shown as such in the map, yet maybe economically very dependent on others. It is not real independence if economically some other country can strangle you, can compel you and coerce you to do something. Then you are not really independent. I do not wish to mention any names. But there are plenty of countries in the world, in Asia and in Europe, which are supposed to be politically independent but which are completely under the economic influence of some other country, which affects their political actions too. That is not real independence. If India is to be really independent and really march ahead, then it must be economically independent. Perhaps one might say that really no country can be absolutely, hundred per cent self-sufficient economically. Nations have to depend on one another. but the point is that in regard to major things we should be independent so that no other country can bring pressure on us to do things against our wishes. Now we are aiming at gaining that strength also because we want to make rapid economic progress. We cannot make rapid progress if we go on buying machines from England or America or Japan or the Soviet Union or Germany. We shall then always depend upon others not only for the machinery but for spare parts, for servicing and so on. That is why it is of vital importance that we lay stress on heavy industry. We are going to do it in the Second Five Year Plan.

But remember, heavy industry is a thing which absorbs vast sums of money without giving any return for a long time. If you put up a steel plant, you will get nothing out of it for the next five years or so. Afterwards, of course, it will pay you. But there is a gap between the time you start spending money and the time you get something back from it. It is difficult for us to go on spending money without getting something out of it. We have not got surplus cash. Partly for this reason and partly for other reasons like unemployment, etc., we are also laying great stress on small-scale and village industries both together.

Now I want you to think at a deeper level about our progress. In all human societies, in all nations, there are always two principles at work—one is the principle of continuity and the other is the principle of change. The principle of continuity rules a society towards carrying on as it normally exists and the principle of change may lead it sometimes to act in violent and revolutionary ways. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as absolute continuity in any society or in any nation; some changes inevitably take place. If a society was absolutely static it would die, just as an absolutely static human being would, when his body did not function. When we speak of the principle of continuity what we mean is that a society is changing far too slowly.

Let us now look at the word revolution. If you examine any revolution anywhere, you will find that a revolution itself is the last step in a long process of change. Many things have been happening gradually; ultimately you see something sudden and big. But it is really the end of a process of gradual

change. If any of you are students of geology you will understand that. You hear about great earthquakes and changes in the earth's surface. But really the major changes in the earth are taking place all the time, although slowly. The Himalayas, we are told, are rising slowly. We do not observe that. They may be rising two to three inches a year. It is not observable. But in the geological history of the Himalayas that is a big thing. Cataclysmic happenings in the earth's surface, important as they are, are not so important as the continuous changes that are taking place within the earth. Every geologist knows that.

So also in human society, our attention is attracted to some cataclysmic change. Let us take the French Revolution or the Soviet Revolution. These were big events. But we should not forget that behind them lay a long series of continuous happenings. Ultimately a set of circumstances occurred which brought about those big eruptions. Most revolutions are political, taking the form of a revolutionary movement capturing the government. But it takes time to change the lives of the people of the country politically, economically and socially. One might say that you cannot bring about such overall change suddenly.

I am trying to analyse rather philosophically certain matters which are worthy of consideration by you and by everybody. People do not think of these things. People seem to think that things happen suddenly. They do not. If India became politically independent it was because of a tremendous series of events lasting over generations. You do not observe this series of events because they are not dramatic. You only observe the big drama of it which occurs now and then. Leave out the earlier history of India and take the last two hundred years since the British came. You will find that even in that period there were all kinds of forces at work, all kinds of movements, maybe in Bengal, or in other parts of India, which took India step by step towards the day when India would be independent. Take even the history of the Indian National Congress. It started exactly seventy years ago, and gradually it developed from small movements into a mass movement, which covered the whole of India. Seventy years of effort were behind the achievement of freedom. The history of the last thirty or forty years when Gandhiji came into the Congress and changed the whole character of the movement, gave it his own mould, made it a dynamic mass movement of a new type. Thus far people thought that a mass movement must necessarily be a violent movement, an insurrectionary movement. But in many so-called revolutions what happens is that a small band of terrorists capture the state and impose themselves upon the masses. Terrorists have never thought in terms of the masses. They think in terms of some divine dispensation, they must capture the state power and then mould the state to their will. Some mass movements are also developed in the violent and insurrectionary way.

Let us examine some of the so-called mass movements or insurrections in history. There are plenty of them which were aimed at removing the government of the day. A great majority of them failed. One of them succeeded in France a hundred and sixty years ago. Some of you may have studied the great French Revolution. That, too, was the outcome of all kinds of things that happened previously, the thinking and actions of the French encyclopaedists and so on. But the main thing to remember is that at the time of the French Revolution there was not much difference between the state and the crowd in the street, not much difference from the point of view of the strength of weapons. The matchlock that the man in the street carried was much the same as the one that the army had, except that the army was more disciplined.

With weapons becoming more and more powerful, the state becomes more and more powerful. And the man in the street becomes weaker, and the state incomparably strong. Ultimately you arrive at the present stage when a few chosen states possess atomic weapons. In effect, all the other countries are powerless in terms of weapons of mass destruction. Much more so is the man in the street. The mob is powerless except that it has the ability to make noise. In the real sense, power is not being matched by power. In the French Revolution, the power of the state was matched by equal power on the part of the people and the revolution succeeded. Take the Soviet Revolution. The weapons with the state were stronger, but after a long history of insurrections, etc., a time arrived when Russia was defeated in war, and became a completely broken down country politically, economically, organisationally, governmentally. The administration could hardly function. The Tsar ran away. As Lenin said about that time, or a little later, the army voted for peace by running away. State power had vanished in Russia when the first revolution occurred in March 1917 and the Bolshevik Revolution took place in November or October. In effect the organised revolutionaries in the Soviet Union had no enemy to face. The State had dissolved itself and the revolutionaries, who were a disciplined lot, took over power. It should be remembered that Russian Revolution was not actually a very bloody revolution. It was not. The blood-letting came in after the revolution. The actual revolution was almost peaceful, because there was nobody to fight against. Trouble came subsequently in the form of a civil war and the war of intervention. The Soviet Revolution came about in very peculiar circumstances, against the background of Russia's defeat in war, utter disruption of all governmental authority, and the genius of one great man, Lenin. You may know that after two or three months of the revolution, even Lenin was very doubtful how long it would last. When the Russian Revolution lasted one day more than the old Paris Commune, he was very happy. He said, "At least we have gone one day more than the Paris Commune." It was a touch-and-go moment. I might point out that the Marxists of Russia including Lenin and others always thought that a Marxist revolution would come in a highly

industrialised country like Germany, not in a backward country like Russia. That was the Marxist interpretation, but because of certain circumstances, it occurred in Russia.

Take another revolution—the Chinese Revolution—whose history is completely different from the Soviet Revolution's history. The Chinese Revolution started, you might say, about forty-four years ago in 1911 when the Manchu dynasty was swept away. The revolutionaries were working before that too. But that was the day when you might say the revolution started. After that for forty years continuously there was a civil war in China. Warlords split up China. Then came the two world wars. China was a completely ruined country. The people were in the lowest depths after forty years of fighting. With the warlords' armies looting the peasantry, there was no administration, practically speaking. Out of that rose the Chinese Revolution, in a set of circumstances special to China; and a disciplined group under very able leaders ultimately took possession of the government of China. You might remember that the last changeover that took place, that is, the present government assuming power and Chiang Kai-shek being pushed out, also took place practically without any major battle. There had been plenty of war before but at the last moment it was not so much the positive military strength of the present government but the absence of strength on the part of Chiang Kai-shek that determined the outcome. The Chiang Kai-shek government had collapsed and faded away and anybody could fill the vacuum. Here was a disciplined group to take advantage of it and they did so.

What I am trying to tell you is that each of these instances, whether in ancient or modern times, has to be examined and understood in the peculiar circumstances in which it occurred and not as if there is some magic formula which you can apply here, there or anywhere—just as the Indian Revolution which brought about this change in India, with the British Empire vanishing away, was peculiar to India, which perhaps cannot easily be repeated anywhere else. It depended upon the circumstances, the objective conditions of India. The way the people of India could act in the peculiar circumstances that existed in India, and again the presence of a very great leader, and that long preparation of generations brought about the final point of success of the Indian Revolution which was a great revolution in spite of the fact that it was a peaceful one. Do not be misled into thinking that revolution means breaking of heads. A revolution means a major change, political or social or economic. There is no doubt about it that major changes took place in India. Secondly, there is no doubt about it that these major changes took place not by some manoeuvring at the top but by mass action. The essential features of revolution are two—mass action and a major change. We had both, mass action spread out over a large number of years and a major political change.

A test of a major political change is how it affects the economic and social

conditions of the country. In view of the fact that changes were brought about here peacefully, the revolution was not dramatic. War is more dramatic. The social and economic changes that followed in its train did not emerge overnight as if by the decree of some revolutionary tribunal. But the point is that they did emerge, and continued to emerge. I want you to appreciate the revolutionary nature of what is happening in India. Our political revolution was followed immediately by another major revolution of a political kind, the ending of the Indian Princely order. I doubt whether you will find any parallel instance of such a major change happening without a large-scale war and we brought it about within a few months peacefully and cooperatively. Five hundred Indian principalities who claimed independence and had been supported in that claim by the British power, suddenly vanished and were absorbed into the fabric of India. It is an extraordinary occurrence. Some people object of our paying large sums of money as privy purse to the Princes. I confess to you I too felt we were paying them unduly large sums of money. But, remember, if the merger had to be brought about through conflict, the cost would have been tremendously greater, not only in money, but in the form of bitterness and in delay in making progress. Everything would have been held up because we would have been facing some kind of a long drawn out civil war. No doubt we would have won. But the point is that the cost would have been infinitely greater than the relatively trivial sums we are paying them as privy purses. A trail of bitterness would have been left behind which would have come in the way of constructive work for a long time. The civil war in Russia, the war of intervention, delayed actions in the Soviet Union for a dozen years. It was only at the end of the twentieth year that the Soviet Union got going with the Five Year Plans.

I was mentioning some of our major achievements and named our land reforms. This took far more time than it should have taken. Why was it delayed so long? Partly it may be our fault, but chiefly, as you must know, because the courts came in our way. The High Courts and the Supreme Court held us up at every step and ultimately we had to go for changing the Constitution. Of course a revolutionary government can dispose of courts' orders or can have no court at all. Revolutionary governments function in that way. But we chose the other path because we correctly thought, might be that in the long run that paid better dividends. But, then, let us examine these revolutions again. In a revolution, the process of change gets a sudden impetus. It takes a big broom and removes obstacles. After that is done, the force of continuity comes in. What happened after the French Revolution? There was a counter-revolution. Then came Napoleon, Emperor Napoleon. And Napoleon curiously enough both fulfils the revolution and negates the revolution. He went back to monarchy and all those things. The old principle of continuity came in and sought to wash out the effects of the Revolution. Take again the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the Revolution introduced tremendous changes in the economic

sphere. But you will also find the whole mentality of the Soviet people, including their leaders, becoming more and more nationalistic. That is the principle of continuity, for nationalism is an attribute of continuity. I do not mean to say that Soviet leaders have gone back on their economic principle. Not that. But you will find that the early Soviet leaders hardly referred to Russia and they always talked in terms of world revolution. They thought of the world as part of themselves and thought of themselves as leaders of a world revolution. They hardly referred to Russian culture or the great Russian leaders of the past. But you will find in later years they are proud of nationalism. They are proud of Peter the Great and other great Russian leaders. I do not mean by that they have turned a somersault. What I mean is that always after a revolution the old principle of continuity represented by the national genius comes into play. You cannot uproot a nation from what it has been for hundreds and thousands of years without doing it tremendous injury. It is always trying to find a balance between change and continuity.

Take another question. Sudden industrialisation changes the structure of society. We are facing that question now. Industrialisation took place in England, Western Europe, America over a long period of a hundred and fifty years. It involved a great suffering to many as a change-over does. Nevertheless it was a period of adaptation. The old workers in cottage industries in England became factory workers and society gradually adapted itself to the change. In the Soviet Union they wanted to bring about industrialisation very rapidly. They wanted to bring it about with a population which was peasant, very backward peasant. It was a terrific problem to change the mass of the Russian peasant population into an industrial population, a mechanically-minded population. They have done it. Today, if you go to Russia you will find that almost every Russian you meet is mechanically minded. They have changed largely the background of thinking of the peasant. He takes a tractor and tills the land. In making the villagers take to tractors the Soviet leaders have really brought about a greater change than any previous revolution. The Soviet Union paid a very heavy price for it, a tremendous price. But in imposing industrialisation, they have brought into play the principle of continuity. Nationalism has been advocated. There is a great deal of difference between a revolutionary and agitational party and the same party when it becomes the government. A revolutionary and agitational party has got a single objective before it, to break the government and to seize power. It goes like an arrow from the bow with a single objective. As soon as the revolutionary party becomes government, it has to deal with a multitude of problems. Take foreign policy, which cannot be explained in terms of that single arrow coming from the bow. Inevitably you will find that the revolutionary governments largely adopted the foreign policy that the country had previously followed, not wholly but largely. I am merely placing some ideas before you. I cannot go into great details. That would take hours and

hours. I want you to think for yourselves. I am sorry to say that people in this country do not think. People do not read books except some second-rate textbooks. Textbook reading gives one no knowledge. It does not train one to think. It is essential for the people to read widely and to think, specially in an age which is changing rapidly as present age. Every age is an age of transition. But the tempo of change becomes faster and faster. How shall we measure the tempo of change? There are many ways of measuring it. One is in terms of electricity available to people. The Industrial Revolution began with the use of steam and the steam engine. Later electricity placed new powers in the hands of human beings. And now, finally, undreamt of power is coming into the hands of man by the release of atomic energy. The world was not very different for thousands of years, from the point of view of power supply or communications. The picture has changed.

If you wanted to travel, say in the time of Buddha or Asoka, anywhere, let us see what you would have done. There was no Calcutta then. Banaras was there. Suppose you wanted to travel from Banaras to Allahabad, or Prayag as it was called, in Buddha's time. What was the fastest method of travel you could have chosen? The horse. You could go on a swift horse. There was nothing faster. If two thousand years later, say in Akbar's time, you wanted to undertake the same journey from Banaras to Allahabad, you would again go by a horse. That was the swiftest way of travel. So in the matter of communication and transport, no great change took place in thousands of years of human history. The changes came suddenly when the Industrial Revolution came, when steam came, the railway came, the aeroplane came, all kinds of things came. And in regard to communication, the telegraph came, the telephone came, the wireless came, and now the radar comes. So something new was released in the world from steam and electricity and other resources. Power was always there in the form of coal. Only a bright young man one day in England, so the story goes, saw a kettle boiling and said steam is a powerful thing and put a brick on it and still it lifted the brick. "Why should we not use steam for other purposes?", he asked himself. It began to be used and became a tremendous weapon in human hands—both for human progress and for human destruction. Every kind of power can be used for good or for ill, just as atomic energy can be used for improvement of the human society tremendously and also for the complete annihilation of humanity.

Do you know what is still the major source of power in India? Cow-dung (laughter). It may be unbelievable but the fact is that even now the major supply of power in India is cow-dung. This shows the backwardness of our country. Two hundred years ago the same applied in Europe; it was the same in America. Only in two hundred years countries in Europe went ahead of the cow-dung age. We are still largely in the cow-dung age, not only in power supply but, I regret to say, in our minds too.

If India is to be an advanced country, it will have to depend on the form of power of which it has enough reserves. That is the importance of all these hydroelectric and thermal power schemes on which work is going on. We are also developing atomic energy. Power is being used for constructive work. A human being by himself uses two arms. If he is a strong man, he can do two men's work. But when power is at his disposal, he does a hundred men's work or a thousand men's work. Now, to go back to what I was telling. I am trying to make you think of the kind of problems that humanity and India have to face today, because I find that many of our young men, or for the matter of that our old men, have no conception of these problems. Some of our young men march up and down in streets in demonstration. If they want to demonstrate, they can demonstrate but the point is that they must realise that something essentially different has happened in the world and in our country which makes that particular type of demonstration rather silly and pointless. I do not rule out demonstration on all occasions. You must look at things in their face. First of all, two facts have to be remembered—first, the independence of India, the kind of democratic government which exists because of the goodwill of the people as expressed in elections, etc. Obviously it can be changed or kicked out if the people so choose at elections—it can be influenced in a hundred different ways. Obviously, this is a different state of affairs in India from the time the British were here. There was no way of influencing the British by elections or the rest. So a big change has occurred. Now, for the people to continue to function as they did in the old British days shows certain lack of understanding of what has happened in India and the world. It really seems to me extraordinary, and yet it has happened.

You know what is said about revolutions. It is said that a revolution eats up its own children. In the French Revolution there was what was called the Thermidor. Thermidor is the name of a month when one extreme wing of the revolutionaries started cutting the heads of others. Although, to begin with, they cut the heads of kings. It was followed by the cutting off of each other's heads. It became a counter-revolution and most of the old revolutionaries were wiped out by some of their successors or by others. That happens often in a violent type of revolution. In the Soviet Union there are not many people left who were the original revolutionaries. Only a few may be there. Why? It is not a question of blaming anybody. The French Revolution stands apart, but in the Soviet Union you can say the conflict was between irresponsible revolutionaries of old who did not realise that a change had occurred in Russia and who went on functioning in a purely agitational way, and the responsible revolutionaries of Russia who realised that they had to carry on the nation in a certain measure of continuity, that they had to build up the nation. They could not build up by demonstration, morning and evening. No government can do that. But there are many people still in our country who know of course that India is

independent, but have not quite realised the implications of independence and the behaviour that independence demands of citizens. If you do not wish to make a clean sweep of everything and start from scratch, then you have to behave differently, you cannot behave in the old way. I find a large number of Congressmen—I do not mean to say all Congressmen—have not got out of the old way of thinking because they are so used to it. They cannot think in any other way. Therefore, they cannot easily adjust their minds to the new conditions. This is much more so in other parties.

The other parties feel naturally a little frustrated. That one can understand but they are apt to function, if I may use the word, in a sectarian way, in a narrow-groove way, with the result that they do not fit in with modern conditions. There should certainly be parties in the country and there should be opposition. I am not talking about that. I am talking about the manner of functioning.

We have tremendous problems in India. It is a big enough problem to have to build up three hundred and sixty million people economically and socially. If you come and tell me, Oh, look at this high level of unemployment here in Calcutta, you will be quite right. There is tremendous unemployment not only in Calcutta but all over India. There is poverty too, true. But how we are to deal with it? To imagine that we or anybody can deal with it by some magic decree is wholly unreasonable. You cannot do it. No country can. Even the Soviet Union, with its tremendous revolution, took considerable time before it found its feet and started going ahead, in spite of the authoritarian type of government they have. The Soviet Government in one of its earliest decrees, decided on compulsory education for everybody. I think it took them fourteen years before they could enforce it. Not that they could not pass a law but it took them fourteen years before they could do it. And even then it was not quite complete. It takes time, and it requires hard work.

Everything which comes in the way of hard work can be called delaying tactics. It does not help, it delays. I am not for the moment apologising for my government. My government, I have no doubt, has made many mistakes. Every government makes mistakes. That is not the point. What I am trying to put to you is that the manner of behaviour after independence has to be different from what it was before independence. Secondly, the manner of behaviour in order to achieve great social results, great economic results, has also to be different. Suppose most of our time is spent in strikes and lockouts, what is the result? I cannot obviously say that a strike is bad in all circumstances. In our present set of circumstances it may be that a strike is justified. But there is no doubt about it that every strike and every lockout comes in the way of the major things we are after, which is greater production. We can only get rid of poverty by producing more wealth in India and by distributing it justly. There is no other way. All the laws in the world will not get rid of poverty. It is only

by increasing production in India that we can do it and we have to find out every possible way of wealth production.

Now, again to go back to the basic things. We are in the midst of great changes which are gradually changing the whole structure of society—not only in the political plane but on the economic and social planes as well. Remember that the real change must be in all these three categories, political, economic and social.

You cannot live in a social structure which is incompatible with a different type of economy, or political structure. If you call yourselves a politically democratic people, you cannot have a social structure which degrades some people as untouchables. Indeed, I say the caste system is completely opposed to the whole conception of democracy. If you say we will continue with the caste system you have no right to call yourself democratic. There has to be an integrated advance along all lines. Here again comes the basic question, that is, with the integrated advance how far is change coming into conflict with the principle of continuity? I am not thinking of an individual or a small group but of three hundred and sixty million people. If you uproot a people too much, apart from all kinds of economic and social evils, all kinds of psychological evils follow. The human being and the social group must have certain roots which ultimately mould his or the group's character, give them certain basic objectives in life. If those roots go, there will be no character. A man becomes possessed by this urge today or that fashion tomorrow. He shifts about and he does not have the firmness of will and the firmness in anything and a nation like that goes to pieces. No nation can subsist without character. All the money in the world and all the slogans in the world will not save a nation if it has not got certain basic character in it.

The whole purpose of education is basically threefold: first, the building of character; secondly, the building of knowledge; thirdly, the building of the capacity to think and build on the knowledge acquired. If you have these three things it does not matter what else you have or do not have. You can make them for yourself. Wandering all over India I am not only interested in the great schemes of ours, the great factories, like the Konar dam and the Bokaro plant, but much more in human beings, especially the younger generation. People of my generation are in the afternoon or evening of our days. We shall carry on for a few years—so long there is strength in us; I do not know how many. Obviously we cannot go on for ever. But what is going to happen after that? I am not speaking in the personal sense at present. The people of my generation represent those who functioned before the revolution in India and the early years of independence. We bring something from the pre-independence period, something from the days of the long drawn-out struggle for Indian independence. The next generation will only read about that period. It would not have personal knowledge and experience and emotional appreciation of that. Therefore there

is a gap between my generation and the next. I do not presume to tell them to function the same way we did. They will have to decide themselves. But if I have to give advice to them there are certain basic things that I should like them to remember which I have just enumerated.

I spoke to you about some of the basic things Gandhiji taught us. He gave character to the Indian people as a whole. You young men and young women have no idea of what we were forty or fifty years ago. I do not mean to say that we did not have any character, many of us had. But taken as a whole under long foreign rule we had become a characterless people, a weak people and a frightened people. Gandhiji gave us character, fearlessness and it was a tremendous gift that he gave us and he trained us and told us about unity, told us about sacrifice, corporate working and all that. Brick by brick, he built up the Indian people, as he built up the National Congress. Not that we were very worthy bricks; we were common clay as bricks are. But he had, as very great leaders have, the power to make even common people brave people. He made India a brave nation, a nation with character and if we are admired in the world today, it is because what Gandhiji did, not because of the little things we may have done or not done. I am anxious that we should remain a people of character, fearless people, who think—not a frothy people who only shout and who have no ideas, no understanding, and no sense of unity of purpose....³

3. Thereafter Nehru spoke briefly in Hindi in a similar vein.

12. Fostering Goodwill Through Travel¹

I have great pleasure in joining my colleague, the Transport Minister² of the Government of India, in welcoming you here in Delhi for this important conference. In doing so, I do not quite know what particular qualification I have to speak to such an organisation. I do not quite know what the word 'tourist' means. I suppose a person who tours. Well, I tour a lot, but people do not call me a tourist. As my colleague has just said, it is a remarkable social

1. Speech at the inauguration of the tenth general assembly of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations, New Delhi, 19 October 1955. AIR tapes. NMML.
2. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

phenomenon of the times to see vast numbers of people travelling all round the globe, seeing other parts of it and, no doubt, enriching their own mental outlook and horizon thereby.

I suppose tourism is intimately connected with the growth of communications. That is inevitable. And I suppose that one view, and a very important view, of world history would be to examine this growth of communications, more particularly in the last two hundred years or so. Previous to that, one might say that communications were static for almost thousands of years and probably the fastest means of transport or communication was a swift horse. Then, suddenly came various changes as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution and the pace of change becomes faster and faster; and no doubt, in a few years' time it will be even more rapid. This growth of communications has brought the whole world much closer. Almost every country now sits at the doorstep of other countries, however far it may be.

Now, this is a physical change brought about by science and its developments. How far we have kept pace mentally with that physical change, I do not know. Probably we have not; hence the difficulties that so often arise in international affairs. Politically, economically and otherwise, we function as independent national entities, sometimes even coming into some kind of conflict with each other. How far this fits in with the new world, that is, with the new developments of communications in the world, it is for you to think over. There is a hiatus. Somehow, on the political and economic plane, we have not advanced as far as on the plane of communications and if that hiatus is not bridged, then wrong consequences will flow from it.

There are many ways to bridge that gulf. One way certainly is through the method of communication, through people getting to know other countries and other peoples, and, what is even more important, finding out that, whatever the differences, there are certain basic common factors, a common humanity and often common problems facing all the people. Therefore, apart from the other advantages and pleasures of travel, I think tourism serves a much wider human purpose, a purpose which is becoming more and more important and vital as this world grows more and more closely knit together by communications.

People talk of One World, which is perfectly true with the development of communications. And yet, One World is still rather a far ideal from the political or other points of view. Anyhow, we can develop circumstances, which will enable us to go nearer that ideal of One World. It may take some time but it seems obvious that there is no other objective that we can keep in view. Otherwise, it would mean that while science has brought us together, mentally we are not ready for it.

I ventured to say just now that although I travel a lot I am not a proper tourist. I often wonder what impressions a person gathers when he goes to another country. Is that person's mind a closed mind or a receptive mind? Is

that person's mind made up in regard to certain matters or can it learn? I suppose there are all kinds of persons and in every country an outsider is likely to find many things that he likes and many things that he dislikes, because he is not accustomed to them. That is natural. But it does make a difference how far one approaches a country with a certain receptivity. One can of course see the big buildings, the artistic treasures. They are there. What is even more necessary is to see human beings, try to understand them somewhat, and a country can only be understood ultimately by understanding the human beings there and their background, not so much by seeing the archaeological monuments and the like.

This is particularly true today in the transition phase of world history. I have read a large number of travel books, mostly old travel books, and new ones too, but the old ones fascinate me. Marco Polo took two years and a half for his journey from France to China and two and a half years more crossing Asia, all the while spending a great deal of time with the people there, understanding them, learning their habits, learning their languages.

When you travel, you learn a tremendous deal about the country you are visiting, and you are better able to understand the people there. But nowadays you hop from one place to another by air in a few hours. The new place is entirely different, not only the physical climate but different mental climate, and you find it exceedingly hard to adjust yourself to both. Possibly you cannot even adjust yourself to the food you get, but the mental adjustment is the real difficulty. And I wonder if it was not more profitable to travel like Marco Polo than as we do now. My own personal inclination would be in favour of Marco Polo. Of course, we cannot go back to Marco Polo's time, it is impossible. But the point is that while we cannot go back to that age one might to some extent develop this receptivity and adaptability to understand the other person. This understanding of the other's point of view is important for the world. Whether we think in terms of high philosophy or normal civilised behaviour, both lead us to this one point, that one must try to understand the other's viewpoint. One may not agree but one should give it due weight. The difficulty is that one is so fixed in one's own habits and viewpoints that others' habits and viewpoints appear rather absurd and ridiculous and sometimes even mischievous. We tend to ask: "Why don't the others agree with me?" That of course is not the civilised outlook. It is a very limited outlook, a very parochial outlook. The whole purpose of travel is to remove that parochialism in our thought, in our approach to the phenomenon of the external world. That is why I believe that travel is a very powerful factor in helping to reduce the present-day difficulties in the way of peoples coming together. And the purpose of travel organisations—they may not perhaps think in that high light—it is to make us alive to certain problems that exist in the world today.

I remember, in my boyhood days, the happy state of affairs when one did

not require a passport or visa. People went wherever they wanted to. That ended with World War I. There has been a tendency to make travel stricter and stricter. Today travel has become an extraordinarily complicated phenomenon, in spite of the facilities for travel, because of all these visas and health regulations and injections and all kinds of things—all these are necessary. But I do hope that all these restrictions such as visas and the like will, if not disappear, certainly become easier to tackle.

Suppose the idea of visas is to keep out undesirables. I imagine that the real undesirables manage to come in by hook or crook in spite of the visas. It is the honest people, the decent folk, who are often kept out by them and who have to face these difficulties. My own government has the visa system, like other governments. I have arguments with our own authorities that issue visas, not always with success. Sometimes I am a little successful. But I do hope that a time will come when these various restrictions on travel from one country to another will be reduced to a minimum.

Now, what does the tourist come to see in India? It is entirely for the tourist to determine, because there are many aspects of India. India is a very, very old country and you can find some traces of various periods of history represented in India, and you may make your choice. We in India are naturally products of all that has gone before us and have now to face the new and are trying to build the new. In a sense we are more interested in the new than in the old, but we ourselves are ultimately products of the old. It is in our blood, in our veins, everywhere, but our faces are turned towards building a new India. And if you want to have some idea of what is passing through our minds you will have to see the new India even more than the old, though the old is somewhat important as the background of the new. You may go, let us say, to a city like Banaras which is, I believe, not only one of the oldest cities in India but possibly the world; possibly it shares that honour with a few other cities in the world like Damascus. And then it has been a continuing city. Delhi has not been a continuing city in that sense but it has been the seat of great kingdoms and empires in our history for a thousand years. This New Delhi that you sit in now is, I believe, the eighth city. Old Delhi is the seventh city, and round about are the remains of six Delhis, as once they were called by some other names. Banaras, this ancient city, has been important in India from the cultural point of view. We have accounts of its high importance three thousand years ago. The Buddha, 2,500 years ago, chose Banaras to preach his first sermon because Banaras even then was regarded as the seat of learning and culture. When you go to Banaras today, what exactly do you see? You see the city, somewhat attractive, on the river banks. You see many other things which are very unattractive. And you may react to either. I react to the unattractive things, of course. Also, I do not like them. But when I go to Banaras I see a succession of hundreds of pictures of the past history of Banaras,

over thousands of years. I go to the particular spot near Banaras where the Buddha preached his first sermon. I go to some other spot, and some other great cultural or historical event comes back to me. So Banaras becomes for me a picture gallery in my mind, of great things which happened in India's history. One reacts in many ways to places. One likes them or dislikes them or the people. But it is the background that counts. And it is difficult, of course, for a casual tourist to get all this background, nor is he, normally, very eager to get it. If I go to any foreign country, I am anxious about two things: one, the background of that country and, secondly, the people of that country. I am less interested—although I am interested of course—in the buildings, old or new, in that place. The people interest me and the background, and in that background are the great architectural or cultural, or political or economic achievements of that people.

Well, these are perhaps considerations which apply to a limited number of visitors and tourists. But probably those limited numbers who think on those lines profit more by their travels than the others who rush through and have a rather mixed, a hazy memory of the various things they have seen. Although even that is worthwhile, perhaps, to give some background to one's idea of a country.

Anyhow, travel is good. Travel is better still if the traveller goes with a receptive and friendly mind to a country. Travel is best of all if he can imbibe something and not only be an ambassador of his own country—which every traveller in a sense is when he goes to another—but comes back from that other country as an ambassador of that country to his own. How far any of us is capable of that I do not know, but I suppose some are.

I hope that your travel organisations will succeed in your efforts to remove the restrictions and encourage travel in the right way and in the right spirit and bring many people to this country so that the feeling of good fellowship between countries may increase.

I welcome you again.

13. Youth and the Nation¹

The problem of language always arises at mixed gatherings like this. What I

1. Speech at the inauguration of the second Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, 23 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi and English.

mean by mixed is when people from the South or non-Hindi speaking areas are present. I can speak in English. I have no objection and perhaps most of you may be able to understand a little, though not fully. Now this is not the occasion for me to do propaganda for the *rashtrabhasha*. My intention is to speak a little about my thoughts and ideas in order to be able to reach you. I would like to speak in a language which you can understand. Anyhow, let me first try to get an idea as to how many of you can understand Hindi. Those who can, please raise your hands. All right. Those who do not understand Hindi, please raise your hands.

As you are aware, we live in an age of democracy. People are often a little confused about the meaning of democracy. But the popular belief is that democracy means, more than anything, the protection of the minority, and the responsibility for this falls on the majority obviously. Those who are in power have to shoulder some responsibilities too. We became free and with freedom came responsibilities. If we do not discharge them fully, we shall be failing to grasp the meaning of freedom. Moreover, if the responsibilities are not fully discharged, there is a danger of freedom slipping away gradually.

Almost the whole of yesterday and today were taken up with a Chief Ministers' Conference that was being held here. There were consultations and discussions and a great deal of time was spent in considering the recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission in its report. There were all sorts of other problems before us for India is a vast country and perhaps very few among us would have a complete picture of the country in our minds. I think by and large people are incapable of looking beyond their own street, or at the most their imagination may stretch to their village or city, or district. A good way of judging a human being is to see how far he is capable of thinking, whether his imagination stops at his own narrow village or district or province, or he is capable of looking beyond, to the whole country and even the world. These are some of the questions which keep coming up constantly.

What is my relationship to you? Many of you have adopted me as an uncle. But I was thinking of another kind of bond, an intellectual and mental bond, between you and me. How far are we in tune with one another? You may hold me in great respect or affection. And yet the distance between us is great and sometimes I get a suspicion that the distance is growing. A certain distance is inevitable, as between a father and a son, not that it affects the basic affection for one another. A gap between generations is inevitable. After all, you must remember that I am a product of the 19th century. To you it must seem like aeons for we are now in the second half of the 20th century.

So there is a great distance between us. When there is a distance, it is not easy to capture someone's imagination. I can tell you long tales or put some of

my ideas before you, which you may or may not grasp. But that will not amount to a proper dialogue between the speaker and the audience. This has troubled me greatly for more than forty years. I have had a special relationship with the people of India, which is more by chance than by design. I became involved purely by chance with the simple peasantry of India at a time when I was purely city-bred and knew practically nothing about the condition of the people in the rural areas. I was very young then and at a loss to understand how to reach them. There was a world of difference between their thinking and mine. And yet there was something which forged a bond between us.

That experience was followed by many others and gradually I developed the capacity to identify myself with my audience in large public gatherings. That does not mean that our thinking became identical. But at least their minds were ready, perhaps because of their love for me or confidence in me, or call it what you will, to grasp what I was trying to say. They made an effort not only to hear what I was saying but to understand. So I acquired the habit of being in tune with my audience. It was not a question so much of their understanding me as of my mental ability to understand them. In short, I gradually developed the capacity to understand my audience, even when I did not speak their language. When I tour the southern states like Madras or elsewhere, if I speak in Hindi, it has to be translated into English or the mother-tongue of the region. And yet it is not so much a question of their understanding what I say. We can understand one another without a word being spoken. In fact, when I visit Madras or Malabar or Gujarat or Bengal, I become almost one of them. In trying to identify myself with every nook and corner of India, I have begun to read their emotions correctly and understand their hopes and joys and sorrows. I feel the urge to do whatever I can because I become for the duration of my visit one of them. I do not know whether that is a good thing or not. But at least it makes it easy for me to understand the different parts of India. I try to understand them, not as a stranger or from a distance but by becoming a part of them. It is obvious that I cannot be wholly one of them but this habit has helped me greatly in my visits abroad too. I have found it easy to understand the peoples of various countries and succeeded in establishing a real bond of understanding with them.

All this is no doubt true. But I am beginning to feel that while I find it possible to be in tune with farmers and workers and shopkeepers in large gatherings or when public meetings are held here in the Ramlila Grounds, I wonder how far I can be in tune with a gathering of students. Sometimes there is a rapport, at others it is absent. There is some barrier, some obstacle, which stands in the way of complete understanding. The question is whether those barriers are insurmountable or they can be broken down. It is absurd merely to express displeasure for it serves no purpose. The problem is much more

complicated and when I think that ultimately it is the youth of India reading in schools and colleges and universities today who will have to shoulder the responsibility of running the country in the future, I feel very worried. It is essential that they should be properly trained to discharge their duties well. So I feel the urge to share my thoughts and ideas with them, and put my experiences of the last forty or fifty years before them. But some invisible barrier prevents me from doing so and I am in a dilemma. Sometimes the pent-up emotions burst forth in a fiery speech and so I try to keep a firm hold on myself. Behind all this is the urge to achieve a great deal in a short while. There is a great deal for everyone to do. One human being cannot accomplish everything. The entire country has to do its bit. Anyhow, those of you who have heard me before would have seen that I am becoming like a schoolmaster, repeating the same thing over and over again. In all big public meetings, I begin to lecture about the problems of India, the Five Year Plan, international affairs, etc., in my effort to make the people understand. Unfortunately when there is too much of an effort, the result is usually the opposite of what we desire. So one is helpless. What is to be done?

All right, I began my speech with the question as to which language I should speak in. I have spoken in Hindi so far. Now I would like to speak in English and then again in Hindi. So my English speech will be sandwiched between two Hindi speeches.

You know that I wrote a book once, called *The Discovery of India*. Of course, long before I wrote that book I was engaged in that quest. Why? I was curious, of course. But it was not mere curiosity that led me to that quest. I was engaged in all kinds of activities and one wants to fit in one's activity with one's thinking. If you think only and do not act according to your thought, well, then your thinking is almost an abortion. Nothing comes out of it. If you act without thinking, well, it leads you into folly and difficulty. Thinking and action, therefore, must be combined in so far as it is possible.

Of course, sometimes we act on some irrepressible urge. If suddenly you throw a brick at me and my hand goes up to protect myself, it is an automatic action, with not much thinking behind it. Our life is conditioned by so many automatic actions which we do from morning till night. Nevertheless if outside that common range of actions we have to do anything unusual it has to be preceded by some measure of thinking. The more the thinking and the action are allied and integrated, the more effective both are and the happier you are. Then there is no inner conflict, of wanting to do something and not being able to do it, of thinking one way and acting in another way. Now, that produces conflict in a person and makes one unhappy. The happiest man is the person whose thinking and action are coordinated.

Happiness, you know, is an inner state of mind. It has little to do with the

outside environment. The outside environment, of course, influences it, but not to a great extent. For example, happiness does not depend on whether you are rich or not rich. Some of the most miserable persons I have come across in my life are the rich people of this world. It is true that poverty makes one miserable, too, in a very acute way. It is the coordination of one's thought and action, the integration of one's personality, that removes inner conflicts. It may not make you happy, because happiness is the resultant of all manner of things. I am not quite sure if a kind of empty happiness is a very desirable state of mind. You know what the greatest person that India has ever produced, the Buddha, said about these matters: I have always tried to understand the reason behind my actions or what should flow from my thought.

We were engaged, as you know, in a very great movement for securing the freedom of India. Naturally, I was led to think of what exactly is India. I knew, of course, the geography of India, as well as many other odd facts. I was not prepared to accept the proposition that because I was born in India, therefore India was the greatest country in the world. That is a kind of folly which the people of every country indulge in. There are quite enough people in India who think that India is obviously the greatest country. In the days when we were politically subject, obviously we could not take much pride in our political condition. Therefore, we took pride in our spiritual greatness. Having nothing else to get hold of we took refuge in spirituality.

In almost any country you go to, whether in Asia and Europe, you will find the people there thinking that their country is the chosen country, the torch-bearer of civilisation, the most advanced country, the most revolutionary country, the country with the biggest buildings or the country with some mission or another. It would be unnatural if it were not so. It is good to be a little proud of one's own country. But it is wrong to start imagining that we are the highest and the best in the world. The fact is every country and every people have some admirable points and great achievements to their credit. They would also have had bad periods during their history.

This applies not to countries only but to individuals also. Nobody is perfect. Every individual has weaknesses, failings. But nobody is thoroughly bad, either. We are all mixtures of good and evil. We should try, at any rate, to further the good in ourselves and in others.

Few of you would have seen Gandhiji at close quarters, although some of you may have seen him from a distance. Gandhiji has become almost a legend in India. He was a very great man with amazing qualities. One of these was that he drew out the good in another person, even if the other person might have plenty of evil in him. He somehow spotted the good in the other person and laid emphasis on it. The result was that that poor man had to try to be

good. He could not help it. And he felt a little ashamed when he did something wrong. There are other people in this world, who are always picking out the evil in others. That applies again to nations too.

When you go to a foreign country, you are likely to find many things that you do not like. Are you going to spend your time in finding out the evil in other countries or other people and pointing it out, or rather in finding out the good in them, learning from it and profiting yourself and others by your contact?

Perhaps some of you know the saying in the Bible about the person who could not see the beam in his own eye and saw the mote in the other's eye. I am rather rambling, as you will see. But this is, I might inform you in confidence, a very clever attempt to get behind your mind. You see, I am at least frank with you!

So I wrote that book, *The Discovery of India*, and before that, I wrote another book, my *Autobiography*, which was an attempt to fix myself in the context of the Indian struggle. Actually it was more about struggle in India than about myself. Of course, I was naturally a kind of central figure from my point of view, as everybody is from his point of view (laughter). Then I wanted a larger canvas to think about and I wrote *Glimpses of World History*. I am no historian. And perhaps that was as well because there are very few historians that I know who can talk intelligently about history (laughter). They are so full of facts and figures that they are lost in a forest and do not see some obvious things because they are always crawling about in the underwood.

Well, so, I wrote that book in order to get some broad picture to help me to think about world history, so that I might see my country in that larger context, both of time and space. It was by no means a deep work. But it gave me a framework of world history and I could fit my country in it.

Having done that I again concentrated on my country. Having got the larger frame, I looked more closely at my country and wrote *The Discovery of India*, concentrating on my country's past and development, etc., in its broad features.

I am trying to explain to you how my thinking developed in these matters. And, of course, the more I thought and the more I learnt, the more I saw how little I knew and how much more there was to learn. Writing for me is essentially an aid to thinking. One of my regrets today is that I have no time to do much reading or thinking or writing. I suppose I must not complain of my present lot. I would like you to think. Thinking is something that does not come automatically to a person. If you are gossiping with your neighbour it is not thought. If you are repeating something you heard or read, it is not thought. I do not expect all of you to become mighty thinkers and all that. But I would like you to develop the habit of thinking. And nothing is more helpful to thinking

than reading—reading intelligently—because thereby you get other people's thoughts, and you can develop them and think for yourself. You may agree or disagree, it is immaterial, as long as it makes you think. And as I have often said it is very unfortunate that people think very little nowadays, people read very little nowadays, in India specially. I do not call newspaper-reading reading. But any reading which makes you think, is welcome, even if it is a very good novel. Great novels lead one to think, because they are evaluations of life.

I want you to think because at no age in human history was, I think, thinking more necessary than today. It has always been necessary. But in this age of transition in the world and in our country it has become essential even for survival of the nation. We live in an age in which tremendous changes are taking place. You hear about atomic energy and the like. So far as we are concerned the mere fact of coming out of British domination has been a tremendous factor. We take it for granted because the whole thing happened in an orderly and peaceful way. And most people imagine that unless you dash somebody's head or shout loudly, big things cannot happen.

I do not say it is a good age or a bad age, but it is a tremendous age. You can fit yourself to live meaningfully in such an age only by thinking and by developing yourself in various ways to meet the problems of the age. You cannot meet a problem singly. If it is atomic energy, you will only meet it by learning science—not only by getting an ordinary science degree but becoming a first class scientist.

Take the Five Year Plans. You will find what a tremendous part the engineer plays in those plans. We may require tens of thousands of engineers, hundreds of thousands of overseers, mechanics and the like by the hundred thousand, by the million. Unless you know engineering you just do not fit in. This applies, of course, to every activity. This world is becoming more and more a world of trained people. Training has two aspects: training in mind and acquiring some vision, some broad outlook, some understanding of the world picture, and training in particular jobs which you can do well, whether it is science, engineering, doctoring, education, or whatever it may be. These are the jobs which will make India.

Frankly, the job of the politician will not make India. The politician is a useful person in his own way. It is just conceivable that in a perfect, well-ordered country the politician can fade out. It is not conceivable that the experts can fade out, the engineer and the scientist and others. They cannot fade out, the politician may fade out. But I do not think the time is near when the politician will in fact fade out.

You are young. I should like you to have the pride of youth, the ambition of youth, but pride and ambition to do something worthwhile, something big. All of you may not become geniuses, yet you can do many things worthwhile

in some department of human activity. I do not like people who have no pride, no ambition, who are just sloppy.

I am using these words, pride and ambition, not in a small personal sense, not pride in getting money, the silliest of all, or pride in getting a job; certainly get a job, by all means. But when you use the words pride and ambition you should think of some big things, even in a personal sense. If you are a scientist, well, think of being an Einstein or something like that, not merely a Reader in your university. If you are a doctor, a medical man, think of some tremendous discovery which will bring healing to the human race. If you are an engineer, think of some wonderful engineering feats that you can do and so on. Aim at something big because the mere act of aiming at something big makes you big.

If I and my colleagues and others who function on the public stage today appear big leaders to you, look back how we became so. We may have had some virtue, some ability, but essentially, we became what we are because we had some ambition and pride in a big way, because we hitched our wagon to a star, because we tried to do big things, and so in trying to do big things our stature increased a little. The bigger you think, the bigger you do, the bigger you become. Ultimately it is not what you say that matters much. Anybody can shout loudly enough. What you do matters, of course, very much. But what matters even more is what you are.

So think of the enormous opportunities that the world offers to those who are keen of mind, strong of character, and fleet of foot, mind and body. Think of the opportunities that India offers. I know better than you of the tremendous problems and misery of numberless people in India. I know that, and we try to meet those problems and solve them, not by magic. There is no magic in this world, except the occasional magic of the human personality and the human mind. We know all that. We try to solve them knowing well that it takes time to do big things, and one has to persevere and not be faint hearted. You do not get success suddenly or without setbacks. So you have got these tremendous opportunities in India. Prepare yourself for them in mind and body. Have that inner urge to do big things and I have no doubt you will do big things.

I think I have spoken enough in English. Well, I must revert to Hindi now. Sometimes this bilingual business is confusing.

Recently I was in Calcutta and while talking to the students there, I told them that India was still in the cow-dung age.² You must understand that I used the expression purely as a scientific one. In a sense, we can say that

2. See *ante*, pp. 78-92, for Nehru's speech in Kolkata on 16 October 1955.

the whole world was in the cow-dung age till two hundred years ago. I had referred to it in terms of power and energy and its sources like coal, oil, etc., which are essential to run machinery, trains and a thousand different things. Man can do a certain amount of work by manual power and has to depend on other sources of energy for the rest. Steam is a source of energy. So it is in this context that I said we are in the cow-dung age. A few days ago I was reading the presidential address of Dr Bhabha³, one of our leading scientists, at the Atomic Energy Conference in Geneva.⁴ He showed how the use of power had multiplied in the world and what the results were. He showed how power was being used before the Industrial Revolution. It was more or less what it is like in India today. He also showed that cow-dung was being used in India for fuel and energy to a greater extent than all the hydroelectric power that is being produced. I was amazed but it is a matter of statistics. You can gauge how developed a country is by the amount of power that is produced there.

What is power? It is something that enhances man's capacity to work. You and I can work with our two hands and feet. If a person is stronger, he may be able to work twice or thrice as much as the other man. That is all. But the moment you acquire electricity or some other source of energy, it immediately gives you the strength of a thousand men. Steam was one such source of energy. During the Industrial Revolution, it was by harnessing the hidden sources of energy, like coal and steam, that the West advanced by leaps and bounds. Steam was used to run huge big machines which did the work of a hundred or even thousand men. Electricity was yet another source of power. These had existed in the world for thousands of years and by discovering and harnessing them to his own use, man acquired great power.

I am coming from the Damodar Valley where I saw a huge thermal plant, housed in a six-storey building with big machinery. When I asked how many people worked there I was told there were 25 men in all. I was amazed. Apart from the cleaners and sweepers, only 25 people were running the huge machines for most of them worked automatically. A tremendous amount of power was being produced. So that thermal plant at least does not belong to the cow-dung age. It belongs to the modern age.

Now, yet another source of power is coming into the hands of man—atomic energy, which will increase his strength a thousand-fold or more. It

3. Homi Jehangir Bhabha (1909-1966): Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, since 1949, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India, since 1954.
4. The Conference held in Geneva from 8 to 20 August 1955 was attended by delegates from seventy-two countries.

will make all kinds of impossible things possible and transform the face of the world. You must understand this.

Tales of bravery and adventure and daring are thrilling to hear and make the blood tingle. There is no doubt about it that there has never been any dearth of bravery and courage in our country. But the fact is that in spite of all that, we remained backward because we were ignorant of the scientific advance being made in the West. There is no other way of competing with the West or of solving our problems except to learn to use those sources of power and also produce them in our country, whatever 'ism' we may think of adopting. Whether it is communism, socialism, capitalism or Gandhism, we must first have the backing of power and energy. We must use the vast manpower available in the country. There should be no unemployed people in the country. The only difference between the various 'isms' is in the means adopted to bring about all these changes and in the results. Now, there are two superpowers in the world today—the United States of America, which is a capitalist country, and the Soviet Union, which is communist. People say that there are great differences between the two. Let me tell you that there are very few differences. There may certainly be ideological differences but both are making tremendous advances in technology and science. Both try to learn from each other. They have grasped the fact that technological advance will benefit their country and the people and so they have harnessed all their energy into that task. The methods that they have adopted may be slightly different. But in the things that matter they are one. I have no doubt about it that as time passes, they will come closer to each other in spite of all the hostility they show just now because their thinking is alike. No, perhaps that is not quite correct, but basically, fundamentally, they look in the same direction.

So these are the problems before us. We often indulge in big academic debates which are no doubt necessary sometimes to clear the minds. But we do not seem to realize how far the rest of the world has advanced. You should certainly read all the books on the theories of communism and socialism, etc., and try to learn from them. But they have become somewhat outdated and are no longer completely relevant in today's world. I do not say that they are completely useless but they are less relevant today. Karl Marx was one of the greatest men in the world who propagated revolutionary thought in Europe. His book on communism was an account of the effect of the Industrial Revolution on England. He wrote about the condition of the people and came to certain historical conclusions and tried to predict what the course of development was likely to be. Karl Marx was no astrologer—he was a scientist, a social scientist. He drew conclusions from history and predicted certain things which were absolutely logical. But many of his predictions did not come true. So both these things are there. He had said that gradually, with the increase in

production due to the proliferation of machines, there will be an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few while the numbers of the proletariat will multiply. A time will come when the proletariat will overturn the capitalists and take over the mills and production, etc. Now the strange thing is that Karl Marx had said all this in connection with England and Germany which had become industrialized. By a strange circumstance, his predictions came true in the Soviet Union which was a totally backward nation industrially. This in itself was a contradiction of his theory because the revolution in the Soviet Union was not preceded by the growth of industrialization and a proletariat in conflict with the owning class. A combination of events was responsible for the Russian Revolution. There was a world war and the government was useless. Poverty and terrible sufferings were followed by the complete ruination of the economy during the First World War. The political and economic structures were completely broken up and law and order had almost disappeared. Russian forces were in retreat after the disastrous defeat at the hands of the German army and it was in these special circumstances that the Revolution occurred. There was one revolution in 1917 which was followed by another, seven or eight months later under Lenin, who was a very capable man and soon had things under control. Even he has said that it was by pure chance that they succeeded. He used to keep counting the weeks that the revolutionaries had been in power. But his ability and the force of circumstances contributed to their success and soon they had stabilized themselves. Anyhow, there were special circumstances.

It does not seem very wise to take something that was written about the situation in England a hundred years ago and apply it without thinking to some other country. We can benefit from it just as we can benefit from all great works and Karl Marx's work is undoubtedly great. We cannot take the Russian Revolution for a model either, because it was preceded by an unusual combination of circumstances. The Russians had suffered defeat and ruin in the war, the governmental and economic structures collapsed, the Tsar and his troops ran away and then Lenin came on the scene and took charge of the situation. It is absurd to think that mere slogan-mongering or shouting will achieve the same results. It is one thing to rebuild something that is broken up, as Russia was, and quite another to deliberately break something in order to build something else. It is a strange way of thinking that first we must destroy the house we live in so that we may be compelled to build a better one.

Let me tell you something else. One of the theories of Karl Marx was that with the accumulation of wealth, the proletariat will grow. In fact this has not happened. In some countries of Europe where production has gone up enormously due to the increase in machinery, the standard of living of the poorest classes has become very high. In fact, it can be said that in some

countries there is no proletariat at all. I agree that there are disparities and evils. I do not say that everything they are doing is right. But the proletariat as envisaged by Marx does not exist in those countries.

What I am trying to say is that there are many such things which we cannot consider with closed minds for we live in a fast-changing world. If you try to apply old theories to a new context, you will be doing an injustice to yourself and the world, and achieve nothing. Whether it is a matter of religion or economics, we cannot afford to be dogmatic. If you try to drag religion into the social or economic structure it is an injustice to religion. For instance, if you were to say that we wish to reconstruct India's social structure on the pattern of the Vedic times, it does not seem very wise to me. I agree that that was a period of greatness and we can judge from the writings of those times about the quality of the people who lived then. But we cannot bring those times back because the world has changed. You cannot say that you should travel from here to Agra or Bombay by a bullock-cart. Nor can you fight a war with bows and arrows any more.

Let me tell you one thing more. There is no way in which we can gauge accurately what the population of India was a thousand or two thousand years ago. I do not remember exactly but some calculations have been made. Suppose the population of India was 50 lakhs two thousand years ago—though I think it was even less. Now that was a very small number spread out over a vast country like India. There was plenty of land and forests and no shortage of food—in short, it was Ram Rajya. The whole picture changes when the population over the same land is 50 crores. The land remains the same while the population has increased by one hundred per cent. Hence the food shortages. Leave aside other factors. It is impossible to feed and clothe 36 crores of people within the social structure that existed 2,000 years ago. The problem could simply not be solved unless you kill off some of the people.

Since the problem has changed, a different solution will have to be thought of. I am not talking about the fundamental principles which are always relevant. I am talking of the economic structure. There was a time when slavery was accepted. Plato, one of the greatest thinkers of the world, thought that slavery was essential. That does not mean that any individual today will accept slavery as a good thing. The world has changed and you must change your thinking as well as the social structure to fit into the modern world. Society is a growing thing which needs new garbs all the time. You cannot expect a child to wear the same clothes even if he outgrows them. A growing society needs constant refurbishing of its economic and social structure by way of changes. For that a change in your thinking is essential.

So all these problems arise. I have taken up a lot of your time in an effort to put some new ideas into your minds so that you may discuss them and train your minds in this way. *Jai Hind.*

14. Transforming India¹

There have been many changes in Surat in the thirteen years since I was here last. Surat is a historic city. It finds mention in ancient history, along with Broach. You may remember that more than 2,000 years ago, the Roman Empire had trade relations with India along this coast. There was both import and export. Roman historians have recorded that India drained away gold and silver in large quantities from Rome. So this entire region has been well known since ancient times. Secondly, the beginning of British rule in India is reckoned historically from Surat. The first factory of the East India Company was established in Surat in the Mughal period. The French had been here for a long time. The house in which I am staying just now used to belong to the French Government till four or five years ago. Only recently we have put an end to their presence here by an agreement. All these historical facts come to my mind when I come to Surat. Then we come to the modern times. It is a good thing to read history. But there is no point in reading it as a story. We must learn something from history and try to apply it to the present times. We are once again living in historic times. For one thing India has become free in our lifetime. It is a great event for the world when a huge country like India gets freedom. Whether we like it or not, it has made a great difference to the balance of power in the world and India can no longer be ignored. As you know, other Asian countries have also become free. So the era of European domination over Asia is almost over, though not completely. There are still a few countries in Asia where European rule continues. But, historically speaking, European domination over Asia has come to an end though the last remnants of it may drag on for a little while longer. Their influence will continue to be felt because Europe is ahead of us in science and technology and economically better off than us. We have to learn a great deal from them.

But some remnants of European rule still exist in India. Goa, Diu and Daman continue to be in Portuguese hands. We do not like it and they must be removed. But in the process we do not want to do anything hasty, because it will be cutting the nose to spite the face. That would be absurd. We want to go about ending Portuguese presence in a peaceful way, which will cause no harm to either party.

Freedom has brought tremendous responsibilities with it. We are a democratic republic, which imposes a great responsibility on the people because

1. Speech at a public meeting in Surat, 30 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

it is they who hold the reins of power. Under a monarchy the people do not have much responsibility. But in people's rule the burden has to be borne by the people. Democracy cannot function successfully unless the people understand their responsibilities and discharge them well. Please remember this. There is often a criticism of some undemocratic action or the other of the Government. But how many people are there who are aware of the obligations and responsibilities of democracy? Democracy confers certain rights on the people but the balance between rights and duties has to be maintained. There can be no rights without duties. On the contrary, rights come after the obligations have been fulfilled. Lokmanya Tilak had declared years ago that swaraj is our birthright. It is true that we have a right to freedom. But we did not get it merely by declaring our right to it. We had to fight for it for many, many years and the people had to work very hard. In short, it is only by doing our duty towards freedom that we could establish our right to it. Or, you can put it differently and say that we had to pay the price for freedom before we acquired it. The price of freedom is not money or wealth. Money can buy only useless things. The price of freedom has to be paid in the real values of life. Man has to pay the price of freedom with courage and patience and in hard labour and sacrifice. This is the price of freedom which every country has to pay. If a nation ever forgets this, it stands in danger of letting freedom slip away and becoming weak. We got freedom by paying a heavy price for it.

We shall have to pay a price also for all the things that we want to do in this country. No other country is going to pay it for us. It is obvious that our foremost duty after getting freedom was to work for the economic betterment of the country. Earlier we were working for political freedom and the unity of the country. Now we are faced with the task of improving the economic condition of the country, removing the poverty which afflicts the people and making the thirty-seven crores of Indians better-off. This is an even bigger task than the struggle for freedom, for it involves everyone of the thirty-seven crore people. How is it to be done and by whom? Nobody else is going to do it for us. The people will have to help themselves and work in mutual harmony and cooperation. This is a big task that we face today. You will find that the economic condition of the people in Europe and the United States is very good and their standard of living is high. There is no comparison between the poor in those countries and ours. The poor there are actually well off compared to the poverty that afflicts our people. It is because they produce an enormous amount of consumer goods. Why is it that the countries in the West have advanced so much while we remain backward? There are many reasons for it. We are ourselves responsible to a large extent, and partly it was due to British rule in India. But now that we have got the reins of power in our own hands, we can blame nobody but ourselves. We shall only reap the fruits of our labours.

So the question before us is how to uplift the people in this country? All

the thirty-seven crores of human beings, men and women and children, must progress. Whatever we take up, we have to see how it affects the people, whether it is likely to prove beneficial or harmful. We cannot think only of the interests of a handful of people or a small community. The moment you give priority to your own narrow interests and forget the larger interests of the country, you will be doing an injustice to India. The first thought of every individual in this country must be for India. This is not a high-flown principle but a basic rule which we can forget only at the risk of weakening ourselves and the country because our interests are so closely linked with that of India that we will sink or swim together. When India got freedom, the whole country and not a province or district became free. We are all Indians, irrespective of religion, caste or province. All the religions in the country are Indian religions. We have Hindus here and Muslims who came to India 1,200 years ago and everyone must live together as one family. Christianity came to India nearly 2,000 years ago, even before it reached Europe, and was assimilated. If you go to the South, you will find Buddhism and Jainism which are indigenous to India. Then there are Sikhs and Parsees. The Parsees came to India 1,200 years ago and have also been absorbed. They no longer owe allegiance to any outside power. So we are one big family, irrespective of caste and religion and province. This is something that every man, woman and child in India must understand. We often talk about it but tend to forget it when we get carried away by momentary passions. We have innumerable barriers like provincialism and casteism and communalism which divide us.

Language is another issue over which we indulge in futile quarrels. We have twelve or fourteen well known languages in India, apart from innumerable dialects. Our Constitution mentions fourteen Indian languages as national languages. Please do not think that there is any discrimination in our treatment of any of them. It is true that Hindi has been selected to be the national language for purposes of conducting official work. We cannot continue to have English always though it is a great language and we must learn it. We must learn as many languages as we can, whether it is French, Russian or the other great languages of the world for they are the keys to the accumulated wisdom of the world. But we cannot conduct our internal affairs in a foreign language for that will create a barrier between the Government and the people. So we have adopted Hindi for official use. But all our fourteen languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Assamese, Oriya, Urdu, Punjabi and the rest are also national languages. They are regarded as such and have been given equal status. There is no discrimination. Each one of them will grow according to its strength. But it is obvious that for the official work of the nation we could have chosen only Hindi because it is the language spoken by the majority of the people. However, that does not mean that there should be a tussle between Hindi and Gujarati or Marathi or Tamil.

Similarly with the provinces. They have been established for administrative convenience. That does not mean they are separate countries. For instance, Uttar Pradesh is the largest province in India with the biggest population, but that does not make it a separate country. These tendencies of provincialism and separatism have weakened us enough in the past. That is why I say again and again that we must get rid of them. We must suppress such feelings because they are dangerous and can easily lead the people astray.

Casteism is yet another dangerous feeling which exists in India, especially among the Hindus. It has been responsible for dividing the country and the great discrimination that exists. We have high castes and low castes and untouchability and what not which have weakened Hindu society tremendously in the past. How can there be strength in a society which is divided into innumerable little groups? We want that there should be complete unity and harmony among the people of India whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or Parsees, instead of all our time being wasted in meaningless taboos. How can the Hindus hope to progress if they are constantly preoccupied with such petty matters? It is indeed strange that there are innumerable countries and peoples and races and religions in the world but there is no country in the world except India in which untouchability or taboos regarding commensality exist. People who come from outside are often surprised, for they simply cannot understand these things. We can understand them because we have grown up with them, whether we like them or not. But it seems completely inexplicable to foreigners. In fact, they are completely put off because they have never seen such customs anywhere else.

All these things have weakened us a great deal in the past. If you read the ancient history of India, you will find that there was no untouchability then. People were very adventurous and would cross the seas and visit foreign lands. You will find ample evidence of the spread of Indian culture and art and civilization all over South-East Asia, in Java and Sumatra and elsewhere, and the impact of India was great. Then later, some of the religious leaders began to introduce all sorts of narrow-minded injunctions and taboos against travel, saying that crossing the seas would destroy one's religion. The result was that we began to live like frogs in a well and while the world advanced, we remained backward. All this arose out of our overweening pride and conceit. However, pride does not confer wisdom. It only resulted in extreme narrow-mindedness. So, though our country is a large one, in a sense it became a sort of cage in which our thinking was imprisoned.

I am telling you all this so that we may learn something. We are gradually getting out of that rut and we must, because we have a long way to go. We cannot afford to imprison our minds and bodies and hearts behind artificial barriers and if there are any such barriers still in existence we must remove them at once.

What is our goal? As I said, it is the economic betterment of the country, the removal of poverty. How is poverty to be removed? What is poverty? It means that people do not get even the essential things of life, like food, clothes, houses to live in. This is poverty. It is obvious that if all the people in the country were to get enough food to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, facilities for education and health-care, as well as employment, their basic needs are taken care of. Thereafter they will have unlimited opportunities for progress. Therefore removal of poverty means providing the basic necessities of life to everyone. I want you to forget about gold and silver and money for a moment. Those are mere tools of trade and confuse the issue. Take ornaments, for instance. They may be beautiful but serve no useful purpose in the world. But the fact is that you can neither eat gold and silver, nor cover your bodies with them except as ornaments. We have to increase production of essential goods. The first task before us is to increase food production so that everyone may have enough to eat. Then we must produce cloth, build houses, make arrangements for education and provide medical facilities. We have to make arrangements for all these things within the country. We cannot get them from outside. We must produce whatever we need in our own country. Who is responsible for producing them? It is the people who will have to work hard and produce more and more. That will give us more income and bring progress for the country. It is only by the combined effort of all the people that we can produce enough for everyone's needs. This is the simple meaning of economics. It may be taught to you in highly complicated terms but put in simple language, this is what it means.

As you know, we are drawing up the Second Five Year Plan. What does planning mean? It means drawing up a list of priorities in the country and doing things accordingly. There are a number of things which need to be done. We need big things like machines and cars, aeroplanes, steamships, railway engines and what not, and we shall make them. But we have to decide what needs to be done first and then make arrangements accordingly, so that there may be more employment in the country and a time may come when everyone has productive work to do. It will mean an increase in production and a better standard of living for the people. This is what is known as a welfare state. When the production in the country is enough to meet the requirements of the people, only then can there be real socialism in the country. Socialism is meaningless in a poor country, for you can only distribute poverty. That makes no sense. So, in our five year plans, our aim should be to increase production and become self-sufficient. We may get some aid from other countries like the United States or the Soviet Union or England and we shall take whatever we get happily. But the real burden will fall on the people for it is only they who can produce wealth in the country, from land and industries, handicrafts, village and cottage industries and in other ways.

In this context, as you know, the countries of the West have invented huge machines to increase production. Nearly a couple of hundred years ago, there was an Industrial Revolution in the West. You must have heard about the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, the Russian Revolution—which took place 38 years ago—and other smaller ones. People in India too often imagine that they are great revolutionaries. But the greatest revolution which took place in the world in the modern age was the Industrial Revolution a couple of centuries ago, coupled with the discovery of steam and electricity as sources of energy. Huge machines were invented and run with the help of steam or electricity and the entire face of the West was transformed. The world as it existed for thousands of years has changed beyond recognition in the last couple of centuries. You do a thousand things in your daily lives, like travelling by train or aeroplane, use electricity for light and other things, listen to the radio and so on. There are innumerable things which have changed our lives completely. I left Delhi this morning, went to Baroda and many other places from there and ultimately came to Surat, all within the course of a day. So steam and electricity have transformed the face of the world. People in the West have harnessed these sources of energy to increase production and become very powerful and wealthy. Ultimately they could extend their domination over other countries and subjugate them. In the meantime, we were living in complete ignorance of what was going on in the world, steeped in a false pride about our greatness while in fact we were weak and disunited and so fell an easy prey to external aggression.

Anyhow, the revolution which transformed the face of Europe is now gradually beginning in India. Small factories have been put up here and we are generating some electricity and what not. But these are superficial things. We have not learnt the real secret of the Industrial Revolution and until we do, we will not have the strength to progress rapidly or to produce more wealth. Please remember that wealth is not gold or silver. It consists of goods produced from land and industries and in various other ways, so that everyone may get the basic necessities of life. So we have to bring about an industrial revolution in the country. It does not necessarily mean that we have to do it in exactly the same way as it happened in the United States or England or the Soviet Union. We must do it in our own way, looking to conditions in our country. But we must bring it about. There is no other way in which we can progress because we have to provide for thirty-seven crore human beings—and they are increasing every year. If you read our ancient history, you find that the people were very well off a thousand or two thousand years ago. But you must remember what the population in India was in those days. As against the 36-37 crores now, the population of India might have been 36-37 lakhs or perhaps even less. So it was not difficult to keep a handful of people well off and happy, for there was plenty of everything. But with a growing population

things go out of hand, unless we make an effort to take full advantage of scientific and technological advancement. We have no other course open to us.

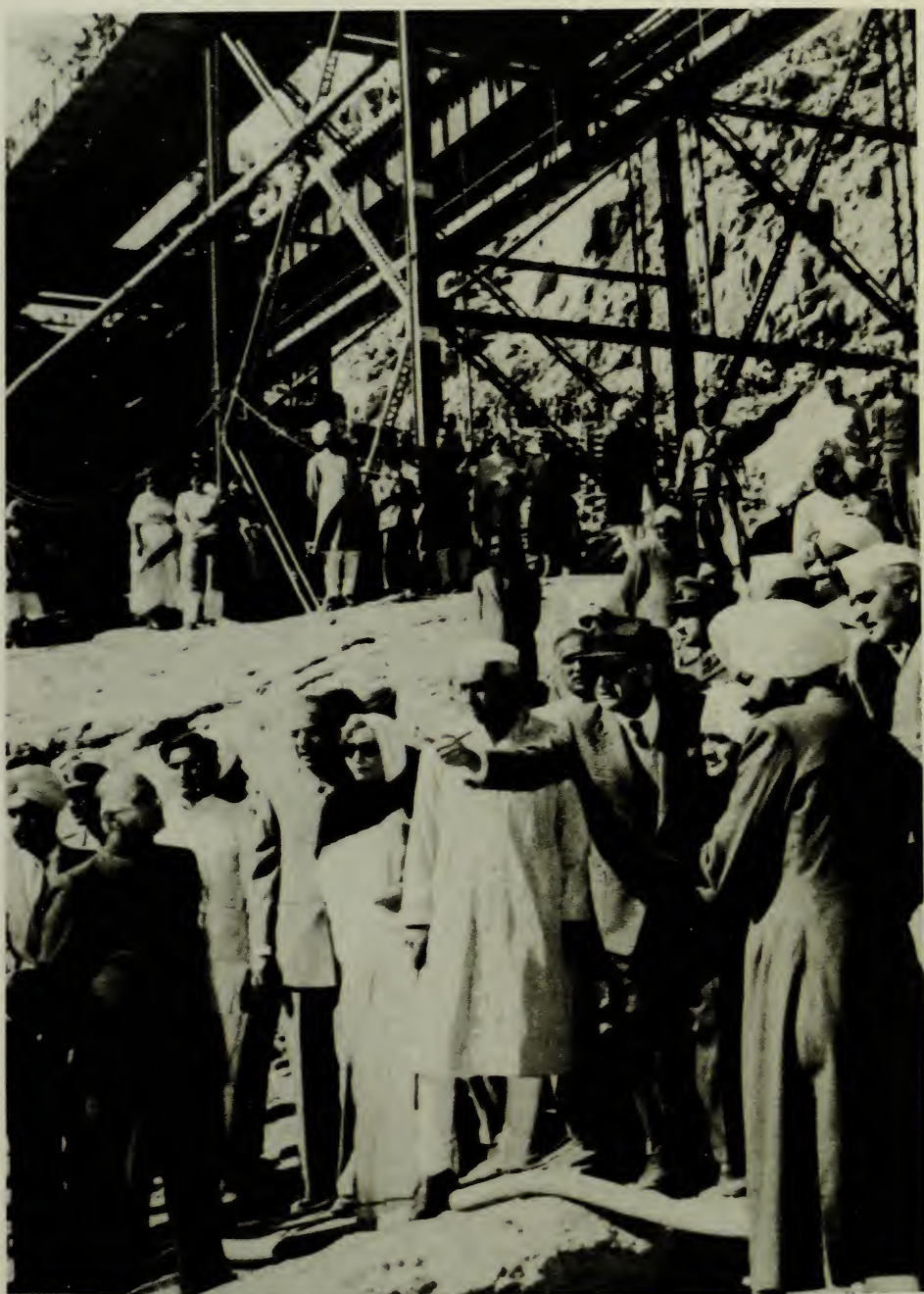
In the Second Five Year Plan that we shall draw up, special attention will have to be paid to industrialization, particularly heavy industries because that is the basis of all industries. We are putting up three big steel plants because without steel, no industry can be set up. You must read the draft carefully when it is published. I want you to understand it properly. While we are still in the process of industrialising our country, yet another revolutionary discovery has been made in the form of atomic energy which is more powerful than electricity and will transform the world. We must prepare ourselves for it.

So in short, we are living in a revolutionary age. Revolution does not mean violence or bloodshed. That is a childish and ignorant way of thinking. A revolution means anything that changes the social system of a country. We are doing this and I have no doubt about it that a great change has come over India in the last seven or eight years in her villages as well as cities. But seven or eight years are not a very long period. If we have a little more time, say ten or fifteen years, I am convinced that we shall go very far, provided we do our duty. Our foremost duty is to maintain unity in the country, avoid petty feuds and narrow-mindedness. We must be large-hearted and broad-minded and get rid of the separatist tendencies like casteism, provincialism or communalism, which divide us. We must try to live like one large family and remove the disparity between the rich and the poor because we want to bring about equality in India. We want to establish socialism in India which will provide equal opportunity to everyone to progress. We cannot bring about equality by passing a law about it. There are bound to be natural differences among people but everyone should have equal opportunities for progress. I am particularly worried about the young children, boys and girls, because it is they who will have to shoulder the responsibility of running the country. Even if all the grown-ups in the country have not got full opportunities for advancement, the new shoot which is growing should have every opportunity for growing. I want that all of you in municipalities and State Governments or the Central Government should remember that our first duty is towards India's children. If we look after the young ones today and give them a good education, we shall be laying the foundations of India's future because that will depend on what her people are like. A country is not built of bricks and mortar but of human beings. It is not houses which make men but men who build houses. So we must start looking after the human material from now onwards.

The Five Year Plans and the other great tasks that we have taken up require hard work for nothing can be achieved without that. I have visited China and



SPEAKING AT THE BHAKRA DAM SITE, 17 NOVEMBER 1955



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the Soviet Union and other countries which were totally ruined during the War and their major cities had been razed to the ground. But those countries are back on their feet within ten years of the end of the War. The change that they have been able to bring about in Germany and the Soviet Union is amazing. These two countries do not follow the same ideology. The Soviet Union is a communist country while West Germany is a capitalist country. But both are extremely hard-working and do not indulge in tall talk as many people in our country do. We talk so much about revolution and democracy and communism and socialism that if mere talking could achieve things we should have been one of the most advanced countries of the world. I have never heard so much talk of revolutions and so many people who profess to be revolutionaries as in India. Well, whether they are communists or revolutionaries what they say bears little relation to the situation in India. As I have said repeatedly, revolution cannot be brought about by words or by shouting slogans and creating chaos. Revolution means a basic change in the social system. Moreover, if we do something in the name of revolution which instead of leading to the progress of a society, retards it, it will be counter-revolutionary because it prevents progress. Revolution does not mean chaos and violence. But some people seem to think that these things mean a militant policy. I fail to understand this kind of thinking. It seems totally childish to me. So we must think seriously about these things.

We have said that we want a socialistic pattern of society in our country. But how is it to be done? There can be different views about it and debates rage fiercely all the time. But one thing is clear, that you cannot bring about any changes by passing resolutions. For instance, if you want a bridge on the Narmada, you cannot have it by passing a resolution, you will have to build the bridge. Similarly, socialism cannot be brought about by shouting slogans for it involves many things and will transform society when it comes. It has to be established from the lowest rung and we will do it. We may make mistakes and stumble occasionally, but at least we will be working for it instead of sulking in a corner and declaring that we are right and all the rest are wrong. This is absurd. Some people do say this. So I am mentioning it to you.

Before we fix a goal, we must be clear in our minds as to what socialism is all about. I agree that we should have a socialistic pattern of society. But what does it mean? Broadly, it means equality of opportunity to every individual in society so that he is free to make as much progress as his strength permits. If he is slow-witted, he will not achieve much, but a really intelligent man can go very far. There should be equal opportunities for all. Suppose a one-mile race is to be run; some may be fast runners and others slow. But the opportunity should be there for everyone to run. So there should be equality of opportunity. We have kept before us the goal of a welfare state. In trying to

establish it, we must make sure that there is no exploitation of resources by private individuals. So there should be public ownership of industries. We are keeping all the key industries in the public sector and want to expand it. We do not want to stifle the private sector either because we want progress in all possible directions. We have to go ahead as fast as possible so we want to give everyone an opportunity. But ultimately the public sector will expand and gradually, step by step, a socialistic pattern will emerge. It cannot be done in a day. It will take years and we shall gradually go in that direction. But we must not fritter away our energies in fighting about socialism for whichever side may win, socialism will certainly lose out. Socialism cannot be established by passing a resolution or a law. We have to change the organization of society.

I have been talking about the economic revolution which has to follow the political revolution. But along with it, a social revolution is also essential because without changing the social organization, the economic revolution is not possible and we shall also fail to gain from the political revolution. A country needs three kinds of revolutions—political, social and economic—if it wishes to progress.

There are all sorts of taboos and restrictions in our society, especially among the Hindus, which prevent us from making progress. As I told you, casteism is the biggest drawback. So long as casteism continues to exist, there can be neither socialism nor democracy because casteism means a great deal of disparity between the people. So we must get rid of all these restrictions and taboos. Now, ours is a vast country and a great one and we cannot progress with our hands and feet tied. Our customs and traditions impose tremendous restrictions on our women. We have passed some laws in Parliament about the status of women and some bills are still pending. I want that men and women in India should be completely free to progress. You must have heard about the great revolution in China. They did a number of things and established communism. But in fact the biggest revolution which occurred in China was the change that was brought about in the status of women. The customs and traditions which bound them and imposed restrictions were removed and now China is engaged in the tremendous task of progress. As you know, women in India have played a great role in the affairs of the country from ancient times and when Mahatma Gandhi sounded his clarion call to them, they came forward in great numbers. Gujarat was the leader in this. But I find that slowly we are sliding back. This is no time for any slackening on our part. All of us, men and women, have to take part in the task of nation-building. Everybody cannot do the same thing, but there should be no obstacle in the way of each individual doing what suits him best. We must also do away with some of the ancient traditions and customs which stand in our way. After all, when the whole world has changed, it is time that we also changed. If you wish to travel, say to Delhi, you do not go

by bullock cart, you take a train. The world changes and so must we. I make this appeal specially to the women.

I have talked to you about some of the country's problems. What can I say about the international situation, except that there is great tension and fear? The atmosphere is more peaceful than before but fear is there, for nobody knows what may happen. As you know, we have made all efforts to maintain peace in the world and offered our services which have been accepted because we have friendly relations with all the countries. There is hostility between the Soviet Union and other European countries and between China and the United States, but we are friendly with everyone. We do what we feel is right. In the exhibition that was inaugurated in Delhi yesterday,² all these countries, capitalist as well as communist, like the United States, England, the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia and many others are taking part. We feel that everyone should be free to do what they like in their internal affairs without interference from others, because the moment there is interference, it becomes a cause for hostility. People should be free to do what they like in their own homes and if they do good work, it is bound to have a good influence on others. We are prepared to learn from everyone, whether it is the United States or Britain, the Soviet Union or China. But that does not mean we should copy them. We shall adopt whatever is likely to suit our needs. But we want to have friendly relations with everyone.

You must have heard about Panchsheel—the five principles which are a legacy of our ancient culture. They include respect for the freedom of one another, non-aggression, mutual cooperation, non-interference with one another's internal affairs, etc. If all the countries of the world accept these principles, there will never be a war in the world.

India is held in respect abroad because there is a general feeling that we are honest in our opinions and express them without fear or under pressure. But ultimately, our status in the world depends on our own internal strength—not military strength alone, but economic strength, unity, etc. There is respect for India in the world today because they see the tremendous progress we have made in the last seven or eight years. We are going ahead fast and are fully equipped to progress. If we are given a little time, we will undoubtedly go very far. So when the world saw the rate at which we were progressing, its respect for India grew. Ultimately, we come down to the same thing—that we have to march forward and put our entire strength and unity and cooperation into the task of development. We have to work towards our goal in a planned

2. For Nehru's speech while inaugurating the Indian Industries Fair in New Delhi on 29 October 1955, see *post*, pp. 171-173.

way and not allow people to pull in different directions. That is why we have drawn up these Five Year Plans—to draw up a list of priorities and pay attention to them, instead of frittering away our energies in a futile manner. I want you to understand all this properly. We are now at a crucial juncture in our history and it is necessary especially for our boys and girls and young men and women to prepare themselves for the future. They have to learn and train themselves, sharpen their intellects and mould their characters in order to become strong individuals. A country cannot progress if the character of its people is not strong. You can be sure of that. Nobody respects a country like that though superficial cunning and chicanery may hoodwink others for a while. So we must be strong in mind and body and cultivate the right thoughts and ideas so that we are ready to take on the new tasks that await us in the future.

We, who are at the helm of affairs just now, have been carrying the burden for a long time. First we took part in the freedom movement and now, during the last seven or eight years, in the task of running the Government. We have tried our best, we may have made mistakes, often stumbled and fallen, but have somehow managed to go on. We have done as much as our strength would permit. How far we have succeeded, it will be for posterity to judge, though some of the results are evident even now. I think the world shares my view that India has made a great deal of progress during the last seven or eight years. But the time is fast approaching when other people will have to shoulder these responsibilities. We have travelled a long way and are still on the move, but at last our destination is in sight. So the responsibility will have to be shouldered by others. Therefore there is a desire, an urge, in me to see that they are fully prepared for the responsibilities that they will have to shoulder. I feel that the last few decades, especially the era of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, will be remembered for thousands of years. We who worked under him learnt what we could, though, in our ignorance and foolishness, we did not absorb everything that he said. Mahatma Gandhi's name is often invoked but more as a legendary character. But what he taught us is still very relevant to our times. It is by following the path that he showed us that we got freedom and it is only by continuing to follow the fundamental principles that he gave us that we can progress. How can we do anything if we are constantly engaged in petty wrangling and feuds?

I have come to Surat after years and the warm welcome that you have given me has moved me deeply. What can I do in return for this tremendous love? I asked what the population of Surat is and am told that it is a little over two lakhs. Where have the lakhs of others come from? You have come out of your love for me, from here and there, because I am one of the few remaining symbols of old times. I have come here after thirteen years and do not know when I shall be able to come again. But I am very happy to be here and thank you very much for your kind welcome. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

15. On the Road to Socialism¹

I came here last four years ago during election time. During elections, everyone's attention is fixed upon them and nothing else is spoken of. Since then, I have tried several times to visit Amritsar but, strange to say, I failed. It almost seemed as if a barrier had come up between Amritsar and me. I am glad I could come here at last. The love and affection that you have showered upon me have made me realize that in spite of storms and stresses there can be no reservation between you and me.

We are passing through a very delicate stage in our history. I do not mean that any danger is looming, but there are tremendous problems before India and the world. So it is essential that we should understand one another and these problems because we cannot solve them except by mutual understanding and help. All sorts of pictures come to my mind. I am reminded of the days when I used to roam the streets of Amritsar during the days of Martial Law. I had been roped in to help our great leader Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das² with the enquiry into the Jallianwala Bagh incident. Another picture that comes is that of the AICC session held here 36 years ago. I think it was perhaps the last session in which Lokmanya Tilak was also present. Mahatma Gandhi was there as well as other leaders, many of whom are no more, but had shown us the way. We tried to follow the path shown by them as best as we could and often stumbled and fell but rose and went ahead with their guidance and ultimately won freedom. It is the millions in India who fought for freedom and won it; the credit for it does not go to a handful of us. You honour the political leaders and garland us and make speeches, but the millions of people who took part in the struggle for freedom find no mention anywhere. Innumerable volunteers, men and women and even children, took part. In fact in the years since 1919 new rules had been set for the game played between us: the battle for freedom was waged by peaceful methods. Yet it was a challenge to a mighty imperialism. All this will find mention in the history of India and the world.

Now, freedom has created its own problems. The old knots were unravelled, some old problems were solved and now new ones arise and have to be solved. There are new responsibilities and we need a new way of thinking to understand

1. Speech at a public meeting in Amritsar, 11 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. (1879-1925); a leading barrister of Calcutta High Court; joined the Congress in 1906; with Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party, 1922; President of the Congress, 1922.

them. Our entire outlook has to change and adapt to the new situation. I have noticed that ever since we got freedom, many of our colleagues are a little disturbed because they are not able to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. They had become used to a different way of working during the days of the British rule. Now they feel they have become useless. Their ways of working have become outmoded in this new India of ours. This applies to other countries of the world too. If you read the history of the countries which have had big revolutions, you will find that the situation changed completely after the revolution. Take France which had a revolution nearly 175 years ago or the Soviet Union where it took place 38 years ago. You will find that the people who led the revolution found themselves unable to cope with the changed circumstances for they had not given much thought to the new problems that would arise.

Anyhow, we have also had a revolution here. Please remember that. Just because we accomplished it by peaceful methods and without violence, do not be under the misconception that it was not a revolution. Revolution does not necessarily mean violence. Revolution means to change the condition of a country and its socio-economic organization. Whether a revolution is accomplished at the point of a gun or peacefully, it is a revolution. In fact the results of a violent revolution can often be undesirable. The task before us is to change the social and economic condition in the country and whatever we do to bring it about is revolutionary. Anything that obstructs these changes is reactionary. Fifty years ago, some of our young men had taken to throwing bombs in an outburst of passion. Now that was hardly a revolution. In fact violence can have and often has had undesirable results and vitiated the atmosphere. We must always be careful to see what the results of a particular course of action are likely to be. In my opinion there has not been a greater revolutionary than Mahatma Gandhi. Who can be a greater revolutionary than a man who could shake the nation to its very foundations and without fuss or making a noise about it? His methods were peaceful and non-violent, he awakened the country out of its long slumber. His name as well as the impact that he had on the people will be remembered long after the names of great generals and violent revolutionaries have been forgotten.

All in all, it was a great revolution in India and the might of British imperialism was vanquished. It was a great event for us and also for the world, because a big country had entered the world stage, a country which was not powerful till then but whose hidden strength was gradually coming to the fore. But freedom brought new problems and new responsibilities. You must remember that there is no right in the world which does not entail responsibilities. We used to declare that freedom was our birthright. Lokmanya Tilak had declared so fifty years ago. All that is true. But along with it go responsibilities also. Unless we pay the price for it, we cannot enjoy any rights.

Even if by chance you get them they slip away. We paid a tremendous price for freedom, in blood, sweat and tears and the sacrifices of millions of human beings. So freedom has not come to us as a gift. A nation acquires something only when it has the strength to work for it.

Now, freedom has brought new responsibilities with it. Our greatest responsibility is to protect that freedom and keep it intact, protect it not only from external enemies but from something even more dangerous, the enemy from within, which weakens us, creates disunity and makes us narrow-minded and petty. Human beings do not become great merely by living in a great country. It is their large-heartedness and positive attitude which make them great. If you look at the history of the world, you will find that small countries have often acquired greatness. Take the British for instance. The people of a small island managed to acquire and retain a hold over almost the whole world by their sheer courage and ability. We who lived in a large country fell due to our stupidity and folly. If you read the history of India, you will find the same pattern. Whenever we have become weak internally and disunited, enemies from outside have taken advantage and gained a foothold in the country. The entire history of India teaches us the importance of unity. Whenever we have been united, we have succeeded in accomplishing great things and raising our country to the pinnacles of greatness.

We acquired Independence after long years of struggle. Those of you who are old enough may remember that battle for freedom but to the young, it would seem like a tale out of history books. The picture of India that they see is totally different from what it was thirty or forty years ago. The entire country has changed and not merely because of the coming of freedom. We changed during the freedom struggle itself. I remember I had started working among our peasants nearly forty or forty-two years ago. There was hardly any life in them. There was grinding poverty and their backs were bent and their eyes were full of fear. They were in a pitiable condition. Then a strange thing happened. The voice of Mahatma Gandhi began to be heard and in spite of there being no loudspeakers then, soon the whole country was under its spell. He did not give long lectures. What he said was simple. But there was a peculiar magnetism and magic in it which hypnotised everyone. I have never heard him shouting. His soft voice used to appeal directly to men's hearts and emotions and shake them up. Those who came into contact with him immediately began to wonder if he was doing his duty or not and whether he was on the right path.

Mahatma Gandhi's voice reached every nook and corner of India, to the villages and cities, zamindars and kisans. An amazing change came over the peasants. One of the things that he said was not to be afraid. He said we must do everything after careful consideration and be fully prepared to take the consequences, even if it meant going to jail or facing a gun. What he said was

very simple. There was nothing complicated or extraordinary. But the effect was miraculous. The people whose backs were bent and heads lowered, immediately began to hold themselves a little more erect and their eyes were filled with a new light.

Well, years passed and the struggle for freedom went on and if you read the story of those times, you will see how often we stumbled and fell. But we got up again and went forward. We managed to cross many milestones and ultimately reached our goal. It is only people who do not move at all and are content to be lying down who do not fall. Those who try to run are bound to stumble and fall. But that is not important. The important thing is whether they have the strength to pick themselves up again and go on. The nation which has this ability will always come out on top.

Anyhow, we got freedom and with it came new responsibilities, both within the country and abroad. When a huge country like India becomes free, it is bound to change the balance of power in the world a little. What were our relations with the rest of the world during the British rule? We had no relations at all. The British represented India all over the world. We could not have direct relations with any other country. In 1939, when the Second World War broke out in Europe, the Viceroy, without consulting the people of India, unilaterally declared that India would also participate in the war. So we were cut off from the rest of the world. Now that we have got freedom, we have also entered the world stage and are taking part in the drama being enacted by millions of human beings. There are tremendous problems before us and the responsibility for playing the game properly rests with all of us. We have to abide by our own principles instead of copying others and follow a policy of friendship towards everyone. This has been happening during the last seven or eight years and in this period we have tried to revive some of our ancient principles and project them in the outside world.

We have made mistakes, in India and abroad. But everyone will agree, not only in India but in other parts of the world too, that our foreign policy has been very successful. Respect for India has gone up tremendously in the world. It is not because we say yes to everything that the others say and do. For a long time, they used to be annoyed with India because we did not join one or the other side and because we expressed our opinions freely on every occasion. But gradually people began to realise that we were honest and expressed our views objectively—and not out of any fear or due to pressure from anyone. So respect for India grew. Then some opportunities arose which made it possible for us to serve the world. As you know, there are great powers in the world, big countries which are often hostile to one another. There is deep suspicion and fear and distrust of one another. When they had to choose someone to mediate, they chose India because they were convinced of her honesty and integrity. This happened on two occasions. In the past, Indian forces were often

sent out under the British flag to fight other people's battles on foreign soil. In fact, our forces were used to subjugate other countries and wrest their freedom, as it happened in Burma. It was Indian forces which conquered Burma and Indian money which was used against a neighbour of ours with whom we had no enmity. Yet our forces fought under the British flag and subjugated them. It was indeed a strange thing. Indian forces were sent to Iran and China and elsewhere too. Now you must have seen that in the last four or five years the Indian Army has taken on a new role. It has gone out to Korea and Indo-China, but not to fight. Our forces have gone there in the cause of peace and the banner under which they march has become a symbol of peace and friendship. In this way, respect for India has gone up tremendously in the world and there is no doubt about it that we have grown in stature.

Now, the actual stature of a country cannot remain hidden. So we must make a great effort to live up to others' expectations. A country can progress only as much as its strength will permit. Generally, the strength of a nation is gauged in two ways—one being military might and the other being money. We have neither military power nor money. Our armed forces are very good but very small compared to the large armies of other countries. Nowadays the military strength of a country depends not on the number of soldiers but on the weapons that it has. Lethal weapons like atom bombs and hydrogen bombs have been invented which have made large armies and conventional weapons redundant. So we do not have the military might to compete with the big powers. Nor do we have great wealth with which we can pressurise others. So we have neither of the attributes of a powerful country. How then are we to make an impact on others and make our views heard on international issues? The fact is that we have made an impact and our voice is being heard. Why? There are various reasons for that. One is, I feel, that what we say is the right thing and ultimately the right triumphs. Secondly, as I told you, we express our views honestly, without any subterfuge. Thirdly, though we speak only for ourselves, we are in sympathy with our neighbouring countries of Asia and are able to gauge their thinking correctly, because our histories have followed a similar course. Practically all the countries of Asia have been under European domination and are only now beginning to emerge as independent countries. Our problems are similar. Therefore what we have been saying finds a sympathetic echo in other Asian countries.

So we are beginning to play a big role in world affairs. The General Assembly of the United Nations is in session in New York and though I do not wish to boast or compete with the big powers, I can say honestly that our role in it is significant and our interventions have made a difference to the decisions that are ultimately taken. In my opinion, we have made a considerable impact on the proceedings. Then we have taken on a great responsibility in Indo-China—Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam—where our forces are stationed.

You must be aware that a great change has come over the world in the last seven or eight months. The tensions which had been growing after the Second World War and the feverish preparations for war that were being made are gradually lessening. There are many reasons for this. All the big powers have played a role in this because the fact is that the experience of the last few years has made them realize that war will only bring ruin upon the world. Once war breaks out, the whole world is in danger and there is not much distinction between friends and foes. This is the situation in the world today. So it is obvious that the world is wary of another war and seeks other solutions. Anyhow, the atmosphere in the world is becoming better. At the moment the representatives of the four great powers, the United States of America, the Soviet Union, England and France, are meeting in Geneva. It is true that the outcome of such conferences has not been very significant in the past. But that is not surprising, considering the complicated nature of the problems before them. Big powers do not yield easily to one another. But it is a great improvement that they are now at least ready to meet and discuss matters when earlier they would refuse to do so.

It is wrong to think that problems will be solved immediately. But there is a welcome trend towards finding peaceful solutions. Once fear of one another is removed from the hearts of the people, progress is relatively easier. If you think about it, why do countries go to war with one another? Forget about the ancient times when wars used to be fought because kings and emperors wanted to extend their empires and add to their wealth. Those days are gone when fighting wars was for prestige or for territorial gains.

For thousands of years, wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few people. It was not distributed widely. Then times changed gradually and new methods of production began to be invented. Production from land increased, new industries came up and all sorts of new sources of energy began to be discovered, which led to the invention of the steam engine and what not. Then came the discovery of electricity, which was a great source of energy. Whether it is used for a good purpose or bad depends on Man. These two sources of power transformed the face of Europe. European countries used them to increase their production and became more and more powerful. We in India were too steeped in our own foolishness and pride to see what was happening in the world and did not make any attempt to advance scientifically. We were busy repeating old lessons learnt by rote. Steeped in ignorance and pride and foolishness, we refused to learn anything new. The result was that we became backward. We have never had any dearth of courage and bravery in this country. But they have to be accompanied by intelligence and the capacity to keep pace with the rest of the world. Electricity and steam are such great sources of power that they enable one person to do the work of a thousand people. However brave an individual may be, he cannot take on a thousand people.

Today there is yet another source of power—atomic energy. This has increased man's strength fifty thousand times. We must understand this for it is with the help of science that European countries have advanced so far. Now with atomic energy, their progress will be even more rapid. In such circumstances, are we going to keep repeating the old lessons or are we going to look at the world with new eyes? This is the question that we have to decide.

We became free eight years ago. As you know, close on the heels of freedom came a tremendous disaster. The country was partitioned, and this was done with our consent. So how can we complain? The result was that millions of people moved from one side to the other. Millions of people were uprooted and faced ruin. In the first instance, 70 to 80 million refugees came to India and later another 50 millions came to Bengal. It was our duty to look after these hundred and twenty-five million people, which was a tremendous burden. In other countries where such an exodus on a mass scale had taken place, as in Palestine and other places, they were given aid by the United Nations. But we got no help in looking after our refugees. India had to bear this tremendous burden on her own, nor did we go around with a begging bowl. I do not claim that every single refugee has been rehabilitated. But I feel that the manner in which we handled this problem will perhaps find no parallel anywhere else. In other countries, they were given large sums of money as aid. We got nothing. We did what we could to the best of our ability and rehabilitated millions of refugees. Once again the helpless, uprooted families are putting down roots and the memories of the dark times are gradually receding, though the problem is yet to be solved in Bengal.

Anyhow, this was only one of the problems. There were many others. You might remember that, three or four years ago, we had tremendous food shortage in the country. We could not sit idle and let the people starve to death. We had to import enormous quantities of food grains. Hundreds of shiploads were imported. Just imagine, we imported 45 lakh tonnes of wheat and rice. One ton is 28 maunds. We had to spend a vast amount of foreign exchange. We gave first priority to the food problem. People often laughed at our efforts and our 'Grow More Food' campaigns and felt that money was being wasted. It is possible that some money was wasted. But the fact of the matter is that we have achieved a tremendous victory in our war against food shortage. It is something to be proud of. Our efforts have succeeded beyond our wildest dreams. We have already exceeded the target for food production laid down in the First Five Year Plan within the first four years. The other countries have been amazed at our achievement, and the fact is that so are we.

Now we have had floods in the Pepsu, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam. A very large part of India has been affected by these floods which have been unprecedented in magnitude in the last one hundred years. They

have caused terrible havoc. But in spite of all these calamities and the damage to the crops, there is no food shortage in the nation today. We have plenty of stocks in reserve. You can have an idea from this how strong we have become in these areas. But we must not become complacent. We must continue to increase the production of food grains because the population is also increasing very fast. You may laugh about this but it is a disturbing trend. We must seriously consider ways and means of controlling the population.

Our success on the food front has increased our self-confidence. When a great task is taken up and accomplished it raises one's morale. In the last five years, a number of things have happened all over India. You will see the number of factories and dams and river valley schemes. I shall be going to the Bhakra dam in a few days' time to lay the foundation. My role will be purely ornamental. The real work will be done by the skilled workers. I think there is hardly any project in the world today which is as large as the Bhakra. It is a gigantic project in which nearly 2,000 engineers are engaged, most of them Indians except for 15 to 20 foreigners. Such big projects are being taken up all over the country. We have opened big national laboratories. Then we have factories producing railway engines and coaches, aeroplanes and ships, a big fertilizer factory at Sindri, etc. The intention is to put up fertilizer factories at Nangal and other places in the country. We are beginning to produce a great deal of military hardware and equipment. In short, in the last five years we have laid the foundations of scientific progress and industrialization in the country. Now the time has come, as you know, to draw up the Second Five Year Plan, which will be more elaborate than the first because we are gaining more self-confidence and will now be able to go at a faster speed.

I have not mentioned one of the greatest things that is happening in the country. Our Community Projects and the National Extension Service were started two and a half years ago. Even within this short period, they have covered a quarter of the villages of India. They do not spread merely by passing an order on paper. It involves a complete change in the organization in the rural areas. We have had to train people and send them to the villages in order to ensure health care facilities, engineers, teachers and veterinary doctors, etc. It is a tremendous task and the good thing about it is that it is not being done by outsiders but by the local people themselves. The intention is to cover all the villages in India within the next five years. I think this is one of the most revolutionary things that is happening in India because it is aimed at uplifting 80 per cent of India's population which lives in the rural areas. It is only then that there will be real progress in India and this mammoth country of ours will take a real step forward. It is a good thing that cities should advance but if the cities grow and progress while the villages remain backward, the country cannot make progress. Therefore it is a great revolution, especially because it is changing the lives of the people in rural India. They are beginning to stand on

their feet and getting ready to shoulder the burdens themselves. As I said in the beginning, real freedom brings responsibilities which everyone has to shoulder. Freedom does not mean selecting a king or a prime minister or chief minister who is free to do what he likes. In a free country, every one of its citizens has to shoulder the responsibilities and burdens of freedom and develop an awareness of what is happening. A lazy and useless nation cannot remain free for long. People must have the ability to understand the problems and express the right opinion, and the courage to take on responsibilities and to protect their freedom. Only then can a nation remain free.

In short, we have completed a new chapter in the history of India. We shall begin the Second Five Year Plan next year during which we shall progress faster and bring about an industrial revolution of the same kind as transformed the face of Europe. An industrial revolution can be brought about not by putting up small factories here and there but by acquiring the capacity to manufacture the basic things for industrialisation. What are the basic industries? One is the manufacture of steel. Have you ever thought why England has advanced so rapidly in the last couple of centuries? It was because they suddenly discovered coal and iron and learnt to use them scientifically. It is the combination of coal, iron and science which has made the British so powerful. Now we have plenty of iron and coal in the country. Some steel is being produced in Tatanagar, Jamshedpur—about 12 lakh tonnes a year. Now three big steel plants are being put up by the government, not by private individuals. They are huge plants. We do not have the expertise yet to set them up fully by ourselves. So we are forced to seek advice and help from others. But we will undoubtedly learn the ropes once we have a little more experience. Now we are putting up one plant with German collaboration, another with assistance from the Soviet Union and a third with British help. When these plants go into production, we shall be producing 60 lakh tonnes of steel a year which will be a great achievement. We must increase the production of coal also simultaneously.

Another essential thing is electricity. We shall produce electricity from the huge river valley schemes that we are putting up in Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, and elsewhere and use it for our industries and other things. So we are laying the foundations for doing great things in the future. We are already putting up big factories everywhere. One at Sindri produces fertilizers. Now we shall have to start machine-building industries, which will not produce consumer goods but will enable us to be self-reliant in other fields. We shall no longer be dependent on others for our machines.

Great tasks are awaiting to be done which will increase employment and production in the country and gradually eradicate the dire poverty which affects the people at present. This is the most important task before us just now. It cannot be done at once or by magic. I hear that people are getting into the habit of going to astrologers. It is only people who are weak in their heads

who should go to astrologers for they may derive some solace. But no strong nation or individual should do things like this. They must use their physical and mental energies to get things done.

Just now Musafirji was saying something about the recent floods.³ He referred to them as an act of God that had brought ruin on the people. In a sense it is true because the floods have caused tremendous havoc. There is no doubt about that. But I did not like the words that he used. Nations do not get ruined so easily, and certainly not because of an act of God, that is, if they are strong. Ultimately the ruin of a country comes from the hearts and minds of the people. So long as the people are brave and courageous, they can face anything. I mentioned just now about the refugees who came in their millions. What a spectacle it was, those mile-long processions of humanity which came to the Punjab! I can never forget the trauma of those days. There used to be 50,000 men, women and children trekking into India at a time. How did we overcome this great disaster? It was not merely by governmental help. We could overcome the situation because the people had the courage to help themselves and the daring to face their troubles. Instead of wallowing in self-pity or running to the astrologers, they worked at whatever they could.

So, things like floods can even be turned to advantage in the sense that they are a test of a nation's endurance. It is the most dangerous thing for a nation never to be put to the test because then it becomes ease-loving and slack and gradually paves the way for its own downfall and to falling a prey to external aggression.

Take another example. We fought for a long time for our freedom. After we succeeded in our struggle, people began to think that their work was over and the time had come to relax. This tendency was dangerous because after independence, we required to work harder. We have now got the opportunity to work for something new while earlier we were struggling to put an end to the existing system. In the last resort, ultimately whether it is a question of our internal affairs or our role in the international field, everything depends on our basic strength and thinking. Are we inclined to indulge in petty feuds and wrangling or do we have vision? Do we set our sights on the stars or do we look down? In short, are we a nation which is capable of taking on big tasks or not? After a long time, India is facing this test once again. It is the challenge of the times to us and to fulfil the grand promises that we made when we were fighting for freedom. It is a tremendous challenge because though ours is a

3. Gurmukh Singh Musafir (1899-1976). President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee, and Member of the Lok Sabha, said in his opening remarks at the meeting that the floods had destroyed Punjab and it was God's anger that had been let loose on the people of the State.

large country, mere size does not mean strength; it can be a source of weakness too, if its affairs are not handled properly.

The most important thing is to maintain unity in the country and not to indulge in petty feuds. It was by being united that we became strong enough to fight for our freedom. Do you know what the policy of the British was? They followed a policy of divide and rule, and constantly fomented differences between the Hindus and the Muslims, or even the Sikhs, though they did not succeed in the latter cause. But this was their attempt till the last. You may remember that before independence, there was tremendous pressure on the Sikhs to join the Muslim League and support the idea of Pakistan. The top leaders of the Muslim League held out promises and bribes and tried cajoling them. The British also put pressure on them. It was absurd because it was plain to the meanest intelligence that it was impossible. I am trying to show you how there was a constant effort on the part of the Government to create disunity because they were afraid of the strength of a united people. Therefore they were against the National Congress right from the beginning. The fundamental principle of the National Congress was the unity of India, irrespective of religion, caste and province. Most of the other parties were communal in their outlook. The only political organization which wanted to knit India together was the Congress right from its inception sixty or seventy years ago. It is an old organization and even when it was just a few years old, the British began to try to keep the Muslims away from it. Now the Congress had to fight against these odds to foster unity and to the extent that we succeeded, we grew in strength. We did not succeed fully for a part of the country was excised away.

So the question that will always confront us is of unity in the country. Unity does not mean that everyone in the country should think exactly alike. It is obvious that there are bound to be differences. Each province in India has a different language and dress and food habits and these differences must be carefully nurtured. It is only when provincialism and casteism create insurmountable barriers among the people that differences are bad. Disunity leads to instability. In my wanderings all over India I see her in her myriad forms and am amazed at the diversity of the country. When I go to Assam or the mountains or to Ladakh, I find a completely different India from that which exists in Travancore, Malabar and Cochin. But underlying this diversity is a strong bond of unity. There is no reason to impose an artificial uniformity on the country, or is it possible to do so? What is essential is that we should foster an emotional integration among the people. There is a great need for this because there can be no stability without it. If we try to put the narrow interest of a district or province above the national interest, we shall pave the way for the downfall of both. After all, freedom is for the whole country, not for any one province. We must understand this clearly.

What are the things that create disunity? Provincialism, casteism,

communalism, language—these are some of the things that create barriers among the people. I am convinced that the fundamental cause of India's weakness down the ages has been the caste system, because it kept people in compartments so that they could never be united into a strong organized force. So we must get rid of these things and think of ourselves as one single nation.

I mentioned communalism just now. Many of our parties—the foremost among them was the Muslim League but it no longer exists in India—have repeatedly tried to bring religion into politics. Religion is all right in its own place but to bring it into the field of politics, and talk about the two nation theory and what not is absurd. Communal feelings are present in Hindus as well as Sikhs in varying degrees. Everyone loves his own religion and has the right to practise it and to expect that other people should respect it.

I spoke about a few things in the Darbar Sahib⁴ today which I should like to repeat here. I was reminded of a historical event which took place in our country. There was a very famous emperor called Asoka who ruled about 2,300 years ago. You will find hardly any parallel to him anywhere in the world. He was engaged in a great battle in Orissa, in Kalinga, and was on the verge of a victory. At the moment of victory, he was struck by deep remorse about the havoc and ruin and the tremendous loss of human lives caused by the war. He was the first emperor in history to have stopped the fighting at the very moment of victory. He announced that he was deeply disturbed and sad about the loss of millions of lives and so he was renouncing war forever. He said that henceforth his wars would be in the cause of *dhamma* (dharma). He did not mean any particular religion but a code of conduct which preached unity and harmony and love for humanity. He had this message engraved on stones and rocks all over the country and these inscriptions are to be found even today, two thousand years later. The message of this great emperor engraved on stones is to be found in cities and forests and his inscriptions have been found even in areas which are in Pakistan today, bearing evidence of the far-flung limits of his empire. I have come from Junagarh in Saurashtra where I saw one of his large stone inscriptions. There is one in Allahabad and others in various parts of India. So he was an unusual figure who has left exhortations to his people in stone to respect all religions. He said that those who respected other religions would in fact be thereby earning respect for their own religion. Disrespect for other religions would degrade their own. I am putting it very badly but he has said it in beautiful language. You must try to see his inscriptions if you can.

4. Literally, sacred audience; also known as the Golden Temple. It is the most important gurdwara and site of pilgrimage of the Sikhs.



AT THE H.M.T. FACTORY, BANGALORE, 6 OCTOBER 1955



LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE OFFICES OF BANGALORE CORPORATION, 6 OCTOBER 1955

But I want to tell you that what Asoka has inscribed on rocks and stones is the essence of India's ancient culture and civilization—religious tolerance and harmony, respect for all religions, etc. Therefore when I hear voices raised against other religions or of attempts to denigrate them, the entire concept seems alien to me because that has never been the tradition in India. We have Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs—in the Punjab especially but elsewhere too—Christians, Buddhists, Jains, etc. Some of these religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism are indigenous to India. But even religions like Christianity and Islam which came from outside have been on this soil for a long, long time. Christianity came to the shores of India nearly 1,800 years ago, in fact, even before it reached Europe. So it is not a new religion and has been absorbed into the Indian culture. It has become an Indian religion. We respect Christianity and its followers have been our colleagues in the struggle for freedom. Now they are participating in the building of a new India. We must respect all the religions in India and not try to bring them into the field of politics. In the same way, we must break down the barriers of the caste system too.

Then there is provincialism. It is absurd that the people of one province should think of the others as alien. These boundaries between the provinces are matters of administrative arrangements to facilitate our task. If you go abroad, you do not go in your capacity of a resident of Amritsar or of the Punjab. You carry an Indian passport which states that you are a citizen of the Republic of India and it is in that capacity that you are recognised and accorded respect. So what is important is your citizenship of India and not being a resident of one of her villages or districts or provinces. These are parts of India. You must always bear this in mind and not give undue importance to your province and village and district.

The question of language is agitating everyone a great deal. As you know, there is a list of Indian languages in the Constitution. Apart from Hindi, there are 14 major languages, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Assamese, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and others. You must remember that all of them enjoy the stature of national languages. There are also numerous other languages. It is true that Hindi is officially the national language. But the others are also equally national languages. The only difference is that when we were faced with the necessity of choosing a language to conduct the official work instead of English, we chose Hindi. English is being used these days but it is obvious that that cannot last forever. It is a good thing to learn English. for it is a good language. Any other foreign language like Russian or French can also be learnt but they cannot be used for official work in India. Hindi is the language which is spoken by a large majority of the people and easily understood to some extent all over India. Therefore Hindi has been adopted as the national language for official work. But the other languages, whether it is Punjabi or

Urdu or Bengali, are also national languages of India and it is our duty to see that they grow.

You may remember that a year ago an institution called the Sahitya Akademi, which is a literary academy, was established in India. I have been made its Chairman. The function of that academy is to work for the growth of all Indian languages and to publish books in them. We have just decided to publish several new titles in Hindi, one of poetry in Gurmukhi, another in Urdu. So we want that all the languages should grow. But some people in their narrow-mindedness think that their language can grow only by denigrating the others. This is really strange. I remember the old battle between Urdu and Hindi which used to be waged by their protagonists 15-20 years ago. Instead of trying to further their own language, they used to try to denigrate the others. If Hindi makes progress, the other languages will also undoubtedly grow. That is the sort of relationship that should exist between the languages. Urdu and Hindi are antagonists but ought to help each other to grow. Whoever takes an interest in literary matters should try to work for the development and growth of all languages and not denigrate the others. It is absurd.

I have heard, and I think it must be true, that during the last session of Parliament people who spoke Punjabi used to proclaim loudly that they knew no other language. What is the meaning of this strange behaviour except an exhibition of their own foolishness and ignorance? Punjab is your province and it is your good fortune that compared to the other states of India, it is a very prosperous state. There is no doubt about it. There are various reasons for it. The standard of living of the people here is very high compared to the other states. The soil is very fertile and the people are hard-working and the state can undoubtedly progress very fast. The Bhakra-Nangal dam is being built which will benefit your state for generations to come. You have very good, skilled workers in every field, good machines, scientists, fertile land, etc. But the only problem is that every now and then the people start fighting among themselves and work up a great passion, with the result that the work comes to a standstill and the atmosphere gets vitiated. It is a good, simple fact which anyone with the meanest intelligence can understand that whether the majority of the people in the Punjab are Hindus or Sikhs, if they fight among themselves, the state cannot progress. It is impossible that either of the communities can suppress the other. It is in the interests of Punjab that Hindus and Sikhs should work in harmony. Now the latest cause for tussle is the question of language. As I said, there is no doubt about it that Punjabi is spoken by the majority of the people and they are welcome to their language. In some parts of the state, Hindi is spoken. What is there to get perturbed about? If you find it difficult to learn something, surely you can put up with a little trouble for the sake of your province and your country? What is the problem in this? I feel very sad about all this.

As you know, my family hails originally from Kashmir and settled in Allahabad about 250 years ago. I was born in Allahabad, but my mother came from Lahore, so I have a little Punjabi streak in me. But at the moment I belong to no particular province. Or, let me put it this way that I feel I belong to every province, not specially to Uttar Pradesh. I feel a sense of belonging wherever I go and a bond of affection with the people of all states. I feel that they are my own family. But when I think of the Punjab, I can only think of the immense capacity of the Punjabis for hard work. The problem is to channel their energies instead of wasting their time in useless distractions and petty feuds.

I agree that everybody cannot hold exactly similar views. But the question is how to evolve a consensus. We say that in international affairs, the differences between nations should be solved by peaceful means, that there should be no war however big the problem is or even if there is delay in solving it. In China, you have the problem of Formosa or Taiwan. Europe is facing a problem in Germany. There are many other problems like this all over the world. We keep telling everybody that they should decide once and for all to eschew wars. If there are no immediate results, keep the talks going. When we say this regarding international affairs, it is obvious that it is equally relevant to our internal affairs too. We must try to solve our problems as far as possible by mutual consultations, even if it means a little delay. There is no harm in accepting the others' point of view. After all, the others are not alien to us. They are our own kith and kin. This is the only way to look at these problems because our thinking will reflect on the atmosphere in the country. The atmosphere in the world is becoming a little better because there is a lessening of tension and the danger of war seems to be receding. However small a problem, if there is no mutual trust, it is difficult to solve it. On the other hand, even the most complicated problems get solved if there is mutual confidence and trust in one another's integrity.

There has been a great deal of tension for the last few days and all sorts of things happened which increased the bitterness. Anyhow, all that is over. I am specially glad that the atmosphere has undoubtedly lightened and I hope that the bitterness in the hearts of the Sikhs and the Hindus will evaporate. We must try to solve the problems by mutual cooperation and harmony instead of taking up hostile attitudes. We should discuss our mutual problems and try to find a solution. We shall set an example to the world. Man is measured not by his physical height but by his conduct and the way he solves the problems before him. There is no point in shouting slogans or talking big. We must prove ourselves in our actions. Ultimately what counts is the sort of people we are. What are we? How do we conduct ourselves? What are our values? It is therefore absolutely essential to clear the atmosphere in the Punjab. There is a whole new field opening before you, especially our young men. A new India

is in the process of being built, and all of you must participate in this great adventure.

You are in North India and the Himalayas tower above you. To the South, you have the various provinces of India and plains and forests and cities till you reach the tip of India at Kanyakumari. It is a vast expanse of land covering nearly 1,500 miles or more of territory. In the east, the country stretches up to Assam and to the borders of Burma. Ours is a tremendous country.

What is this country of ours? Whom does it belong to? India is yours and mine and the heritage of all of us living in India. Punjab is not your special property. It is mine and belongs to the person who lives in Madras too. He too has rights over the Punjab, just as you have a right over Madras, or Uttar Pradesh or Bengal or Travancore. India belongs to all of us and we have an equal right to every part of the country. Secondly, we are heirs to a history of thousands of years. This is how nations are built, and not by every individual concerning himself with his own little part of the country. We are heirs to the rich heritage of thousands of years of culture and civilization. The literature and mythology and wisdom of centuries have come down to us and we are heirs to them. In a sense they belong to the whole world too, for we do not wish to hide them from the rest of the world. We want everybody to benefit from our rich heritage.

We must remove the barriers which separate us and keep us in compartments. We must establish closer relations and think of the whole country as one large family. If there is an attempt at mutual understanding and readiness to settle minor differences amicably, there is no tension. I would like you to remember that we live in very strange times. The atom bomb which destroyed two cities of Japan is a symbol of a great source of energy, atomic energy, which will change the face of the world completely. We must be vigilant and prepared to adapt ourselves to this new world. Immediately after independence, we were confronted with the necessity of industrializing the country, of increasing production, which we are doing. Now atomic energy has made its appearance in the world and we must try to acquire it as quickly as possible. We cannot afford to relax because we shall remain backward while the others go ahead. So we have now to do these two things at once and if we slip up even a little, we shall lag behind.

Our youth must be made aware of the times we live in. They must have the vision to understand the big tasks that are waiting to be done. If they indulge in slogan-mongering, it is obvious that nothing will be achieved. Slogans are all very well but nothing much happens. You must pay attention to what is happening around you. Amritsar is a historic place, not only for Sikhs, but also for Hindus. It occupies an important place in our political life. In a sense you can say that all the great movements that took place in India under the leadership

of Mahatma Gandhi, the non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience, etc., had their origin in Amritsar, with the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. There have been many other incidents, some even worse than the Jallianwala Bagh incident, both in India and abroad. And yet that tragedy, the week starting on the 13th of April, 1919, inaugurated a new chapter in the history of India. Therefore Amritsar is a special place, a historic city and so the people of Amritsar have a special responsibility to uphold the honour of Amritsar and the Punjab.

Engineers from Punjab have done first rate work in the country. This is the age of engineers and the Punjab is undoubtedly leading in this field. The time has gone when BAs and MAs were considered important. Now we have to work with our hands.

I have taken a great deal of your time and put some of my thoughts before you. The fact is that the mind is teeming with thoughts and I feel the urge to share them with the people wherever I go. I want to touch a chord in your minds and hearts to enlist your cooperation. There is an impatience, a hurry to move forward quickly. We have to build a new India in a very short while. There was a time when we dreamt of India's freedom and set about the task of making it come true almost in a frenzy. Ultimately we saw the dream come true which was a great thing. Now there are other dreams, of removing poverty from India, increasing her wealth and making the people better off. Please remember that our goal is socialism which means equality and equal opportunities to all. In short, a welfare state is our goal.

How are we to achieve this goal? It is obvious that the journey of a nation is never ending. There are only various mid-way paths. We may not be able to see India reaching the targets for development that we have set in our lifetime. But we want to do what we can. Therefore I would like to tell all of you, and especially our women—for the days are gone when women were considered inferior—that we require everyone to participate in the tasks of nation-building. A real revolution has three aspects—political change, economic change, and social change. We have to uplift the weaker sections of our society, like the Harijans. How can there be equality if we suppress some sections of the society? We must help them, and ensure equality to everyone, irrespective of caste and religion. There are many customs in our society which suppress the women. As you know, we are introducing some bills in Parliament in this regard and some laws have already been passed, liberating the women and ensuring a higher status for them. Only then will there be a real revolution in the country.

We are embarked on a long and arduous journey towards socialism. We must work very hard but even more important is the need for unity and tolerance and mutual respect for one another. Mistakes should be tolerated. This is how you can uphold the honour of the country. *Jai Hind.*

16. The Task of Nation-building¹

I come to Bhakra-Nangal frequently, which gives me the opportunity to meet you and talk to you. I have come here today because a new chapter begins in the history of the construction of this dam. The work has been going on for years and a great deal has been done. You may remember that fifteen or sixteen months ago I had come here when the sluice gates were opened for the first time. Today the first bucket of cement has been poured into the dam² and now the process will continue unceasingly for the next three years or so, day and night. You cannot imagine what a great task of nation-building this is. Bhakra has become a byword throughout the country. In fact people come from abroad to see it. It will benefit not only you but the people for miles around by providing water and electricity. But it attracts the attention of people in the rest of the country and outside too because it has become a symbol of the great tasks that we have undertaken. As you know, thousands of people—engineers and overseers and workers—are engaged in building this dam. The work can proceed smoothly only when everyone works in harmony and unity, with a clear picture in their minds, and their entire strength and energy are devoted to completing the task. If each individual pulls in a different direction, even if he is a good worker, the work cannot get done.

So we must keep the example of Bhakra before us in any task that we take up. We must have a clear picture in our minds and decide what we must do and then rope in the people to help as much as their strength will permit. If all the people of the country work together in this manner, we can progress very fast. The problem is that people pull in different directions and try to go their own way, and are engrossed in petty quarrels.

I am coming just now from a children's fair. You know that I am very fond of children. I am constantly aware that the children of today are India's future and should be well looked after. Only by doing so shall we take care of the future of India. So I went to the fair. But in the few minutes that I was there I could meet very few children because the adults surrounded me shouting "Jawaharlal Nehru Zindabad" and I came away covered in dust. I am relating this small incident because the manner in which we do things makes it impossible for anyone to find enjoyment. If everyone had remained seated, I could have met the children and the grown-ups properly. In the pushing and general mêlée, except for kicking up a great deal of dust, nothing much could

1. Speech at a public meeting in Nangal, 17 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. See *post*, pp. 184-186.

be done. So we must try to understand how easily we spoil the smallest occasion, even with the best motive, in a misguided zeal. It often happens that there is a great deal of pushing and pulling in crowds without any good reason, with the result that no arrangements can be made.

We must pay attention to this if we want to build a great country. We must learn not to waste our energy and to channel it into useful, productive work. We must play too but even there discipline and order are necessary, for otherwise there will be chaos. A thing that is done in an orderly, disciplined manner succeeds well. This is specially necessary in the Punjab where the people are full of enthusiasm and zeal—which is a good thing—but if they are not channelled properly, more harm than good can result. Therefore I want you to learn not to waste your energy and strength. You must understand that outsiders will be impressed only if there is discipline and order in our work. It creates a very bad impression when they see the people of a big country like ours jostling and pushing and pulling and feel that we have not learnt any discipline or self-control. So I am mentioning this to you because it is extremely important. There are tremendous tasks waiting to be done. Bhakra itself is a gigantic project but we have to undertake even bigger things in future. So unless every fibre in our body is attuned to them in a disciplined way, and we get rid of the habits of pulling and pushing and learn to do everything in an orderly manner, we shall be wasting our strength.

Tomorrow some honoured guests are coming to Delhi from the Soviet Union. Their Prime Minister and four or five other leaders are coming and they will visit Bhakra-Nangal also in a few days. I hope that you will give them a warm welcome in an orderly and grand manner, and show that we are a disciplined people. You must not indulge in hooliganism or disorderly ways, for that will create a bad impression on the guests. Just now I gave you an example of the work that is being done in Bhakra and Nangal. We have succeeded so well because there is discipline among the workers and people in all positions, are engaged in their appointed tasks in complete harmony. If there is even a little indiscipline, there can be great harm. There are huge machines at Bhakra, run on thousands of wheels and a conveyor belt on which goods are carried from one place to another. Even if one little wheel goes out of order, the whole thing will come to a standstill. The machine cannot move. Similarly with the conveyor belt; even if a little nut or bolt is out of place, it stops working. So as the work gets more and more complicated, it becomes even more essential to work together in unity.

The countries of the world fall into various categories these days. Some of them are highly industrialized like the United States or some European countries and the Soviet Union. Machines are used in every possible job and their production is enormous and consequently they are very wealthy. Now, in countries which are mainly agricultural, it is possible for people to work on

their own on their land. It is a very good thing, it does not do much harm. But when a country is more advanced and begins to go in for industrialization, the need for cooperation and unity becomes greater. It is a sign of a highly advanced society when its work graduates from simple agriculture to complex industrialization. Cooperation becomes essential, because even a little disorder somewhere can affect the entire machinery. In fact, cooperation is becoming an important part of agriculture too, because that ensures the maximum benefit to everyone.

What I mean is that, when a country or a society advances, its tasks become more complicated and the more complex they are, the greater the need for a harmonious working of all its parts. What are the components of a society? It is the people who constitute society. So the huge machinery of India consists of thirty-six or thirty-seven crore Indians and the more cooperation there is among the people, the greater the momentum will be. The moment people start pulling in different directions, the country will lag behind, for it cannot advance in this complex world of today without cooperation. If you know even a little about the world situation today, you will be aware that the countries where there is cooperation are making great progress. There are many countries in Asia today which are not progressing satisfactorily because there is no understanding and cooperation among the people and a tendency to pull in different directions prevails.

I am telling you all this because we have reached a momentous period in time. I feel that a revolutionary change is coming over our social organization, and in our internal affairs there has been tremendous progress, for one thing, in the last eight years. We have now reached the threshold of an industrial revolution, which took place years ago in Europe and the United States. The Industrial Revolution started on a small scale nearly two hundred years ago in Britain and spread gradually to the rest of Europe, which grew very powerful. The countries which did not get industrialized remained weak. The industrialized countries became powerful because they had taken advantage of the natural sources of energy in the world, like coal and combined it with steam to run big machines and engines, and so on. A man by himself may be physically very strong or intelligent, but his capacity for work is limited. But with the help of the natural sources of energy, man's strength increases a thousandfold. Through the Industrial Revolution which began in Europe, man learnt to harness the natural sources of energy and increased his capacity to work enormously. What is a machine? Even a hammer or a saw is a machine and with technological advance, it becomes more complex. But all the same, it is a tool. A carpenter needs a hammer and a saw to do his work. In this way, when the Industrial Revolution began in the countries of Europe, their strength grew enormously and production went up rapidly. They began to produce enormous amounts of goods from land and factories. Their armies became stronger with more powerful

weapons. And gradually they began to extend their dominion over other countries. By the 19th century, European imperialism held sway in the world. It was not because there is some basic difference between them and the others but only because they took advantage of nature's bounty while we remained backward, steeped as we were in our pride and vainglory. The imperialist countries advanced and we fell a prey to their domination as it is bound to happen when a country is weak. So you must always remember this.

We repeatedly say that the greatest task before us is to remove poverty from the country and to bring about equality by removing the disparity between the haves and the have-nots and that we want socialism in India. How are we to do all this? Poverty can be removed only when there is enough wealth in the country. By wealth I do not mean gold and silver but essential consumer goods. You cannot eat currency notes. They can only be used to buy the things that you need. So real wealth is the essential goods which human beings need in their daily lives. You can make a list of those things like food, clothes, houses, education, health care facilities, employment, etc. All these things must be available to everyone in plenty. That is possible only when we produce enough to meet the requirements of the people. So the most important thing is to increase production. It cannot be done by passing a law about it. If you wish to build a bridge on the Sutlej river you will have to work hard. You cannot do it by passing a law in Chandigarh. We must work hard to get what we want. We cannot remove poverty from the country by passing a law. It is true that laws can pave the way. But ultimately we shall have to work hard and increase production. You may feel that the wealth in the hands of the rich should be distributed among the people of the country. It is true that the rich do not really have a right to their enormous wealth while so many people are poor. But there are two snags in it. For one thing if all the wealth is taken away from the rich and distributed, everyone may get no more than a paise. That is, it is so little that its distribution will make no difference whatsoever to anyone. The fact is that we are not a rich country. I want that there should be no disparity between the rich and poor. But the broad fact is that there is not enough wealth in the country in the sense of consumer goods. So the only solution is to increase production. We cannot hope to get anything from outside for we are certainly not going to go around with a begging bowl. We may get a little aid from here and there. But we have to work hard and produce wealth. Secondly, the wealth that is produced in the country must be distributed among the people so that it does not remain in a few pockets. Only when these two things are done shall we bring about socialism. There can be no socialism without wealth in the country and nor can we bring it about by shouting slogans or passing resolutions. We can only distribute poverty by such methods. Therefore it is essential that we produce more and more goods, from land and industries, village industries, handicrafts, etc....

So we come round to the conclusion that we must increase production in India, especially of our consumer goods, so that we are not dependent on other countries. We will increase our wealth in this way. So we have drawn up the five year plans which you must have heard about. If there is no proper planning, each individual will do what he likes. Planning is very essential and in doing this, we can learn from other countries. Planning is also essential for us to know what needs to be given priority. We do not have money to waste or to invest in non-essential items. So we have to decide what our priorities are. Let me give you an example. Nowadays the easiest way of making money is to open cinema houses. Not much effort is required. I am not against the cinema. But I can think of better uses to which the money that is spent on building cinema houses can be put. If, instead, factories are put up the country will benefit and there will be an increase in production. So is it better to put up one big factory or ten cinema houses? My choice would always be a factory for it will provide employment to people and make them better-off, whereas cinema is only for their entertainment.

Suppose we have a shortage of steel or cement in the country, as we do at the moment. I shall not tolerate it if someone wants to build a palace using up a great deal of steel and cement. When there is a shortage, I would much rather build hundred or thousand small houses for people to live in. Therefore we must plan so that our resources are not frittered away but used properly. I can give you any number of such examples.

As I told you, we are living in revolutionary times. By that I do not mean violence or chaos. What I mean is that the face of the country and our society is changing and that is a real revolution. There can be a real revolution in India only when we increase production from land and put up large industries. Why have we undertaken these river valley schemes like the Bhakra-Nangal? One reason is to provide irrigation to far-flung areas of the province so that the farmers may not have to rely on the monsoons, and the production from land may not suffer. In addition, we shall produce electricity which is a tremendous source of power and can be used to run industries and in other ways too. Electricity is the symbol of power. So Bhakra-Nangal will benefit both agriculture and industry. We are trying to take up such schemes all over the country.

There are numerous small industries which produce essential consumer goods. But we have to depend on other countries for the machinery for these industries. There are two types of industries, those which produce essential goods and the other machine-making industries. In fact, there can be real progress in a country only when it has machine-making industries for then it become easier to produce other goods or to establish other industries. You do not have to be dependent for your machines on the Soviet Union or the United States or Germany or Japan. A nation can advance industrially only when it

produces its own heavy machinery. You see the huge machinery that is being used in Bhakra-Nangal, each one of them costing millions of rupees. We have spent enormous sums of foreign exchange in importing all this machinery. We could have saved all that if we could produce them in the country. Besides such basic industries add to the strength of the nation.

Thus real progress means advance in the field of heavy industries. I am not interested in putting up a number of textile industries or sundry other small industries here and there. I do not consider them signs of progress. To me, the real sign of progress is the three big steel plants that we are putting up. There is already one in Jamshedpur and one or two old ones here and there. But what they produce is not enough for our needs today. I think we are importing ten million tonnes of steel from other countries. This is absolutely wrong. We have an enormous underground resources of iron-ore in the country and I think hardly any other country in the world probably has as much as we have. But it is of no use to us unless it is mined and made into steel. If we do not produce more, our work will come to a standstill. But we do not want to allow that to happen and so it is important to produce more steel. We have used enormous quantities of steel in Bhakra and the same amount will be needed in Nangal and in our other industries. So we are having to import steel this year and may have to do so next year also. But at least now we have the firm intention of increasing our production of steel in the country. So we are putting up three big steel plants. Our policy is to have state ownership of all the big industries so that the income from them does not go into the pockets of private individuals. The whole country should benefit from these investments. So the steel plants will be under state ownership.

Steel is a basic industry for without it we cannot produce any machines. Then we shall put up machine-making industries and once that is done, the floodgates of progress will have opened. We shall produce more goods and also provide employment to millions of people. As I said, we are living in revolutionary times in India. We have made a great deal of progress in the last few years. We have good engineers and mechanics and skilled workers in the country and will have to train still more people. The good thing is that our people learn very fast. Now that we are gathering our resources together, we are poised to take big steps. We have drawn up the Five Year Plans to guide our progress. On the one hand, we are training engineers and workers, and on the other, trying to produce more steel and coal, etc., for the combination of steel and coal is very essential for industries. Then we need electricity too and a number of other things. All these things are possible only when we have proper planning, and the people's thinking is oriented towards it.

You must remember that all these things do not give immediate results. For instance the steel plants that we are putting up will be a big achievement. It is true that they will provide employment to thousands of people. But until

the plants are put up and they start producing steel, we will be investing enormous sums of money without showing any results. The same thing is true of Bhakra for by the time the dam is complete, we would have invested 150 or 200 crores of rupees and only then will the people of the Punjab begin to benefit from it. Then it will benefit generations to come and so it is worthwhile to spend such enormous sums once. The production from land and industries will go up and there will be all-round progress. But in the initial few years, we have to keep investing enormous sums of money without any returns. It is only when the projects are completed that we shall begin to benefit from them and there will be progress.

So, though we are doing big things in the country, the benefit will not be immediately apparent and the money that we are investing seems to sink into nothing. But once we start reaping the benefit, progress will be very rapid. I have tried to explain this to you broadly. But you must understand what we are doing in the country and participate in the task of nation-building. Whatever your profession or occupation may be, each one of you has a role to play in the execution of the Five Year Plan. The world is facing great problems today, especially the countries which are developing, and we are one of them. But even that will take years for these things are not done by magic. The harder we work in cooperation and harmony the faster will our progress be. But we cannot do anything by chanting a mantra or by magic. The most important thing is for us to march forward unitedly, instead of frittering away our energies in futile squabbles and arguments. We have a tendency to have heated debates about even petty matters. Then there are also barriers which divide the people who live in narrow compartments of casteism, provincialism, communalism and all kinds of strange things. As far as the Hindus are concerned, they have thousands of castes. It is a society so completely ridden by divisions that there is no parallel to it in the world. The problem is that the caste system prevents the people from being united, and so they remain weak. We talk a great deal about nationalism. Have you ever paused to consider that nationalism does not permit any barriers between the people? I do not mean that everyone should belong to the same religion. Everyone is free to follow his own religion. But there should be no barriers in political matters and on national issues. If there are any barriers, there can be no nationalism or democracy or socialism. The fact is that all the other circumstances are propitious for a leap forward in India except her human beings who are steeped in narrow-mindedness and petty feuds. There is nothing to stop us from making progress. We have the manpower, strength, ability and the courage to work hard. The great obstacle in our path is the narrow-mindedness of the people and their habit of fighting about petty things and living in separate compartments. The faster we get out of this rut, the more rapid will our progress be. If we do not, there can be no progress. This is a simple fact. There is no confusion in this. Slogans will not

take us anywhere. So long as we do not learn to work in harmony, the tasks before us cannot be done. The Bhakra dam cannot be built unless eight or ten thousand people work together according to a plan. If each one pulls in a different direction, instead of making progress, the work will come to a standstill. So we must understand what the obstacles in our path are. If you read the history of India, you will find that great intellectuals and brave people and saints were born here but our weakness has always been a habit of living in separate compartments and disunity. Anyhow, our country has taken a new turn in her history.

One of the issues that is generating heated debates is the question of reorganisation of States. A States Reorganisation Commission was set up which presented its report about six weeks ago. Since then there has been an uproar in various provinces. It is obvious that it concerns the people closely and they ought to take an interest in it. There is no doubt about that but if, as a result of their interest, more bitterness and barriers are created, and our attention is diverted from big tasks towards these petty quarrels, then it is wrong and harmful. It shows us up as petty people in the eyes of the world. Our stature gets reduced. Even if I tell you that we have great influence in the world or that our stature has grown, we have to stand the test of time. If we fail to rise to the occasion in a crisis, the influence that we have in the world will diminish. I agree that people are deeply interested in the question of their own states and language, etc. But nothing is so important that we should fight among ourselves and forget the bigger issues of the nation. The country's unity is more important. Believe me, even if a wrong decision is taken in the matter of states reorganisation it will not cause any great harm to the nation. The damage is caused when we try to achieve things by wrong means. Human beings are bound to make mistakes but they can be rectified. I was recently in Amritsar where I talked about our long journey towards freedom and the ups and downs of that struggle. It is absurd to claim that we made no mistakes. We made hundreds of them, but somehow rectified them and went ahead. The difference lies in our having the ability to pick ourselves up and go ahead, and to accept our mistakes and rectify them. It is only when, in our pride and foolishness, we cannot rectify our mistakes that we remain backward and weak.

So we should not be afraid of making mistakes. What we should be afraid of is wrong means because they perpetuate our mistakes. What is the great calamity in a district or village being given to this state or that? There is no way in which a decision is likely to find favour with everyone for the interests of the people pull in different directions. We can make an effort to come to a decision which will make the maximum number of people happy. It is possible that we may make mistakes in the process, but they can be rectified. It is not so important that people should get carried away by their passion, and get

embroiled in petty quarrels forgetting the more important tasks as some people in the South and East and elsewhere are threatening to do.

Let us consider the situation a little. The yardstick of measuring a nation or a human being is what their priorities are. A man who attaches great importance to third-rate matters is third-rate for all his energies are wasted in useless matters. Anyhow, the recommendations of the Commission will be considered in the Congress Working Committee and Parliament. I do not have the right to take a decision on my own. What I wish to stress is that you must weigh these things in the balance and consider them calmly instead of getting into a panic or shouting and creating confusion. The newspapers do their best to add to the confusion by letting their imagination run wild. There seems to be no sense of restraint as far as the newspapers are concerned. The most absurd statements are made in the Press and the people accept them without thinking. First of all, you must understand that all that is published in the newspapers is not necessarily correct. In fact, very often it is wrong. So you must be cautious, especially when the newspapers make an obvious attempt to instigate people against one another. You must not be influenced by such reports.

Now, the special problem of the Punjab is the language issue. I am amazed that it should assume such proportions in the Punjab. I just cannot understand it. It is undoubtedly true that Punjabi is spoken in a large part of the Punjab. I have heard it spoken since my childhood and it is also true that there is not much difference between Hindi and Punjabi. Whenever I spend even a week in the Punjab, I begin to understand the language without any difficulty and I could perhaps learn to read and write Punjabi within a month. I do not know why people think it is so difficult to learn a new language. In my opinion every Indian should learn at least three or four languages. One should be his mother tongue, Hindi and a third language of some other part of India like a South Indian language. You should learn Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam. Only then can you have a proper balance. Then you should learn one more language like English, French, German, Russian or Chinese. Only then will I consider a man fully educated. Instead of this, people seem to take pride in saying that they do not know a second language.

Some years ago, there used to be a great controversy between Hindi and Urdu in my province of Uttar Pradesh, with the protagonists of both abusing one another. They would take pride in saying that they could not understand the other language. Only in India have I seen people being proud of their foolishness. It would be more natural to hide one's weakness or ignorance. In India we shout about it from the roof-tops. Anyhow, the question of language is meaningless in the Punjab because both Hindi and Punjabi are spoken in large parts of the State. Why can't people learn both of them? I cannot understand what the difficulty is. Please remember that you will have to learn Tamil or Telugu also. The people in Madras are learning Hindi, which is difficult

for them. We should also do our duty by learning a South Indian language. Only then can we achieve some equality. Please remember that the South Indian languages are very rich. Tamil, for instance, is not derived from Sanskrit but is its sister language and equally ancient with a rich literary heritage. The disputes that are arising now are on the question of education in schools and official matters. In the east, the dispute is between Bengal and Bihar or Bengal and Orissa. Elsewhere it is between Gujarati and Marathi. The fact is that our population is mixed, with one language being spoken in some areas, and two or three in others. So sometimes barriers are created between the various languages. In fact all the languages should be treated with equal respect. The problem arises when we get a large chunk speaking a language but it is not taught in schools. This is the problem. You must remember that our principle is to teach the mother tongue to every child in India. What does that mean? It means that if there are a great number of Tamil children in Delhi it is the duty of the government or the municipality to open Tamil schools or classes at the primary school level for them. Wherever there is a large number of children speaking one language, it should be taught in primary schools. Therefore we should have Telugu, Tamil, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, etc., taught in schools in Delhi though they are not the languages of Delhi. We want that all the fourteen languages listed in our Constitution should be taught wherever there is need for them. It is a different matter that we may not have the money to do it at once. But this is our principle because a child can grow only when it learns its mother tongue. Proper education can be possible only then. You cannot impose a language on a people. In the hill areas of Assam and elsewhere, a different dialect is spoken every ten miles. We are making an effort even there to teach their own tongue though often there is not even a written script. We are making arrangements for books to be written and printed so that all the children can learn their own mother tongue.

You must remember that all the fourteen languages in the Constitution are fairly close to one another. The six or seven North Indian languages which are derived from Sanskrit are very much similar. The South Indian languages are different. But Sanskrit has had such a tremendous influence upon them that hundreds of Sanskrit words have been incorporated into those languages. Anyhow, our aim is that every single language in the country should grow and flourish.

Languages do not grow by suppressing other languages. It is absurd that they will. Languages grow by their own strength and beauty and the number of people who speak them. In the context of Indian languages, the growth of each language will affect the others too. So instead of trying to suppress any language, the effort should be to see that all the fourteen languages grow. They should help one another to grow instead of creating tensions. So this is the way to look at these problems. This is an issue which should be considered calmly,

without exciting passions for whatever decision is taken, it is bound to displease some people. Any mistakes that we may make can be settled later. No decision is binding forever. We can go on with our other tasks once this is settled.

I came here to perform an almost historic task. Now the work at Bhakra-Nangal will proceed day and night without a pause for the next three or four years. Only then will the work be completed. I want that all the work in India should be done like this with no respite or pause. This is how we can quickly complete the task of nation-building and create a new India.

It is an important anniversary today in the history of India. Twenty-seven years ago Lala Lajpat Rai passed away on this day. You may remember that a few weeks earlier, he had taken part in a procession to boycott the Simon Commission and was severely injured in a lathi charge. This led to his death a few days later. So there is no doubt about it that he sacrificed his life for his country. He died a glorious death but his life is an example to all of us for at a time when people had not become politically conscious, he had raised the standard of liberty. We must remember that and honour his memory. Now it is up to you to complete the task of building Bhakra and show the world our capacity to take on big things and fulfil them. Please say: *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

NATIONAL PROGRESS

I. PLANNING

1. Basic Approach for a Balanced Development¹

Everybody in the country is agreed that our aim should be to raise the standard of living of all. But the main question is the path to be followed. That path should be the path of democracy and peaceful methods.

There has been some controversy about the place of private and public sectors in our national plan. It is true that under a socialistic pattern the public sector has to be given a prominent position. But the private sector, within the framework of the plan, will also be given adequate freedom to function.

Planning is not merely the preparation of a catalogue of roads, railways, schools, and hospitals. It means essentially that one has to plan for greater production and equitable distribution for achieving greater economic equality. It is also essential to provide full employment to the people. Although the figures and targets of the plan can be revised as and when necessary, the country must be clear in its mind as regards the basic approach for a balanced development.

It is necessary to lay emphasis on heavy industry because I strongly feel that no country can retain her political independence without developing the basic industry. If we have to depend for our basic needs on the Big Powers, the political freedom which we have achieved would be lacking in real content.

Emphasis should also be laid on village industries, which will be of help in providing fuller employment to the people. The main problem about village industries is one of proper organisation. Some people express doubts about the utility of village industries. This may have some substance as far as production is concerned. But the need for village industries is undoubtedly great from the point of view of employment.

Another important factor to be borne in mind while framing the plan is transport. Transport is important because increased output of goods can be consumed only if there are adequate means of transport.

A greater pace of progress in planning and development necessarily involves greater burden of taxation on the community. It is, therefore, necessary to take the public into full confidence at every stage of planning.

1. Remarks at an informal meeting of the AICC, New Delhi, 3 September 1955. From *The Hindu* and the *National Herald*, 4 September 1955.

2. Drafting of the Second Five Year Plan¹

Opening the proceedings, the Chairman (Jawaharlal Nehru) recalled the main approach in the Draft Plan-Frame which had been accepted at the meetings of the National Development Council held in May 1955. The essential aspects of this approach were:

- (1) Planning should be undertaken with reference to physical needs and possibilities subject to financial considerations and especially foreign exchange requirements;
- (2) Emphasis should be placed on heavy industries, especially on machine building industries; and
- (3) The village and small scale industries should be developed.

2. The Planning Commission had now conducted a detailed examination of the plans of a number of States and of Central Ministries. One of the difficulties encountered during this examination was the fact that the proposals of the Central Ministries and the State Governments exceeded the resources which appeared to be available. It was, therefore, necessary either to increase the resources or to reduce the demands or to do both. The Chairman referred in this connection to the success of the loans issued by some States, notably Madras, and said that he felt optimistic on the subject of resources for the plan.

3. On detailed examination it had been found that many of the figures given in the Plan-Frame had to be varied on the basis of the information now available. It had not yet been possible to make reliable calculations regarding the employment potential of the Second Five Year Plan.

4. The Chairman then referred to village and small industries. He said that they were important because they did not require the same amount of capital and unlike big factories, it would not be necessary to build townships, residential buildings, etc. To the extent industries could be decentralised transport bottlenecks would also be lessened and many social evils avoided. In view of these considerations production in small scale industries should play an important part in our planning.

1. Record of a meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi. 5 September 1955. File No. PC (CDN) 46/1/55. 1955. Coordination Section, Planning Commission. Extracts. Also available in File No. 17(18)/56-PMS. The meeting had been convened as a meeting of the Standing Committee of the NDC but as almost all the Chief Ministers were present it was agreed to regard it as a meeting of the NDC.

5. The Chairman observed that among the activities undertaken in the country during the last three or four years the Community Projects were of the utmost importance. They were a vitalising influence in rural life and he himself attached the greatest importance to them. Two questions had, however, arisen. The first question was whether, having regard to the financial commitments involved, Community Projects and National Extension blocks could be undertaken in the ratio of one to two as had been contemplated. Secondly, it had to be considered whether from the point of view of personnel and other resources the full programme for covering the country with National Extension blocks during the period of the Second Plan and having Community Projects over half the rural area during the same period could be implemented. The NES provided the base but Community Projects radiated their influence over neighbouring areas as well. The measure and extent of the programme for the Second Plan was now for the NDC to decide.

6. The Chairman mentioned that according to the programme the draft of the Second Five Year Plan had to be issued in November 1955. He felt that it might not be practicable to produce in the course of two months a completely worked out scheme for the next five years. It might be possible to get ready before the end of the year some kind of a five year plan, but it should be considered, not as a rigid plan, but only as a skeleton plan. The programme for the first year would, of course, have to be worked out carefully; this would include some major schemes which would continue over some years. There were many elements of the second plan that could not be foreseen in detail and there were inter-relationships between different parts of the plan for which greater data would be necessary. There could not, therefore, be too rigid an approach towards the future and it was necessary to have a measure of flexibility, so that adjustments could be effected as circumstances required. Such a procedure would be helpful also in dealing with the problem of resources; it was quite conceivable that on further examination it might be found feasible to exceed the figures already given out. It was also conceivable that circumstances might indicate that even those figures might not be reached. The skeleton plan which might be drawn up should be considered only as a broad indication of the development programme for the next five years. The five year plan that was drawn up in skeleton form need not be considered the final word.

7. Finally, the Chairman referred again to the essential features of the basic approach in the Plan-Frame and said that they should be clear about it. Did they confirm their previous decision about the basic approach?...

16. The Chairman observed that the general opinion appeared to be that every State should do its best to raise the additional resources required for the plan....

18. The employment aspects of the Second Five Year Plan were then discussed. It was agreed that the problem of unemployment among educated

persons required urgent attention and that special programmes should be worked out for providing opportunities for the educated unemployed persons through work and training camps and other measures. The Chairman suggested for consideration that there should be compulsory labour service for young men of the age group 18 to 20 years. It might not be possible to enforce the scheme all over the country, but a beginning should be made. The point was that every young man who was in need of employment should be offered this. It should not be necessary to give him any salary but some sort of subsistence, food and shelter should be given.

The Chairman suggested that the proposal should be examined further by the States. He suggested that it might be enough for the present to make provision for a year or two and that it might be all right if a sum of Rs one crore was set aside for the purpose.

19. The Chairman then referred to the employment aspects of the State Plans and observed that it might be possible to calculate with some accuracy the employment which would be directly created. So far as secondary employment was concerned, one could only guess and opinions varied about the proportion between direct and secondary employment. In the United States, the ratio between secondary employment and direct employment was stated to be 10 to 1; in India the ratio was stated to be 1 to 1 or less. The Chairman suggested that each State should give attention to this question.

20. The programme for the National Extension Service and Community Projects prepared by the Community Projects Administration was then considered. The Chairman invited the Chief Ministers to express their views....

Summing up the discussion, the Chairman said that every Chief Minister had considered the National Extension Service and Community Projects programme to be of high importance and almost all of them desired both parts of the programme to be maintained. Secondly, almost all of them had favoured the maintenance of the ratio of 2:1 between NES and Community Projects. Several Chief Ministers had, however, said that if resources were limited and any reduction was necessary, NES programme should be carried to completion. They all agreed in according high priority to Community Projects. The Chairman said that the reason for the ratio of 2:1 between NES and Community Projects was that apart from the intensive development of areas selected for community blocks, these areas served as examples to other areas in the National Extension Service scheme.²

2. After a brief exchange of views, it was agreed that during the Second Five Year Plan the entire country should be covered with National Extension Service and that at least 40 per cent of the NES blocks should be converted into Community Projects. The question of converting a higher percentage of NES blocks into Community Project blocks would depend upon the resources available in individual States.

3. Perspective Planning¹

Last year, the Planning Commission asked Professor Mahalanobis² to explore possibilities of getting rid of unemployment in ten years and of increasing the national income simultaneously. He was to do this in cooperation with the Central Statistical Organisation and the Indian Statistical Institute. As a result of this, intensive work was done and, ultimately, a Draft Plan-Frame was prepared in March, 1955. This Draft Plan-Frame was prepared in March 1955. This Draft Plan-Frame was placed before the Standing Committee of the National Development Council in May, and the approach in it was broadly accepted, though the figures had to be checked.

2. Subsequently, it was found that many of the figures and some of the calculations required revision.

3. Meanwhile, this Draft Plan-Frame attracted a great deal of attention in India and abroad. There were some criticisms of it, both in regard to its approach and its figures, but there was generally a great deal of appreciation of this method of approach.

4. At the last meeting of the National Development Council, reference was again made to this Draft Plan-Frame and the physical approach which it contained. The NDC again approved of this approach, though it was pointed out that the actual figures required correction.

5. Meanwhile, the work on the Five Year Plan has proceeded, and it is expected that a draft will be ready by November. It has, however, been made clear at the National Development Council that this Five Year Plan should be flexible and capable of variation as circumstances required, and that, in effect, it should be a detailed plan for the first year. Naturally, this would include the starting of certain schemes which would go beyond the first year. There has not been time for the technical and statistical approach envisaged by the Draft Plan-Frame, in preparing this Second Five Year Plan, and it is hardly possible or desirable to make a major change now which would tend to upset the work that has already been done. I think, therefore, that this preparation of the Second Five Year Plan should continue.

6. But, it seems to me clear that we should apply even more than we have done, the technical and statistical method with physical targets and work out

1. Note, 15 September 1955. File No. 17(84)/56-57-PMS. Copies of this note were sent to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, and C.D. Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister.
2. P.C. Mahalanobis (1893-1973): founder director, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata; member, Planning Commission, 1955-73.

the relations between demand and supply, and investment and employment. The Planning Commission is doing this work to some extent, but it is necessarily far too much involved in the current preparations for the new plan. It is true that even that must include attention being paid to certain perspectives.

7. Nevertheless, it seems to me that greater attention has to be paid to what might be called "perspective planning" and more especially to statistical work in this connection. I mentioned in the Planning Commission that in the Soviet Union, they had separated their planning into two parts—current planning and future planning. Conditions in the Soviet Union and in India differ greatly. But, still I think that it would be advantageous for us to have this perspective planning separately, in addition to the other. In any event, it is desirable to work out, statistically and otherwise, the physical relations referred to above.

8. I think that, in the present circumstances, the best course would be for the Planning Commission to continue its work as at present and, at the same time, for a small unit for statistical and perspective planning to be established under Professor Mahalanobis. This unit would continue the work which was done in the preparation of the Draft Plan-Frame last year and early this year. This will be of help to us in many ways. Some time or other, this will have to be done, and it is better to start it soon and take advantage of it as early as possible.

9. This unit should keep in touch with the Planning Commission, the Department of Economic Affairs of the Finance Ministry, the Central Statistical Organisation and the Indian Statistical Institute. A Joint Committee of these Organisations could be set up for this purpose.

10. It would probably be necessary for the Indian Statistical Institute to extend its operational research activities in order to help in this work.

11. It will, of course, be desirable for close contact to be maintained between the suggested unit and the Planning Commission.

12. When Professor Mahalanobis was going away early this month, I asked him when he would return and suggested that he should come back by the end of September or early in October. I had this work in view at the time.

4. Changing the Face of Rural India¹

Eight years have passed since Independence came to India. They have been

1. Message written on 19 September 1955 and printed in *Kurukshetra*, a monthly organ of the Community Projects Administration, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Community Development Programme on 2 October 1955. JN Collection.

hard years for all of us. Much has been done during this period and much remains to be done. We have committed many mistakes and through trial and error we have struggled forward:

*Is tarah tai hamne ki hain manzilein
Gir pare, gir kar uthhe, uthh kar chale²*

Probably this is the best method, for only through personal experience does an individual, a group or a nation progress. Any achievement that comes too easily by some fortunate chance does not bring with it that experience and the training that comes from it. We have to pay a price for everything of value that we get. Freedom, cheaply won, or accidentally arrived at, may also be lost cheaply or accidentally. It is only the hard-won victories that are worthwhile and that endure.

The solid basis for our independence in India is not what happened in the last stages in 1947 but the long training and experience, suffering and sacrifice, of thirty years and more. Perhaps some of the younger generation today do not quite appreciate this and imagine that success can come easily and without that training and paying the cost. The moment independence came, we realised immediately that it was but a stage in a long journey. There was no time to rest and immediately we were confronted with problems of terrific magnitude. We knew of course that freedom would bring economic problems in its train. But we were suddenly confronted by the great tragedy that followed the partition of India. No one who saw the horror of those days, the interminable trek of dispossessed and suffering humanity, will ever forget it. With sorrow in our hearts but with firm determination, we faced this mighty problem. We had then with us our great Leader to give us strength and courage and hope. We did not know that he would leave us soon. A few months later tragedy again convulsed our land, for that Leader who had brought us to independence and trained and disciplined us was suddenly struck down by the hand of an assassin. Again, with eyes wet with tears and hearts numbed with sorrow, we clenched our teeth and faced our problems.

The great migrations were a severe test for us. Out of them, however, came many new experiences, both to those who had suffered and those who sought to help them.

Among these many experiences was Nilokheri.³ Out of Nilokheri grew the concept of community organisation and centres. Other places had experimented

2. So have we crossed the way:
Down we fell, we raised ourselves.
Onward we did go!
The couplet is by Haider Ali 'Nazm' Taba Tabai.
3. A rehabilitation scheme comprising a township for 10,000 displaced persons from West Pakistan was started in 1948 at Nilokheri near Kurukshetra, 110 kms from Delhi.

in this in a different way. There had been Etawah and Faridabad among them. But Nilokheri became the basic symbol.

From this grew the idea of Community Projects Organisation and later the National Extension Service. I think that we may modestly claim to have achieved a great deal in many fields of human endeavour during these past years in India. But I believe that the most significant development in India has been this development of the Community Projects and National Extension Service in the vast rural areas of India. For the first time, it may be said with truth that we tackled the rural problem in a realistic way. This was not merely from above but rather by inducing the people themselves to solve their own problems. Something life-giving went to them and their eyes brightened and their arms began to function and their muscles became stronger. A process of rejuvenation set in.

This has spread already to more than a third of rural India. We have decided to carry this message forward to every remote village and hamlet in this great country.

The National Extension Service is the basic organisation that we are developing all over the country. But that is the foundation on which has to be built the living structure of the Community Projects. Without the Community Projects, the National Extension Service is in danger of becoming a routine organisation without the breath of life in it. Therefore it has become important to develop both and for the Community Projects to be adequately spread all over the country, setting standards for even those areas where they have not been started.

It was hoped that this process of covering India with Community Projects and the National Extension Service would be completed by the end of the second Five Year Plan. That was a tremendous task, for it required the training of multitudes of persons. We still hope to do so.

Because of the basic importance of the Community Projects, those who are intimately connected with them and the NES were anxious to spread them so that they might cover half the area, that is, fifty per cent of the total effort. Many difficulties were pointed out and after long argument it was decided that we should aim at a minimum of forty per cent for the Community Projects. This decision was recently taken by the National Development Council and it is on these lines that we have to work.

We have thus to cover the whole of India with the National Extension Service and a minimum of forty per cent of this has to be Community Projects. I hope that we shall succeed in this great endeavour.

I send my good wishes to the innumerable workers, in various capacities, in this tremendous adventure of changing the face of India. Already it has attracted the attention of many other countries. But what is more important for us is that it has given life to the people of our villages and out of that life many good things can come.

5. Importance of the Cooperative Movement¹

We live in an age of conferences. Everything must have a conference, and people from the far ends of India gather together to discuss some subject of more or less importance. I have no doubt that conferences are necessary, and good work is done. But sometimes I wonder if we do not overdo this kind of thing or rather if we do not spend more time in conferring and less in acting.

But there can be no doubt that the subject of cooperation is of vital importance. The National Congress laid down long ago that its objective was a cooperative commonwealth. What exactly that means might be difficult to define, but the broad approach was clear enough. It was to apply the cooperative principle not only to its limited field but to the larger functioning of government and national activities.

We have had cooperative societies in various parts of India for a long time past and in some places a measure of progress has been made. But the general picture is not satisfactory, and cooperation has been thought of in a very limited sense. Also, the laws, rules and regulations governing the cooperative movement are so rigid that advance and progress are difficult.

If there is one subject more than another, which requires an enthusiastic approach, full of faith and a crusading zeal, it is that of cooperation. The moment this becomes just a matter of official routine, with no particular urge in those who are responsible for it, then it is a lifeless thing.

We have arrived at a stage when we have to get out of the old, narrow grooves of thought and work. We have now to put some dynamism in our activities and to give up the red-tape approach completely. A person in charge of this Cooperative Movement should not be just anybody, but one who has the training and the enthusiasm for this kind of work. He must have the public approach and the capacity to win the confidence of the public. An officer always surrounded by the four walls of his office and dealing distantly with this living problem is no good.

The old acquisitive economy is not the ideal we aim at. We have stated clearly that we want to build a socialist pattern of society. That pattern is intimately related to cooperation in various fields. Indeed, the principle of cooperation should govern human as well as national relations.

I wish success to the Cooperative Movement in India.

1. Message on the occasion of the observance of All India Cooperative Week, New Delhi, 28 October 1955, and released to the press on 5 November 1955. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 6 November 1955.

II. INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

1. To M. Visvesvaraya¹

New Delhi

September 25, 1955

My dear Dr Visvesvaraya,²

Thank you for your letter of the 19th September.³ It was a pleasure to see you when you were here.

There is no question of our maintaining an unfavourable attitude towards your scheme. I know that this scheme has yielded satisfactory results in Mysore. I would suggest that you write to the States direct because in this matter it is the States who decide. Certainly, we can give advice.

As you know, we have been proceeding at a fairly rapid pace with our Community Projects and National Extension Service programmes.⁴ These have met with a very considerable success, and we propose to go ahead with them. The question before us is how to coordinate any other activity with these programmes. We can hardly upset the Community and National Extension programmes, and start anew. I think, however, that it should be possible to bring about a good deal of coordination of your ideas with this existing set-up. We have, therefore, again invited attention of Professor D.G. Karve,⁵ who is at present investigating these allied questions.⁶ He tells us that he has paid special

1. File No. 17(49)/56-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to V.T. Krishnamachari.
2. (1861-1962); a former chief engineer and Dewan of the Mysore State and one of the pioneers of planning in India.
3. Visvesvaraya wrote that if his scheme of rural industrialisation were implemented in all the States, the whole country would benefit immensely. Under his scheme, he stated, the district was taken as a standard unit and each district could be dealt with independently. He further said that V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, was prejudiced against him, which was why nothing practical had ensued despite his talking to him on Nehru's suggestion.
4. Krishnamachari, to whom Nehru had forwarded Visvesvaraya's letter, replied on 24 September that "it is only through carefully devised training schemes and cooperative organisations for the purchase of raw materials, financing and marketing that the growth of cottage and small scale industries can be stimulated. Nor can this movement be dissociated from the National Extension Service which has for its objective improvement of all aspects of rural life..."
5. (1898-1962); economist; Director, Programme Evaluation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Chairman, Village and Small Scale Industries Committee, 1955.
6. A committee, with Karve as chairman and D.R. Gadgil, V.L. Mehta, P. Govindan Nair and V. Nanjappa as members, was constituted by the Planning Commission in June 1955 to prepare a scheme for the utilisation of resources to be earmarked for the purpose of development of village and small scale industries.

attention to your scheme and his Committee has further strengthened itself by calling for oral evidence both from the Mysore Government and from the All India Manufacturers' Association who had some experience of the working of the scheme. We expect to receive Professor Karve's report fairly soon. You will appreciate that our various activities have to be coordinated and interrelated.

With all good wishes to you and regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Role of the Trade Union Movement¹

I send my good wishes to the new monthly journal *Shramjivi*. We live in rapidly changing and even revolutionary times. In India we bring about our changes peacefully and, therefore, people do not realise how big these changes are, and how, in the political, the economic and the social sphere, the face of India is changing.

Because of all this, we have to think anew. The old approach of conflict is not good enough and is harmful to all parties concerned. The new approach must be one of cooperative endeavour, of greater production and equitable distribution. There can be no progress and no higher standards unless there is additional wealth to spread out.

We draw up our five year plans, but the background of these plans is an all-out cooperative approach by all concerned and, more especially, by those engaged in the vital work of production, transport, distribution, etc. The trade union movement has a most important part to play in the new scheme of things. It has to represent organised labour, to defend their rights and to work in a disciplined and peaceful way. It need no longer be considered that the only way to better the conditions of workers is through conflict. Conflict may occasionally come, but conflict is a costly business both directly and indirectly. It militates against the spirit of cooperative endeavour that is so essential today. It represents really an out of date mentality which is not in keeping with the conditions today.

I wish success to *Shramjivi*.

1. Message written on 25 September 1955 and sent to *Shramjivi*, the monthly journal of the Indian National Trade Union Congress. Released to the press on 2 October 1955, through the Press Information Bureau. Also available in File No. 9/148/55-PMS and JN Collection.

3. Machines That Make Machines¹

I am glad to be here on this occasion. During the last several years the question of this factory has been coming up in various forms before us in Delhi. I am so glad that I am here to see it with my own eyes at last. I shall be able to form some more vivid impression of it than I could from the numerous papers I read about it. The papers I read were not always complimentary to the factory, particularly in regard to the delay in completing it. I am a very impatient person, and I want other people also to be impatient. Patience is a great virtue at the right time, but not in India at this time.

In their addresses the Minister of Production² and the Managing Director³ sought to justify the need for such a factory coming into existence. I should have thought that no such apology or justification was necessary. I could understand an apology being put forth why it had not been working thus far. Because, if we in this country are going to industrialise ourselves, as we are determined to do, we want two things. One, of course, is a machine tools factory or machine making factory. We want to make all our machines in India, every part of them, and we want to make them as soon as possible. Everything that we do and the pace at which we do it, should be governed accordingly. If I may say, without any disrespect, the pace that was kept by the old Government of India had no bearing on anything today. It is only a warning as to what we should not do and how we should not do. We have to do things in a different way today, in a faster way, more efficient way, more active way, and the result is to be judged by the time factor and the efficiency factor. Time is the very essence of everything today in India. When I came in, I liked your layout, I liked the flowers and the garden beds. But I would rather have the factory started even without the garden beds and the flowers. I am laying stress on the time factor for every little bit of delay is not only bad psychologically, it is bad from the point of view of the expenditure involved. Nothing is more costly than delay. Everyone knows it. If we invest colossal sums of money, every month's delay means the loss of so much of return on investment. It is not merely the financial aspect. The psychological aspect is no less important. The picture of this great country of ours in building and working in a certain coordination is the whole meaning of planning. Planning means not putting up

1. Speech while inaugurating the Hindustan Machine Tools factory, Jalahalli, Bangalore, 6 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. K.C. Reddy.
3. Aftab Rai.

an odd factory here or there. It means doing things so as to coordinate with the hundred or the thousand other things that are being done in other parts of the country. Unless that coordination is kept in mind, the results may very well be that something goes ahead faster and something drags behind and pulls the others back. That upsets the whole scheme of things.

The second factor is that all these undertakings, whether in the so-called public sector or the private sector, but certainly more in the public sector, should be looked upon by the workers of any shade or grade working there as large partnerships. Everybody working there, in whatever grade he is working, should consider himself as a partner in a great undertaking, the building up of new India. All these are little bricks and stones being put together to build up the structure of new India. I am quite sure that if we look upon them this way, the picture in our mind changes. I have seen it myself in various places that when we talk to the workers about the great work they are engaged in and put the whole picture before them, they feel that they are not merely wage earners but partners in the building up of India, and their eyes sparkle. They feel a little bigger. They do much better work after that. If we become partners in a great undertaking, something of the bigness falls upon us, and each one of us becomes a little bigger. After all it is what we think and what we do that makes us what we are. If we think always in small terms and act in a limited small way, well, we remain small in mind. If, however, we gather our effort to do big things, our actions, however little they may be in themselves, will be connected and attached to the big things, and we also become bigger and the nation becomes bigger of course. I want this idea to be understood by all those who work here, whatever their status might be in this establishment. I want a certain feeling of esprit de corps, if you like, or comradeship in a common undertaking to animate the minds of all working here. Their assistance and ideas for improvements should be sought always. A time will come, no doubt, when in an ever-increasing measure, the association of the workers will be sought in the organisation and management of our factories. But in industrial undertakings today there are strikes, there are lockouts, and industry suffers. Inevitably, in every such conflict, the main party concerned, the nation and the people, suffer. Now whatever may have been the occasion for these in the past, in the present it does seem a very uncivilised and very wasteful procedure. And the only alternative to that type of incipient or actual conflict is the development of cooperative working, working in close association. I hope that, gradually, this kind of outlook will develop in our country, certainly in public undertakings and ultimately in private ones also. I should like those who have the responsibility for running this factory will encourage this spirit in all the workers here. I am glad to find that you have paid special attention to the dwelling houses of the workers and to certain other amenities. These are important for the effectiveness and efficiency of the work.

You here are doing work which requires, as the General Manager⁴ said, a good deal of specialised training. Making machine tools is a very specialised work. I do not think anybody doubts it. But given the chance and the opportunity, our young men and young women learn this type of specialised skill with some speed, and do the work well. It is the opportunity that had been lacking for so long in this country. But now the opportunity is there and the will to do it is there. There is also the tremendous pressure of circumstances to do it rapidly. We have begun a big national undertaking here. It has already started. We are only formally celebrating it today. There is no reason why any good work should be delayed for a formal occasion. Formal occasions can be fitted in at any time. I am glad the plant has gone into production and I hope that the schedule laid down at the present moment will not merely be adhered to, but will be revised and made into a faster and swifter schedule. Because, as I said, the test of efficiency is the time factor. I shall be going round your factory, and I have no doubt that I shall be impressed. I have already been impressed by the exterior, which is attractive and at the same time businesslike.

When I went into the factory, I was told that workers were encouraged to bring flowerpots so that they could see some flowers while they worked. I suppose it cannot be done in every factory; the flowerpots might come in the way of the work. But the idea appeals to me.

This factory has been started with the close cooperation and help and assistance of a great Swiss firm.⁵ Now, we welcome this type of cooperation and assistance. People who might think that we are not very anxious to have the cooperation of foreign firms or governments are quite mistaken. The more India grows in industry, the more will be the cooperation with other countries. In fact, it is a completely mistaken idea to imagine that a country which becomes self-sufficient in its production, has less and less dealings with other countries. That is an exploded notion. As a matter of fact, as you go up in your production and in your standards, the greater will be trade, commerce, contacts with the other countries. But it will be on a different plane. There is colonial trade which is bad for the colony. But there is also the contact of two free countries, each progressing as the other progresses. That is a healthy contact. We welcome this association between this concern and the great Swiss firm and we hope it will bring good results for us and for them. Now we are due to go and look at the factory.

4. S.S. Iyengar, General Manager (Technical), HMT.

5. Oerlikons.

4. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

October 8, 1955

My dear T.T.,²

I received a number of papers from S.S. Sokhey³ some days ago containing suggestions for starting a drug industry in India under State auspices.⁴ The proposal was that we should take Soviet technical help which was forthcoming. In fact, some kind of a scheme was put forward.

Sokhey sometimes acts rather irresponsibly, and whatever he says has to be examined carefully. I sent his papers to Dr Ghosh⁵ in the Planning Commission, and he has been considering them.⁶ Meanwhile I have seen a note from the Planning Commission which indicates that the development of this industry is supposed to take place almost entirely (except for the Penicillin Plant) through private firms. These private firms are intimately connected with big American firms. I do not particularly fancy the control of our drug industry by American firms. So far as the price of drugs is concerned, these private firms keep it at a very high level, and one of their conditions always is that the price to be charged in India must be the same as of the imported article.⁷ That means no benefit at all to the consumer.

There is also some reference to big loans being given to private firms for the development of synthetic pharmaceuticals, etc. If we can spend so much money in this way, it might be much better to have an integrated scheme

1. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS.
2. (1899-1974); Minister for Commerce and Industry, 1952-56; and simultaneously for Iron and Steel, 1955-56.
3. (1887-1971); formerly a member of the Indian Medical Service and Director, Haflkine Institute, Mumbai; nominated member of Rajya Sabha, 1952-56.
4. Sokhey, after visiting several concerns manufacturing drugs and fine chemicals, in the Soviet Union, reported that Soviet scientists had made a great advance in this field. For example, Sokhey stated that they had developed new strains of penicillin which produced 3,500 units per millilitre of enriched broth as against the average Western production of 1,800 units.
5. J.C. Ghosh (1894-1959); member, National Planning Commission, 1955-59.
6. See *post*, p. 165, for Ghosh's comments.
7. The evidence available to the Pharmaceutical Enquiry Committee in 1952-53 revealed that the retail price of a drug in a phial was often four or five times the cost of production. In the early fifties, the production of drugs in India mainly consisted of refining and packaging the imported material in bulk or in processing imported intermediate parent substances. Essential drugs worth Rs. 13.27 crores were imported in 1954-55.

ourselves for the manufacture of synthetic drugs, antibiotics, vitamins, alkaloids, anti-Malaria drugs, etc. This would be based on the production of the intermediate raw materials and the primary chemicals here.

I am not quite sure who deals with this matter—whether it is your Ministry or the Health Ministry. I am, therefore, writing to you to find out where we stand.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Mulraj Kersondas¹

New Delhi
October 9, 1955

My dear Mulraj,²

Please refer to your letter of September 21,³ which, as I told you, I had passed on to the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Commerce & Industry.⁴ I gather that the question referred to has been before us for some time and has been considered fairly fully. In fact it has been tried in India too but found to be very costly. Now that we are putting in new iron and steel plants, the difference will become even greater. However, Government have included in the Second Five Year Plan a scheme to exploit Salem ore with South Arcot lignite.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Mulraj Kersondas; Gujarati entrepreneur; came in contact with Nehru in 1937.

3. Mulraj suggested that it would be advisable, both from the points of view of strategy and transportation, to put up smaller steel plants of two to three tons capacity using the low shaft furnaces developed by East German technicians. By using this process, he claimed, the low grade iron ore and lignite deposits available in various parts of the country could be utilised.

4. Nehru wrote to Krishnamachari on 25 September that "it might be worthwhile investigating this new process.... Quite apart from the big steel plants we are having, it would be desirable to develop small plants in different parts of the country, provided they are economical."

6. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
October 11, 1955

My dear T.T.,

I wrote to you this evening about the proposal to manufacture drugs in India.² After that letter, I saw your letter of today's date.³

I do not think Sokhey is at all a good bargainer or, indeed, a good negotiator, and I would much prefer not to deal through him.⁴ I think, however, that it would be advisable to invite some Soviet experts to look round and tell us what, in their opinion, can be done here. I think in this matter your Ministry should take the initiative. Of course, you should keep Health Ministry in touch.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS.
2. Nehru forwarded a copy of a letter of 11 October from J.C. Ghosh who stated that it would be desirable for some Soviet experts to be invited to give their advice in the matter of drug production. Ghosh also expressed the hope that "if the Russians agree to communicate their knowledge to us, they will not be guided by any profit motive."
3. Krishnamachari wrote, "I am quite prepared for State manufacture of such chemicals as we can usefully and economically manufacture and would welcome Soviet aid for this stage of its becoming a project", but added that the project would have to be tuned so as to make use of existing production in the country.
4. Krishnamachari wrote, "They (the Soviet Union) have also a tendency to raise the price as time goes on, a trait usually associated with economic exploitation by the highly developed countries", and therefore India should be prepared for some hard bargaining. He added that Sokhey was "not a particularly good negotiator for this purpose."

7. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
October 11, 1955

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th October about soap.² My general reaction to Lever Brothers is chiefly due to the fact that they are a tremendously big concern with an inevitable tendency to outbid and absorb others with a view to gaining practical monopolies.³ I dislike the idea of the spread of this Lever empire in India, just as I dislike any other industrial empire. Also, my mind is a little coloured by the fact that, for the last nearly forty years, I have only used Indian soaps when I have been in India. In this connection, I have not considered Lever Brothers' soaps as Indian. Mostly I have used either Tata's or Godrej's or sometimes Mysore soap.

Certainly, Tatas should be efficient.⁴ Why they should be inefficient in soap-making when they are considered efficient in some other matters, I do not understand. But I have gained the impression that they are a little frightened of Lever Brothers' expansion and have an idea that ultimately they will possibly not be able to survive it unless Government helps them in some indirect way. But, even if they were efficient, it would not be particularly easy for them to compete with a mighty combine like Lever Brothers which have enormous resources and which own large areas in Africa to produce raw material.

1. JN Collection.

2. On 9 October, Nehru had forwarded to Krishnamachari some papers handed to him by Godrej bearing on the soap industry and Lever Brothers' dominance therein. Saying that the position as represented by Godrej was not correct, Krishnamachari stated in his reply that Godrej believed in externalising his failures by raising the bogey of foreign competition.

3. Krishnamachari wrote that Lever Brothers had been asked to fall in line with other European companies in India and submit a scheme for progressive participation of Indian capital. He said that the conversion of foreign companies into Indian companies had to be gradual with Indian capital being progressively and increasingly associated, for the passage of a very large quantum of capital into Indian hands at once would mean repatriation of a large amount of foreign capital. But the Finance Ministry officials, he added, did not favour this approach.

4. Krishnamachari stated that a cure for Tata's inefficiency must be found elsewhere than in trying to eliminate competition. He pointed out that compelling a foreign concern to step down production would be illegal, while asking it to raise the price of soap to enable the less efficient units to get a share in the market would not help as that would lead to rise in the price of the cottage industry product as well, affecting the interest of the consumer.

I do not think there is any question of "nationalising" the soap industry in India in the near future.⁵ The first thing to think about is to prevent further expansion by Lever Brothers. In your letter you say you have ensured this.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. "Personally I am in favour of nationalisation of all industries manufacturing elementary consumer articles", Krishnamachari wrote, "as that would result in... a very high efficiency and low prices, but this in turn would push out... the cottage industry sector. We ourselves are not very clear in our minds as to whether we want to raise consumption of... essential goods... by lowering prices and improving quality, or whether we want to protect the unorganised sector in these industries... Perhaps some time later when Government can embark upon a more progressive economic policy... we can think of nationalising soap and other allied industries." He also doubted if, with the more important sectors staking claims for the limited finance available, Government could afford to go into a consumer goods industry of this nature.
6. Krishnamachari wrote that Lever Brothers had been told that their expansion would not be permitted in line with the policy of not allowing expansion of the production of consumer goods in the highly organised sectors.

8. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
October 11, 1955

My dear V.T.,²

For a considerable time past, I have been receiving complaints about the activities of Lever Bros., the soap manufacturers in India. With their enormous resources, they have gradually pushed out many soap manufacturers in India and are making it more and more difficult for the remaining ones to continue. They talk of the consumer's interest and lower the price of their soap in India, while charging double that price in Pakistan and other countries. Now, I understand, they are making out that their plant has the capacity to produce much more. They are thus practically gaining a monopoly in India. Having broken other soap manufacturers, it will be open to them to raise the price of soap when and to what extent they choose.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1881-1964); Deputy Chairman, National Planning Commission, 1953-60.

I was somewhat shocked to learn that they were actually using the Boy Scouts organisation in India to push their sales of soap. In fact, they admitted that they were doing so and pleaded that they were doing good to a national cause by giving some contribution, on the basis of commission, to the Scouts organisation.³ This struck me as particularly objectionable and I wrote to some State Governments concerned and also to the Ministry of Commerce & Industry.⁴ I think the Ministry informed Lever Bros. that we did not approve of this practice.

Lever Bros. have also produced a primer for children and this has been widely distributed, more especially in the primary schools of Bihar. The little book is well got up and attractive and is really one of the best I have seen in Hindi for children. But in the context of the book, there are frequent references to Lever Bros. soaps. In fact, the book is pure advertisement. I have drawn the attention of the State Governments concerned, and especially of the Bihar Government, to this matter.⁵

But I am largely concerned with the major issue of Lever Bros. gradually pushing out our own soap manufacturers. Even the biggest of them, that is Tata, are in some difficulties. Godrej, who are among the pioneers of the soap industry in India, have also complained bitterly and have pointed out how, even in the United States of America, foreign manufacturers of soap are given short shrift.

I am writing to you chiefly to draw your attention to this matter which disturbs me. I do not quite know what we can do about it, but we should certainly be vigilant and try to prevent this extension of the Lever Bros. empire in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In a note sent to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Lever Brothers stated that they used the Bharat Scouts and Guides Association for the distribution of samples of their products as much as possible, as the Association was well organised and in some cases they also used college students, YWCA girls and yuvak mandals. The emphasis of this propaganda was on hygiene and soap consumption.
4. Expressing his shock at the fact that the Boy Scouts and other organisations were used by Lever Brothers to promote their sales, Nehru wrote to T.T. Krishnamachari on 15 September 1955, "This principle, if accepted, will commercialise and degrade our public organisations and schools." He also objected to the distribution of primers carrying an advertisement of the Lifebuoy soap to school children in Bihar. Krishnamachari replied on 17 September, "I could ask Lever Brothers to stop using the Boy Scouts organisation if that is what you desire to be done", though he added, "I don't think it is worthwhile troubling ourselves about the children's book even though it does contain an advertisement."
5. Nehru wrote to the Chief Minister of Bihar on 10 October 1955. See *post*, p. 205.

9. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
October 18, 1955

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter about Scaife.² I remember glancing through the report that you sent me long ago.³ It struck me then that Scaife had certain fixed notions about State industries and these notions were not in favour of public ownership. Because of this, his other criticisms which were valuable naturally lost some point.

I do not want foreigners or our own countrymen to be subjected to needless criticism. I think that some of the criticism in Parliament of our own engineers has been unjustified. How are we to stop this kind of thing?

Of course, it was neither necessary nor desirable to publish Scaife's report. I do not see why every report by every odd individual should be published by us. We want frank reports and frank reports can only be given to us if they are treated as confidential.

I am returning to you Scaife's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Jos. D. Scaife: British engineer; adviser on reconstruction and consultant production engineer; member of the Engineering Industries Capacity Committee appointed by the Government of India.
3. Describing the criticism in Parliament of his report to the Engineering Industries Capacity Committee as "one-sided and non-constructive". Scaife had noted in his letter of 3 October to Krishnamachari that his excessive frankness had apparently prevented a sober consideration of his suggestions for building up a sound machine tool industry. He added, "I trust that something on the lines of my report will be placed in the hands of private industry as ... I am still firmly of opinion that to continue on the present lines will waste a lot of money and useful manpower."

10. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
October 21, 1955

My dear Morarji,²

I enclose a copy of a letter from T.T. Krishnamachari and a copy of a letter from your Labour Minister to T.T. Krishnamachari.³

I do not quite know what to do in this matter. We had decided long ago in the Cabinet here that we should allow some automatic looms on the express understanding that there was no unemployment created thereby. When we examined this question of the Spring Mills of the Bombay Dyeing Company, it appeared that not only would there be no unemployment by the change, but probably there would be additional employment.

Although this had been agreed to, at a later stage INTUC opposed this scheme. We considered the matter in the Cabinet again and we decided that our Commerce Minister should discuss it with Shantilal Shah.⁴ This is the result of the discussion.

I quite realise that we have to go cautiously in matters affecting labour on a big scale. On the other hand, we are likely to endanger our export markets unless we become a little more efficient in our mills. If we go in for machinery, it does not do much good to have second rate machinery.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(190)/50-PMS.
2. (1896-1995): Chief Minister of Bombay, 1952-56.
3. Shantilal H. Shah, Labour Minister of Bombay, had written to Krishnamachari on 19 October that while he was not opposed in principle to rationalisation, he could not agree to the proposal for installation of any automatic looms at the Spring Mills of the Bombay Dyeing Co., Ltd. as he feared labour trouble there on account of this. Krishnamachari wrote to Nehru on 20 October that Shah had earlier assured him in the presence of Morarji Desai that no serious repercussions would arise from the proposed automation, but after the decision of the Cabinet to refer the matter to the Bombay Government, he changed his stand citing pressure from Union Ministers Gulzarilal Nanda and Khandubhai Desai. Krishnamachari wondered what the use was of "dreaming of a new India" and seeking industrial transformation "in the face of a veto on progress exercised by some of our colleagues."
4. Shantilal Harjivan Shah (1898-): Minister for Labour and Public Health, Government of Bombay, till October 1956. Minister for Education and Law, November 1956—April 1957, and Minister for Labour and Law, April 1957—May 1960.
5. Following this letter, Morarji Desai spoke to Shah and also discussed the matter with Krishnamachari, who was later informed that the Bombay Government would not object to the proposed installation of automatic looms.

11. Machines and the Goal of Human Development¹

I would like to congratulate the exhibition committee and the FICCI for the great exhibition they have organised. You had to face considerable difficulties particularly because of the floods that recently swept all over north and east India and even invaded Delhi. In spite of that you have persisted and even though it is not cent per cent complete in some section, you have rightly stuck to your schedule for inauguration. Thanks to the participation of many of the foreign countries the exhibition has become unusual not only for India but perhaps for Asia too and truly international.

India and other parts of Asia and Africa are on the threshold of an industrial revolution. The countries of the West, however, are far in advance and have been able to satisfy the primary needs of their people and are now planning the utilisation of atomic energy and the new revolution that is in the offing.

While India and other countries have to utilise the machine and all the power that human ingenuity has been able to extricate from nature, we have to utilise these with understanding, humanism, tolerance and compassion. Then only will there be proper balance between the machine and the other and more important aspects of human life.

I am particularly happy that this exhibition contains pavilions of countries that are not considered to be always very friendly to each other. So this exhibition becomes some humble effort towards coexistence and cooperation and I am glad we have been able to serve this larger purpose in the world today in this small way.

The world is today changing at a pace and a tempo which perhaps people of India do not realise or appreciate. The face of India is also changing as will be apparent to anyone coming to India after two or three years. But the world is changing too technologically. Science and its applications have given enough power to human beings to produce everything necessary in the world.

We live or ought to live in an age of abundance. It is true, however, that many countries like India live not only in an age of scarcity but in extreme poverty. But in theory, and it can be demonstrated even actually, they are living in an age of abundance or one that can be full of abundance if only they took advantage of science and technology.

1. Speech while inaugurating the Indian Industries Fair, New Delhi, 29 October 1955. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 30 October 1955.

Western Europe, America and other parts of the world have advanced greatly during the last 150 years or so after the Industrial Revolution, and particularly in the last 20 or 30 years. Their standards of living have increased tremendously. In India we are on the threshold of an industrial revolution. But while we are just trying to cross the threshold of that revolution and take one or two steps, another and perhaps a mightier revolution of the universe is in the firmament and that is the atomic revolution. The advanced countries of the world are already playing with that idea and how to apply it and no doubt they will do so. This means that power will increase tremendously and so too the power of the machine. The question that will arise is how far man controls the machine and how far the machine is likely to dominate man, not only his physical condition but even the mind. It is a question for which I have no answer except to say that it is a very vital question.

We are living in an age of rapid change and when enormous power is at the disposal of man. We cannot run away from the machine which is inevitable because only the machine can solve the problems of today. If we are to have the machine we must have the latest and best machines, technologically and otherwise.

But the machine is surely only for the betterment of human beings. If by any chance, the machine, instead of bettering human beings, brought suffering and misery to them, we would lose in every direction. The only way, therefore, that the machine can be tolerated is if it is allied to humanism, tolerance and compassion. Then only will there be a proper balance between the machine and the other and more important aspects of human life. Otherwise, the machine will cause havoc as during the war, when the machine or the military mind, which is just another word for the machine or the one-track mind, dominated. The big machine is both god and devil at the same time and we have to extricate godlike qualities in it and not allow its devilish qualities to overcome us. Ultimately, the test can only be advance and happiness of human beings.

There is today a struggle in the people's minds everywhere about ideals and objectives. The more advanced countries, having satisfied the primary needs of food, clothing, housing, etc., of their people, are thinking of other things. India and many other countries are still to satisfy the primary needs of their people. They have to keep certain ideals and objectives in view but ultimately everything has to be measured by the test of how far it satisfies the primary needs of their people.

I have no doubt that they will be able to make progress and satisfy the primary needs of food, housing, clothing, education, health, etc., which every person must have. But the fact that the countries of Asia have necessarily to think of their primary needs, while the countries of Europe and America have

satisfied the primary needs of their people by and large and can think of other matters, has made a great deal of difference to their approach to the problems and the approach of those countries.

It is amazing that ideological conflicts exist in an age which is potentially an age of abundance. A conflict should occur when there is not enough to go round; but when we can easily produce enough to go round and more, it seems rather odd to fight or to have these conflicts.

If there is to be any competition, let it be a competition—a friendly rivalry—as to who could do more good to humanity. How much good could be done to humanity if the temper of all the people in the world today and their resources were diverted entirely to peaceful objects and not armaments and the like. It is obvious immediately the face of the world will change once all this tremendous activity and resources are diverted to the promotion of peace and prosperity in the world. And the basis of conflict will go too. That kind of friendly rivalry will be an inducement for greater effort. Whoever does best, wins the prize in peoples' and nations' minds.

And yet while we think in terms of atomic power, there is a mentality of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. How far that is good or not, it is not for me to say. But it has no place in the modern world. I am speaking strictly practically. That is a stage of the beasts and not human beings, civilised human beings. Every civilised human being is partially a beast too. We are all a combination of good and bad, of the beast and something that is divine. The point is whether there is any necessity today for the beast to function quite so obviously and aggressively in international and national affairs, when there ought to be no necessity for it to function apart from other reasons.

We in India are guilty sometimes of many worse things. We talk big but we exhibit the narrowest parochialism, provincialism and communalism. So we have much to learn from other countries. If there is anything that others have to learn from us they can find out.

The Community Development Schemes in India are of the utmost importance because they are changing the face of the villages. Yet there is a good deal of poverty and suffering in India and Asia and we have to fight this. Often when I think of this problem and other problems, the words which Mahatma Gandhi once said occur to me. Mahatma Gandhi was asked, 'What is your mission in life'? He said, 'To wipe every tear from every eye'. I do not know if it is given even to mahatmas to do that. Certainly not to us, humble folk. But certainly that is an ideal which if we and others keep in view, will moderate sometimes our excessive enthusiasm in the wrong direction, temper our activities when they are directed against others and make us more compassionate.

12. The Message of Anand¹

I am always happy to be in Gujarat. But I am particularly happy to be here on this auspicious day to perform a special task in Anand. As Maniben² mentioned just now, she has been after me for the last six months to come here. I could not commit myself so much in advance. But she would not take a 'no'. Ultimately she extracted a promise from me. So though I would have come here in any case, the fact is that Maniben has brought me here today. I am happy to be here and to have an opportunity of seeing this great project set up by the cooperative society.

I am often surprised that though we talk a great deal about milk and cows we do very little about it. There are agitations against the government and others. But very little work is done to rectify the situation. You have set an example to the country of how a cooperative can function successfully benefiting everyone. The cooperative which was started ten years ago has gradually grown in size and scope. New milk products are going to be made and supplied to the rest of the country. In a sense, you have set an example for all.

The same work is being carried on in Bombay in the Aarey Colony. But for the first time milk powder is going to be made here which is extremely important because it can be supplied to children all over the country. Our children get very little milk, which is unfortunate. If similar arrangements can be made elsewhere too, everyone in the country will stand to gain and cattle will be well looked after. Big things are done silently, not by shouting slogans or making a noise.

I congratulate the citizens of Kaira district on this excellent work. It will benefit you, of course. As I said, the problem of milk and looking after cattle is very acute. If we can look after them well, all of us will benefit. In other countries you will find that the cattle are extremely well looked after although they are slaughtered. We hold the cow in great reverence but do not look after it.

We must look at this problem from an intelligent standpoint. I am convinced that it will have an impact on the whole country. You have done a great job of this. It is the people who are responsible. The Government of Bombay has

1. Speech at the inauguration of a new dairy factory of the Kaira District Cooperative Milk Producers' Union, Anand, 31 October 1955. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Maniben V. Patel (1903-1990): daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel, and member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62.

helped. The United Nations and other international agencies have given some aid, on the condition that the milk powder which is produced here must be available to the children free of cost. I like that very much. The Government of New Zealand has also helped in this project. We are very grateful to all these organisations.

I want that a day should come when every child in the country gets milk every day. School children should be given a glass of milk every day at school. Only then can we go ahead.

You have a great achievement to your credit. It is a part of the great task which is being undertaken all over the country. With the coming of freedom, the doors have been opened for new avenues of work. We have to move forward taking with us all the men, women and children of the country. It can be done only by the cooperation and hard work of the people. Others can advise and help. But ultimately the work has to be done by us.

People of all walks of life, farmers and factory workers, artisans and craftsmen must work together for these common goals. You must have heard about the Five Year Plans. They cover all essential aspects of development, agriculture, industrialization, village and cottage industries, education, health care, etc. We have completed the First Plan and there has been considerable progress in the country in these five years. Now we shall embark on the Second Plan. We will have to work much harder. The harder we work the more well off the people will become and add to the country's strength. There is no magic formula for all this. What is required is hard work.

India is a very large country with a large number of provinces and languages. But they must all cooperate and live in unity. Casteism has done great harm to India in the past. We must get rid of it. Casteism and the habit of living in compartments will harm the new India that we are trying to build. We must remember that we are the citizens of the whole of India, not of one state or district. We shall of course work in our own areas. But we must always bear in mind that we are the citizens of this great country and our progress depends on the progress of the entire nation.

Disunity weakens us. We cannot hope to progress in separate compartments. We must respect all the religions of the country. The majority are Hindus. But there are large numbers of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and Parsees as well. All these religions have flourished in India for thousands of years. We must treat all of them with respect. There must be cooperation among the people and non-interference with one another. The political religion of the people of India is the same—the progress of the nation. Everyone must get equal opportunities which are not available today. Once there is equal opportunity for everyone, each individual can progress as far as his ability and strength permit. There are many tasks before us. We can do them only if Indians work in mutual cooperation and unity.

Do you know why India is respected abroad? It is because they see that we are going ahead with our tasks with determination and that the people of India are strong and hard working. The work done by the women in India has a great impact on the world. Women have a great role to play. Above all, the children of India must be well looked after and provided with good education and health care. They are the future of India. The highest priority must be given to arrangements to look after children.

You have been sitting here for a long time in this heat. I have been in the shade. I have to go on now. I am happy that you have chosen an excellent day, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's birthday, for this auspicious task. He was born in this district and spent his childhood here. But later on he grew up and belonged to the whole country. He was a great leader and solved many complex problems which the country faced with brilliance and firmness. His name will go down in the history of India as a very great leader. So it is a good thing that you have chosen this day and dedicated this project to his memory.³

3. Subsequently Jawaharlal Nehru also said a few words in English for the benefit of the representatives of the New Zealand Government and the United Nations.

13. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1955

My dear T.T.,

Reddy² sent me a few days ago a copy of a letter he had addressed to you and later your answer to him. This was in relation to the licensing of spindles and his point was that this might be considered in connection with the report of Karve's Committee.³ I regret to say that I have not read Karve's report yet, but I hope to do so.

I had an idea that this matter was coming up before the Cabinet, as it raises some issues of importance. My own mind is not clear, as I have not studied all the facts. But in view of the fact that some recommendations have been made by the Karve Committee, it seems to me to be right that we should consider this matter in all its aspects.

1. File No. 17(49)/56-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to V.T. Krishnamachari.

2. K.C. Reddy (1902-1976); Union Minister for Production, 1952-57.

3. The Karve Committee submitted its report on 1 November 1955.

There is another aspect in regard to cottage industries which will have to be considered by us again. All of us talk about cottage industries and small industries and we are committed to this. But there appears to be some difference of opinion about the emphasis to be laid on the technique of production. On the one hand we naturally want to give employment. On the other we do not wish to adhere permanently to out-of-date techniques. Some balance has to be struck. In any event, any long term consideration must surely emphasize the higher and even the latest technique, though that may be on a small scale. Temporarily we may not go in for this technique in order to give more employment, but we cannot get stuck up in the lower techniques or think of them for a long period ahead.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Krishnamachari replied on 15 November, "My attitude to this problem of decentralised industrial production and particularly in regard to cloth production is completely in tune with what you have stated in the third paragraph of your letter in reply."

III. RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS

1. Konar dam—a Symbol of New Life¹

... I have come to the Damodar Valley often in the last few years. I came here two and a half years ago² to see the Konar dam and found that the work was progressing at a tremendous speed. Today I find that all the unfinished tasks have been done and a beautiful thing has emerged. The thought crossed my mind as I sat here that anyone seeing this for the first time would be unable to realize the amount of hard work that has gone into the construction of this dam. Perhaps they will be unable to visualize it. But the fact is that behind this gigantic mass of bricks and mortar and steel forged into a beautiful, strong structure lies the labour of thousands of people over years. When I look at the Konar dam today, it is not only the finished structure that I see. The picture

1. Speech while inaugurating the Konar dam, Hazaribagh District, Bihar, 15 October 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
2. On 21 February 1953.

comes up before me of thousands of men and women toiling day and night on this site for years. To that extent, a part of every man and woman who has worked on the project is irrevocably bound up with it....

I am often invited to perform pleasant tasks like this one of inaugurating some project or other. As you might have heard, I had gone recently to Bokaro and somewhere else before that. A year or two ago, I had gone to Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab,³ I shall go there again next month to lay the foundation of a huge dam. The days on which I have to perform these tasks become red-letter days for me not because of my going but because of the importance of the project for the nation. We have various calendars which show the big festivals like Holi, Dussehra, Diwali, etc., in red. It is right that we must celebrate our ancient festivals as days of joy. Our calendars also give the dates of the solar and lunar eclipses. But in the new calendar of India the first thing to be marked is the day on which an important task is begun or completed.

I am here today when a milestone has been reached in the construction of the Konar dam. The waters which will flow through this dam will be a symbol of a new life, for they will irrigate the land all around and produce electricity. It will mean a new fillip to life not only in the form of new industries but in the villages too. A new strength will be generated in this area. In a sense there will be a rebirth wherever water and electricity reach.

So apart from the picture of thousands of men and women working on this site, sweating and toiling day and night, I also see a picture of the results that will follow. When there will be plenty of water to irrigate the parched land and new power is generated in the area, the crops will be plentiful and new industries can be set up.

Therefore a day like today when we are assembled for this special task becomes a red-letter day in the calendar of new India, because the Konar dam will serve us for generations to come. Our children and their children and many generations to come will benefit from this dam....

So this is how I look at it. It is obvious that this is a great engineering feat and we are happy and proud of the fact that our engineers, with the help of a few engineers from outside, have accomplished such a great task. This is a memorable day and not only the engineers but the thousands of workers, men and women, who assisted them are to be congratulated upon the completion of this task....

But even this huge dam is a small part of the Damodar Valley Project. A great deal remains to be done before the villages and towns of this entire area can become prosperous and people can benefit from its water and electricity. New avenues of work will open up and small and big industries will be put up. All these things are linked with one another. You can see what tremendous

3. July 1954.

things we are taking up in this corner of Bihar and Bengal. But they do not belong to Bengal or Bihar alone but to the whole country and the attention of people not only in India but outside too is drawn towards this region.

When India became free, the question in the mind of everybody in the world was what this large country of thirty-six crore people would do, and how much strength we had in us. A great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, had come into our midst and by pulling us along with him and teaching us a little, he managed to win freedom for the country. But that great leader was no longer with us. So the world wondered whether we had the strength to march forward or we would once again lose ourselves in a morass of petty feuds. Disunity has been one of our ancient maladies. We are in the habit of living in separate compartments. Thousands of years of history shows us that there have been great men, men of valour and intellect in India. Why then did we fall again and again? We fell because there was disunity among us. Casteism and the tendency to live in separate compartments divide society. These have always prevented us from working in unity. This has been our history in the past. When Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene, the first lesson that he taught us was of unity and of working together. He showed us that without unity neither our courage nor intellect would take us very far.

There are many religions in our country, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism and so on. They belong to India and all the people following these various religions are Indians and enjoy equal rights. It is wrong to think that there is only one religion which belongs to India. Those who think so neither understand their country nor tread the right path.

How did we organize the country during the freedom struggle? It was not the people of one religion or caste or province but the whole country that took part in it, whether it was the Punjab or Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madras or Bombay. People belonging to all the religions, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Buddhists, took part in the movement. There was no thought of caste distinctions among us. All of us united which gave us tremendous strength and led to our freedom.

We have now embarked on a new journey. It is more than ever necessary to remember the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi. We talk about democracy and socialism. But how can there be democracy or socialism when we are divided into hundreds of castes and are constantly trying to pull one another down. Or when there is such tremendous disparity between the rich and the poor? Let me tell you that Bihar is being ruined by casteism and will continue to be backward, no matter how many dams and other things you build. For, ultimately, it is human beings who build a nation—it is not built by bricks and mortar. If the people are incapable of maintaining unity or working together and are constantly busy fighting with one another, Bihar will definitely face ruin and deservedly so. Nobody can save the State. This is the

simple truth. Please understand this clearly. It can no longer be hidden for this shameful thing has come into the open. Every individual must understand this. The whole country is watching this disgusting exhibition of casteism in Bihar. What is the meaning of this? Does it mean that Bihar has failed to understand what modern India is? We are going to break up the caste system. We do not believe in it and refuse to tolerate it. We shall oppose it tooth and nail, and shall oppose any individual who tries to project himself on the basis of caste.

Mahatma Gandhi had taken up the cause of the Harijans. Why did he do so? He took up their cause because they were a backward section of society who had been suppressed for centuries. There had been tremendous injustice in regard to them. What right did we have to freedom when we were suppressing our own brethren so brutally? Mahatma Gandhi took up the question of Harijans because they were the most suppressed section of society. But the intention behind this was to bring about equality among the people. There should be no discrimination among the people. We must understand this clearly.

What is a country's wealth, after all? It is not gold or silver, or bricks or mortar. It is human beings who are the wealth of a nation. But not every human being, for some human beings can be a burden and are like millstones round the country's neck. Human beings who indulge in petty quarrels are not an asset. They ruin the country. The unemployed, and the people who live off the labour of others, are also millstones round the country's neck. India can progress only so far as the skill and training of her people permit. Nothing can be achieved by making a noise. We have great tasks before us and we are fully determined to do them. We have taken a pledge to fulfil the tasks before us and take the country on the path of progress, however hard we have to work and no matter what sacrifices we have to make. When I see these projects, I feel that we have taken yet another step towards fulfilling that pledge and I feel happy and reassured. But a great deal remains to be done. We have to complete thousands of such tasks in the country. They have to be done in many places and by lots of people with energy and determination.

So this is an auspicious day for all of us and it can be complete only when we learn something from it and the principles underlying such achievements. If we forget the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi and fall into the habit of fighting over petty matters, all our efforts will be in vain. I congratulate the engineers and workers who have participated in this task. I thank the foreign advisers from the United States and elsewhere who have come here and helped and advised us. We must learn from people who are good at their jobs and cooperate with them. Ultimately the task is ours but we must always be prepared to learn from others. We want our work to be first-rate....

I want to tell you one thing more. We were told just now that the Tatas are asking for electric supply from here. I am sure there will be others who will also do so, because electricity is in great demand and it is proper that it

should be supplied. But the picture before my mind's eye is to supply electricity to all the villages in the surrounding areas. I would say that even if we cannot supply it to the industries, the villages must be supplied otherwise they will not be able to take part in the development of the country, and all these efforts at industrialization will have no relevance to the villages. All these tasks of development should be closely associated with the rural areas. Electricity should reach the surrounding villages with its message of progress.

Well, it is beginning to grow dark. I shall press this button and you will see the water gushing out.

2. Harnessing River Shetrunji¹

I have come for the first time today to this part of Saurashtra and am happy for two reasons. One is that I have got the opportunity to meet all of you assembled here from far and near. Secondly, I am happy that you have invited me here for an auspicious task. A huge dam is going to come up on the Shetrunji river and water will be available for irrigation which will benefit the people greatly. They will be free of the tensions and anxiety of waiting for the monsoons. It is a pleasant task and I am happy to be here.

As I was coming here I saw a number of women standing with earthen pots on their heads. It was a very pretty sight. The women of this region are very beautiful and they made a pretty picture standing by the roadside.

You just heard from the Chief Minister² how the dam will benefit the people of this region. It is true that the Government of Saurashtra is doing this work with a little help from the Centre. But it is really by the effort and skill of the people of Saurashtra that this dam is going to be built. Trained engineers will advise and guide them because a project of this kind requires great engineering skills. It will belong to the people and not be the personal property of a few individuals.

I shall lay the foundation-stone today. But I can picture in my mind the day when the dam would be complete and store the waters of the Shetrunji river. The water which is available will be channeled into the fields through canals. A beautiful picture of a green and flourishing Saurashtra comes to my mind.

1. Speech on the occasion of commencement of work on the Shatranjaya dam, near Bhavnagar, Saurashtra State, 1 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Rasiklal Umedchand Parikh.

Just now it was mentioned that Saurashtra is a small state. It is true that many of the states in India are far larger than Saurashtra. But ultimately all of us belong to one country and the states are merely administrative conveniences. Everyone gets equal rights and the effort must be to ensure equal opportunities and the basic necessities of life for everyone. You are here in the west and from here India stretches to the east and the south for 1,500 miles. India is a vast country and Saurashtra lies in one corner of it. You belong to Saurashtra. But the whole of India is your heritage just as Saurashtra belongs to all of us. The various parts of India together make up this huge country. Anything good that happens in any part benefits the whole country and everyone is affected by any adverse development. Freedom is for the whole country, not for any one part of it. India can progress only if all its parts progress. Therefore it is meaningless to talk of small and big states. We have to look at everything in the context of the national good. The size of a state does not really matter. If good work is done in a state, it progresses. Otherwise it becomes backward. The same is true of nations. A country does not become great because of its size. Small countries have attained great fame and power in the world because of the quality of the people, while large countries have remained backward. Just as the intelligence of an individual cannot be judged by his height—a tall man can be a fool while a short one can be strong, hard working and brave so also a nation is judged by the quality of its people, their capacity for unity, hard work, cooperation and communal harmony. That is the only yardstick.

As you know, we have taken up great tasks since India became independent. Before that our main goal was to attain freedom. Our priority is now to lift up the people, raise their standard of living, and relieve them of their crushing burdens. The majority of the population is dependent on land. Big industries are coming up in the cities. Small-scale industries, cottage industries and other crafts are also coming up. We have to expand the activities in these various spheres so that essential consumer goods are produced in large quantities for the needs of the country. This is the only way to increase the national wealth which will percolate down to the people and raise their standard of living.

Projects like the one which is coming up here are being undertaken all over the country. A fortnight ago, I had gone to Bihar, where the Konar dam has been completed. I had seen it when it was being built. Now it is completed. It is a huge dam encircling a vast expanse of water. I pressed a button and the water gushed forth. It was a beautiful sight. Even more beautiful was the thought of how the waters will benefit the people and transform a dusty land into green fields. It makes me very happy to see these tasks completed. They will continue to benefit the people for centuries to come.

I also went to another place in Bihar where a dam is coming up. After a few days I shall be visiting the Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab where a dam is coming up between two huge mountains. The Sutlej river which flows across

Tibet and the Himalayas is going to be arrested and its waters will be available for irrigation for miles around. Such big projects are taking shape all over the country. Ultimately India's progress means the progress of the people. The two are not separate. This is an auspicious task which will benefit the people of Saurashtra and India.

Just now something was said about the Five Year Plans. What are they? The First Five Year Plan is coming to an end. It was drawn up after careful thought. We have succeeded in achieving most of the targets we had set for ourselves. Now we are drawing up the Second Plan which is more ambitious than the first and aims at speedier progress. You must bear in mind that our aim is the welfare of the thirty-seven crore people—men, women and children. Ultimately they can progress only by their own effort and cooperation. The Government will certainly help. But the burden will fall on the people. We cannot expect anyone from outside to come and help us.

A great responsibility rests upon the people of India. They have to work very hard. The women in particular must remember that they have an important role to play in the task of nation-building. They are equal shareholders in the rights and duties of the nation. We are trying to remove the obstacles in their path of progress. India can progress only if the men and women work together.

Nearly eight years have passed since India became independent. We have earned a great name for ourselves in the world in these eight years. India is held in respect in the world for many reasons. First of all, it is because of Mahatma Gandhi and the unique method he adopted to lead India to freedom. Secondly, India is a large country with great hidden potential. I say hidden because its resources have yet to be tapped fully. Thirdly, the world has seen the work that has been done in India in the last eight years and noticed the new vitality in the country. Fourthly, the other countries recognise the fact that we are a peace-loving nation and want to live in friendship with others. We follow our chosen path and do not interfere in the affairs of others or bow down to pressure from anyone. We have a democracy in India and people choose their representatives who govern the country. You have village panchayats and above them bigger panchayats at the district, state and all India level. It is the people who vest their representatives with powers to govern for a period of time. This is a democracy.

We must remember the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi. It is by adhering to the path shown by him that we got freedom. One of the things that he laid stress on was the unity of the country. He taught us the importance of communal harmony, irrespective of religion, caste and community. No religion teaches us to fight with one another. Whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Buddhists or Christians, Sikhs, Parsees or something else, we are all citizens of one country, we must respect the religions of others and learn to live in peace and amity.

This is how we won freedom. Thirdly, he taught us to work hard. Nothing can be achieved without hard work.

The Five Year Plans can be successful only by the hard work of the people. We must work for the good of the whole country. This is the only way that India can progress and the misery of the people can be alleviated. More avenues of work will open and poverty and unemployment will gradually be eradicated. We want that there should be equality in the country and equal opportunities for everyone. We do not want great disparities in society. *Jai Hind*.

3. Bhakra-Nangal and New India¹

I have visited Bhakra-Nangal very often in the last few years and on each occasion have found changes in these mountains. In the beginning, they presented a picture of what they had been for thousands of years. Then man began to change them. I have seen every milestone in its development. I remember the time when the famous tunnel was being built. Then the waters of the Sutlej began to flow through it. Canals were built to channel the water about a year and a half ago. I have come here many times.

You have heard of the various steps in the construction of the dam, the amount of cement that has been used and the length of the canals that are being built. You can gauge from these statistics what a gigantic project this is. But I do not force myself to remember all these facts and figures, though they are no doubt important. I carry other pictures in my mind. One is of the flowing waters of the Sutlej and of the place in Tibet where the river originates. It has its origins in the Kailash mountain, and the famous Manasarovar lake. Four famous rivers originate from that area. One is the Indus or Sindhu, the Sutlej, the Brahmaputra and a fourth river which flows into China. The first three flow across the Himalayas into India. Now we have built a dam on the Sutlej and dared to change the direction which it has taken for thousands of years. In the last few years, thousands of human beings have worked together to give a new look to this ancient river in order to benefit the people of the Punjab, Himachal and Rajasthan, and in some measure the whole of India.

So these are the pictures which arise in my mind's eye, of the thousands of years when this river flowed uninterrupted and the work that has been done

1. Speech at the Bhakra dam site. Nangal, 17 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

during the last few years. We had to dam the flowing river waters and make friends with its turbulence. As you know, this is a great achievement. The Bhakra-Nangal has become famous throughout India and even outside. Undoubtedly greater tasks will be taken up in India because we are growing in self-confidence and strength. But no matter what we do, Bhakra will always be remembered as a symbol of a new India because it has a special significance.

Whom should I congratulate on this great achievement? Engineers and experts, overseers, mechanics and thousands of workers have participated in this great task and worked very hard. It would be proper to mention the great brains behind this project. But that would leave out the thousands of others who have shared the burden. We had invited some experts and advisers from outside and benefited from their advice and experience. I thank them for that. But ultimately such projects can be undertaken only with the help, cooperation, hard work and sacrifices of millions. The brains behind the scheme must no doubt be given their due share of credit. But what I am aware of is that a great task has been completed with the help and cooperation of thousands of people. We can build a new India not by the effort of a handful of people but the cooperation of the millions who live here.

Therefore if I congratulate anyone, it will be all of you who have been involved in this task, people at every level from top to bottom. Some people have even died in the course of their duty here and others have had to bear great hardships. Yet the work went on. Am I to congratulate them or the people who will benefit by this project, the people of the Punjab, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, or the people of the whole of India? Perhaps I should congratulate not only the people who are living today but the future generations as well, for they too will benefit.

When a great task like this is completed it gladdens the heart. But at the same time, one looks ahead at the work that remains to be done, not only here at Bhakra, where we have reached the last stages of the work which should be finished in another three or four years, but all over India. There are many, many destinations still to be reached on this long and arduous journey of ours.

Well, there is no end because the life of a nation does not come to a standstill ever. We are now free to progress and have made some headway during the last eight years. We will undoubtedly go far. There is no way of gauging how far. But we can pause sometimes and look back at some other landmarks like the Bhakra which have become symbols of our progress. In three or four years' time, when the second phase is also complete and the people begin to reap the full benefit, I hope some sort of a memorial plaque will be put up. I should like to make a suggestion to the Bhakra Control Board or anyone else who is responsible. It should be dedicated not to any individual but to all those thousands of people, workers and engineers and others, who participated in the task of building Bhakra-Nangal. The inscription

should read: "This is a gift to the people of India today and for generations to come."

This is how we must regard these big tasks that lie ahead. Human beings grow in stature by engaging in great tasks. Other big projects are under way all over the country and in this way we will progress gradually towards plenty and prosperity, and our dreams will come true one by one. I shall now go and press a button and the bucket of cement will be gradually lowered. Before I do that please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind.*

IV. FLOODS

1. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

September 16, 1955

My dear Amrit,²

Your letter of the 14th September about certain monies received for the PM's Relief Fund from Red Cross Societies abroad.

I have received three sums thus far from

The Red Cross Organisation of Poland	Rs. 50,000
The Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR	Rs. 1,00,000
The Red Cross Society of China	Rs. 1,91,570
Total	Rs. 3,41,570

These sums were passed on to me through the respective Ambassadors. For all practical purposes, these gifts were from the respective Governments. In Communist countries there is little difference between the Government and such organisations which are run by Government. So far as I am concerned, I had naturally to receive these sums and express my gratitude for them. I am not aware of the functions of the Red Cross organisation, nor do I know if these organisations in Communist countries are members of the International Red Cross. Even if I had been aware of these facts, surely I could not have had an argument with the Ambassadors who came to me. I have to accept any

1. JN Collection.

2. (1889-1964): Union Minister for Health. 1947-57.

money for my Fund which is sent to me, more specially from any foreign country. As you yourself say, the practice in Communist countries is not the same as in other countries, and I can hardly take exception to their ways of doing things.

I hardly think it would be helpful for you to raise such a matter in the International Red Cross. The money is for flood relief. There are many kinds of flood relief. Some are essentially in the purview of the Red Cross organisation. Others are not.

I shall gladly send you money from the PM's Fund to be utilised for relief work in the flood affected areas, but that will be an ad hoc sum and not related to these contributions. I do not think that in the circumstances it would be quite proper for me to forward to you amounts received by me for the PM's Fund from organisations abroad through their Ambassadors here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

Camp: Cuttuck
September 22, 1955

My dear Gulzarilal,²

I enclose a note³ which Kanungo⁴ sent me. There is nothing very special in it, but I think it would be advisable after these big floods in Orissa to have the whole area surveyed in some way from the point of view of devising the proper strategy of flood control. I can offer no opinion, but my entire inclination is against putting up mighty dams all over the place. Apart from the huge cost involved, they tend to affect the natural drainage system and produce unforeseen consequences. I would much rather spend the money on development and raising the standards of living of the people plus minor works to divert flood waters and help in draining away any collection of water.

I feel that our engineers are too much dam-minded. Obviously dams are necessary occasionally. But we should not enter lightly into these commitments.

What damage do the floods cause? It destroys the crops and villages and

1. JN Collection.

2. (1898-1998): Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power, 1952-57.

3. Nehru wrote to Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, Chief Minister of Orissa, on the same day, "There was nothing much in (Kanungo's) note except a request for a kind of survey."

4. Nityanand Kanungo (1900-1988); Union Minister for Industries, 1955-57.

mud houses. It is hardly possible to protect vast areas of crops. One may try to do so in a small way here and there but probably the better way would be to try to arrange for the water to drain itself away. On the other hand, a flood brings silt and improves the land. The next few crops are likely to be good. I do not attach too much importance, therefore, to the damage caused to the crops except that we should try to minimise it.

So far as villages and mud houses are concerned, the proper remedy is to have our villages on somewhat higher levels and have better houses wherever possible. Naturally better houses do not mean houses made of imported materials. That cannot be done in a large way. Local materials have to be used but in an improved way.

If we thus protect the villages and the houses we have largely succeeded. It would be a pity to divert our developmental money to the construction of huge dams, etc., which leave the people where they were.

In any event it is desirable to have some kind of a survey made as a result of the recent floods. But I do hope that the engineers do not start off with the presumption that dams must be constructed wherever possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Pheroze B. Bharucha¹

New Delhi
September 24, 1955

My dear Bharucha,²

I have your telegram. I do not think you are correct in saying that the steps we have taken in relation to floods are ineffective. As a matter of fact, wherever these steps have been taken, they have generally proved effective. But no amount of steps can protect any place from a vast deluge. We have had fifty and sixty inches of rain within a few days in many places in the UP, Bihar and Orissa. During the last hundred years, there has been no such flood. Even a highly advanced country like the United States of America had big floods some weeks ago, in spite of the protective devices they had. The loss of life and property there was far greater than we have had in India.

You suggest Chinese, Russian and Dutch experts. The Russians are very

1. File No. 17(320)/54-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1885-); a well known doctor of Mumbai.

good experts in many things, but I was not aware of the fact that they are specialists in flood protection. So far as the Chinese are concerned. I think that we have at least as good technical knowledge at our disposal and probably better. About the Dutch, I do not know. Conditions in the Netherlands are very different. None of these countries have to deal with the monsoon and especially a very exceptional year as we have had.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
October 9, 1955

My dear Deshmukh,²

I spent about five hours today in the Punjab and Pepsu, chiefly in flying over conditions in the Netherlands are very better. About the Dutch, I do not know. Conditions in the Netherlands are very different. None of these countries have to deal with the monsoon and especially a very exceptional year as we have had.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
October 9, 1955

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ference with the Ministers and officers

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eir stock of grains as well as other

My dear Deshmukh,²

I spent about five hours today in the Punjab and Pepsu, chiefly in flying over the flood-affected areas and partly in a conference with the Ministers and officers of the Punjab and Pepsu Government.

The floods in these areas are on a suddenness. Even now large areas were almost completely under water and many villages were washed away completely. There is no doubt that there is great distress. As this is rather a novel experience, the reaction is all the greater. Even now a considerable number of isolated villages cannot be reached. They are fed from the air. Probably in a few days' time the situation is a very big one. Many of the roads and railways have been broken and canal easantry will now be eager, as soon as they have just three or four weeks to clear their stock of grains as well as other belongings and they have to be helped.

5. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
October 9, 1955

My dear Sachar,²

I enclose a cheque for Rs one lakh from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund for flood relief work. As I told you, this should be principally used for relief given to children. This relief may take the form of free meals or of clothing where such is required. In Bihar and elsewhere, at my suggestion children were given shorts and shirts with half sleeves. This was much appreciated. These shorts and shirts were made in large numbers in various sizes and distributed. The principal relief, however, should, I think, be in the form of a free meal a day, preferably organised in the schools.³

In our talk today with your colleagues and your officers, I felt that while there was a great and natural desire to give help to those distressed, there were no clear ideas on the subject. I think it would be desirable for your Government to draw up as soon as possible a fairly clear scheme of help, a copy of which could be sent to our Finance Ministry here. In such matters clear and specific instructions issued to the District authorities are desirable and the scheme should be such as can be given effect to without much difficulty and without too great a burden on your Government.

In Bihar and elsewhere, where floods have come often, the Government has some machinery to deal with them and has fairly clear ideas on the subject. For the Punjab, this is almost a new experience, hence the necessity for clear directions.

As I told you, relief in the shape of dōles should be avoided as far as possible. For some days to begin with this may be inevitable. Otherwise relief should be given in the shape of work, loans and cheap food.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1893-1978); Chief Minister of Punjab. 1952-56.

3. On 20 October, Nehru again wrote to Sachar stressing that children, young boys and girls required special care, and therefore it would be a good thing to utilise the money from the PM's Relief Fund for that purpose. On the same day he wrote in a similar vein to Sri Krishna Sinha, Sampurnanand and Brish Bhan, Chief Ministers of Bihar, UP and Pepsu respectively.

6. Incorrect Report in the *Pratap*¹

This report in the *Pratap* is completely incorrect. What I said was something entirely different. I asked the Chief Minister² and the Chief Secretary³ about the number of casualties in the Punjab owing to the floods and pointed out to them an item of news in the press to the effect that thousands of people had perished. The Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary told me that this news was wholly unauthorised and in fact they had no knowledge of the number of deaths. But the report in the press appeared to be greatly exaggerated. I asked them, therefore, to contradict that report. In fact, I contradicted it myself here.⁴ Therefore, there was no question of my admonishing the Chief Minister or anybody else. What I said was that it was improper for someone, whom we did not know, to have made such a statement. You can certainly correct this.

1. Note to A.R. Vyas, Deputy Principal Information Officer, New Delhi, 11 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. Bhimsen Sachar.
3. Nawab Singh, Chief Secretary, Government of Punjab.
4. *The Hindustan Times* reported Nehru as having stated in Ambala on 9 October that "certain press reports" mentioning exaggerated figures of casualties resulting from the floods could not be accepted as being correct. He hoped that the loss to human life in the flooded areas would be found to be much less because it was obviously difficult to make any kind of correct estimate of the loss of human life just then.

7. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 2279 October 12th.² I have discussed this matter with Pillai³

1. New Delhi, 14 October 1955. File No. 7(280)/53-PMS.
2. Vijayalakshmi said that pictures of flood-affected areas of India on the television in the UK had created widespread sympathy and it was appropriate time, if Nehru gave permission, to launch an appeal for raising funds for flood victims. She added that her name would "bring in considerable amounts" and she would be "responsible for a proper and dignified approach to the subject."
3. N.R. Pillai (1898-1992); Secretary General, MEA, 1952-60.

and Dutt.⁴ So far as I remember, normally our Ambassadors or High Commissioners do not issue direct appeals for funds, unless it is to our own nationals. On a major occasion the old practice in London has been for Lord Mayor to issue appeal. This year there have been terrific floods not only in India but in East and West Pakistan also. If you issue an appeal, then High Commissioner Pakistan might also consider it necessary to do so.

2. We have been receiving some monies from the India Relief Committee of London of which the President is Lady Mountbatten⁵ and Chairman Silverman,⁶ MP, and from Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.

3. I have no doubt that if you issued an appeal, you will get much more money. But I should like you to consider all the circumstances mentioned above. The best thing would be for the Lord Mayor to issue an appeal for both India and Pakistan. But that is for him to decide. I should like you to let me have your views.

4. Subimal Dutt (1905-1992); Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 1954-55 and Foreign Secretary, October 1955-61.
5. (1901-1960); Edwina Ashley, Countess Mountbatten.
6. Julius Silverman (1905-); Member of Parliament (Labour), 1945-83; Secretary, India League, London, 1947-71.

8. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi

October 29, 1955

My dear Sachar,

I have written to you twice² recently laying stress on the necessity of inviting public cooperation in flood relief. I attach the greatest value to this both for practical and psychological reasons. In fact, wherever there has been a big flood, every effort has been made by the Government to have this public cooperation and they have received it in Assam, Bihar, Orissa and elsewhere.

1. JN Collection.
2. Nehru wrote to Sachar on 25 October telling him that in arranging for flood relief it might be advisable "for you to seek the cooperation of other people, including the Sikhs. Of course, you must have the cooperation of the Congress. But you might place this on a somewhat wider basis."

I see from the *Tribune* of the 29th October a long account dated Amritsar 24th October, which has big headlines:

Why bother? Attitude of Amritsar officials
 Ajnala victims left to fend for themselves
 Volunteer medical teams given no cooperation
 Complacent authority says that the people can take it

You have no doubt seen three or four columns of all this. These make very painful reading. Whatever the truth may be, this will give your Government a very bad reputation.

I think that this matter should be dealt with immediately. I have an idea that Punjab officials have not quite woken up to the fact that things have changed in India and public cooperation is essential on every step. They should be pulled up and indeed censured if they have behaved as it is reported they have done. Also some public statement should be made defining Government policy about public cooperation and calling upon officials to give every help to public relief work. Not to give cooperation to volunteer medical teams is really extraordinary.

It may be of course that the *Tribune's* account is exaggerated. But even if it is partly true, this is bad and it is bound to injure your Government. Therefore effective and urgent steps should be taken in this matter.

I have asked my PPS to write to you³ about the supply of blankets, etc., from military disposals. If you want these blankets and other woollen goods, I shall immediately have them sent to you and pay for them from the PM's Fund.

Yours sincerely,
 Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 28 October, Nehru instructed B.N. Kaul, his Principal Private Secretary, to write to the Chief Ministers of Punjab, Pepsu, UP and Himachal Pradesh that the Defence Ministry had at their disposal woollen articles which they could obtain at reduced rates. He was willing to pay for these from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

V. EDUCATION

1. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi

September 8, 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th September about the proposed Tibetan Research Institute at Gangtok.² Now that you have given me some indication of your mind, we shall examine this matter a little more carefully. Although it is an educational matter, it is the External Affairs Ministry that has to deal with it because of Sikkim. I informed the Maulana³ about it.

I think that on the whole it is desirable to help this scheme. It is possible at present to get a large number of books and manuscripts from Tibet. These may be lost later or unobtainable. The Maharajkumar⁴ has intimate contacts with Tibet....⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this letter was sent to Foreign Secretary.
2. Nehru had asked for Deshmukh's reaction to a proposal of the Maharajkumar of Sikkim to have such an institute at Gangtok. The Maharajkumar, who met Nehru on 7 September, felt that it would be worthwhile getting many of the relevant books from Tibet where, according to him, they were not being used. He also wanted financial assistance for the library building and for photocopying of manuscripts. Deshmukh replied to say that it would not be wrong to offer the assistance.
3. Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958); Union Minister for Education, 1947-58.
4. Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal (1923-1982).
5. Named as the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, the institute was set up at Gangtok in 1958 for the promotion of Tibetan studies in various branches of learning. The Institute was inaugurated under the joint auspices of the Dalai Lama of Tibet and Nehru.

2. To C.B. Gupta¹

New Delhi
September 18, 1955

My dear Chandra Bhanu,²

Some days ago I received your letter about the Aligarh University Medical College.³ What you say about the necessity in Kanpur and Allahabad is perfectly correct. My difficulty has been that this Aligarh matter has been before us now ever since I came into Government, and that is nearly nine years now. In fact, it was a pending matter before that and, as you know, money was collected for it.⁴ This repeated postponement of this has seemed to me wrong from many points of view and this has, undoubtedly, created a sense of injustice and frustration among many people. It is always a bad thing to create that impression. There are also certain wider aspects of this question affecting other countries.

You mentioned to me the appointment of someone else as Registrar there, although his services have been dispensed with by the UP Government. This again was certainly improper in the way it took place. I do not know anything about it, but this was what you told me. Either you yourself or Sampurnanandji⁵ also said something about communism being strong among the students there. That is partly true. But there is an equally strong, and in fact stronger, group of students who have stood up against it and in fact have succeeded in many ways. This group which now controls the Union there seems to me to be a more disciplined and politically intelligent group than any organised group in our other Universities.

So far as the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Zakir Husain,⁶ is concerned, he is undoubtedly one of our finest men in India both in ability and in integrity. I have great admiration for him. I think it is largely due to him that the Aligarh

1. File No. 40(6)/56-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1902-1980); Minister, Government of Uttar Pradesh, 1947-57.
3. C.B. Gupta had sent a note on his conversation with Amrit Kaur, Union Minister of Health, in the course of which he stated that it might not be feasible to undertake the setting up of a medical college in Aligarh during the Second Plan, and that priority had to be given to the establishment of medical colleges in Kanpur and Allahabad. He added that the Health Minister was agreeable to his suggestion that in the event of the Central and the State Government contributing to the running of the proposed hospital and medical college in Aligarh, the State Government must have a say in their administration, and that appointments and admissions in them would be made on the basis of merit.
4. The Aligarh Muslim University had at its disposal a sum of Rs 50 lakhs for the establishment of a medical college.
5. (1891-1969); Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, 1955-56.
6. (1897-1969); Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1948-56.

University has changed considerably during the past four years for the better.

I shall probably visit the Aligarh University in November next.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To K.M. Munshi¹

New Delhi
September 26, 1955

My dear Munshi,²

I have hesitated to write to you about a matter which has been worrying me. This is about our Universities. I have often expressed myself forcibly about the state of affairs there, and yet I have always felt that the real fault lies not with the students but with their teachers and men at the top of the Universities. Recently I visited both Allahabad and Lucknow. There are new Vice-Chancellors there.³ I have nothing against them and they are good people no doubt. But I had a strong feeling that neither of them was really capable of dealing with the situation effectively and of winning the respect of the University. One of them had little to do with Universities previously.⁴ The other, a good man, but completely ineffective.

Now I understand that the Agra University is going to choose its Vice-Chancellor and the gentleman who has been functioning there is again getting his name put up. Considering that he has not been a success at all during the long period he has been there and many complaints have been made about him, it seems to me surprising that anyone should think of his continuing.⁵ We never seem to get out of our ruts.

Surely, what we require are earnest and enthusiastic people with a vocation for education, persons who have the capacity to win the respect and goodwill

1. JN Collection.

2. (1881-1971); Governor of Uttar Pradesh, 1952-57.

3. Bhairav Nath Jha became the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University in April 1955. Radha Kamal Mukerjee was the Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University from 1955 to 1957.

4. Bhairav Nath Jha held senior posts in the Department of Education, Uttar Pradesh.

5. C.V. Mahajan was the Vice-Chancellor of Agra University from 1954 to 1955. He was succeeded by Kalka Prasad Bhatnagar from 1 January 1956.

of the students, men of some learning, and yet we go round and round the old way and then complain about the students.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
September 27, 1955

My dear Maulana,

You spoke to me some little time ago about the Chairmanship of the University Grants Commission. T.T. Krishnamachari has suggested the name of Justice Govinda Menon² of the Madras High Court for appointment as Chairman of this Commission. He will be retiring fairly soon from the High Court. From all the accounts that I have had of Justice Govinda Menon, he is a very learned man, of varied interests and of integrity. Sri Prakasa³ has also spoken highly of him.

Hriday Nath Kunzru⁴ suggested another name to me for the Chairmanship of the Commission. This was of Mohan Sinha Mehta,⁵ at present our Ambassador in Switzerland and Austria. He is undoubtedly a good man but he is functioning at present as Ambassador and I am not quite sure if it will be easy for us to relieve him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 40(52)/56-57-PMS.
2. P. Govinda Menon (1899-1957); enrolled as a lawyer, 1920; practised in the Madras High Court, and appointed Crown Prosecutor, 1940; Chief Indian Prosecutor at Tokyo before the International Military Tribunal for prosecuting Japanese war criminals, April-September, 1946; Judge, Madras High Court, 1947-56; Judge, Supreme Court, 1956-57.
3. (1890-1971); Governor of Madras, 1952-56.
4. (1887-1978); member, States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55, and Rajya Sabha, 1952-62.
5. (1895-1985); Ambassador to Switzerland and Austria, 1955-58.

5. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
September 27, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you on a subject which, I am sure, has caused you much concern. This is the subject of education. There are many aspects of this question, and we have all noticed with some dismay the growing indiscipline among our students. I do not propose to touch many of these aspects which, no doubt, are before you.

2. What is worrying me greatly is the rapid and progressive decline in our educational standards. It is really astonishing how these standards are falling, and if this process goes on, it simply means that we shall become a third-rate nation, in spite of our efforts in other directions. This decline is obvious in the new entrants in our Universities as well as those who appear for our public examinations. Even such Universities as took pride in their high standards in the past are now on the downgrade. Many of our teachers do not impress at all. Research is almost non-existent among the teachers. Some of them, indeed, are much too busy in manoeuvring and canvassing for some position or in indulging in politics in the Universities. We can hardly blame the students when the teachers themselves act in this way.

3. Many causes have probably led to this deterioration. One of them appears to be that students who go to Universities are hardly capable of understanding lectures or of writing correctly in any language. The shift-over from English to Hindi or any other Indian language has, for the time being at least, resulted in ignorance of every language. The kind of English that is written is deplorable. Indeed, it is not English at all. Hindi is not adequately known, except perhaps in some of the Hindi-speaking States.

4. The result of all this is bound to be an ignorant generation with just a smattering of knowledge. Quite apart from the literary and cultural aspects, it is clear that, in regard to many of the essential subjects for our progress, we shall be unable to find competent men. In our five year plan, the main difficulty is going to be the lack of trained personnel. In specialised subjects we may give them some elementary training but for any higher training, a good knowledge is necessary in some foreign language. We have no adequate books in our Indian languages for science, technology, engineering, economics, medicine, defence, and a number of other subjects. We should, of course, try

1. JN Collection. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 272-274.

to produce these books, but books cannot easily be produced to order, and translations are seldom satisfactory. Anyhow, we can hardly translate hundreds and thousands of technical books. No one can do scientific work properly without knowing more than one foreign language. This applies to many other subjects too. In fact, normally, an educated person in Europe is supposed to know fairly well two or three languages and to be able to read some more.

5. It is odd that just when India has come out of her shell after long years of subjection and is coming into contact with the wider world, in its many activities, we should again revert back to a new shell of our making and cut ourselves off from modern thought and activity. In foreign countries, even with highly developed languages, other languages are compulsory subjects. Even in the Soviet Union, this is so.

6. This means that we should not only know our own language well but that it is equally important for us to know at least one leading foreign language, which necessarily has to be a European language today because modern scientific and technical literature is in those languages. For us it is obviously easier to learn English than any other language, though it is desirable for us to cultivate other languages too.

7. I feel, therefore, that it is quite essential that English should be a compulsory subject and it should be learnt adequately. This, in fact, is being done in most countries because English is by far the most widespread and important language in the world. This does not mean at all that we should in any sense pay less attention to our own languages. Indeed, I think our languages will only develop fully by contact with modern European literature and science and technology.

8. I find that there is a tendency for English not even to be made a compulsory subject. Such education as is given in English is of the feeblest kind. Indeed, we have come to a stage when the teachers themselves do not know much of the language.

9. I am alarmed at the prospect. All our fine schemes will go to pieces because of this lack in our education.

10. I am not referring here to the unfortunate fact that the administration of our Universities has also weakened considerably. We are constantly up against conflicts, demonstrations and political tussles both among the teachers and the students. I think this is largely due to the lower standards of the teachers or the administrators. After all, it is the teacher that makes the pupil. There is another possibility which fills me with concern. These new developments in our teaching are likely to lessen the bond of unity in India and to separate each linguistic area from the other. That is a serious consideration.

11. I am venturing to draw your attention to this because a policy of drift appears to me to be fatal. We must come to grips with this matter. Perhaps, it may be desirable at some time in the near future for Education Ministers to

meet together to consider this aspect. I shall be grateful to have your reactions to what I have written.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Books and the Reading Habit¹

You hear all sorts of slogans nowadays, political and others. In fact you are in an age of slogans. By the very repetition of these slogans you come to accept them. Now you take this advertisement to the political field. You get political slogans which people may take in without much thinking behind it.

What exactly is a slogan? It is an idea put in a terse language, given expression to with a lot of noise. Now, in our ancient books we have also ideas put in a very terse language—so terse that commentators have written a large number of books explaining what the terse phrase was. I do not suppose it is right for us to call these terse writings ‘slogans’. They were, or were meant to be, some kind of very concise definition of something or instructions, at any rate, of concentrated wisdom. Now we have ‘concentrated wisdom’ in the shape of advertisements. I think it is interesting to compare ‘concentrated wisdom’ of the modern age.

When I say ‘old times’, I am not merely referring to our own heritage but to the old Greeks, Romans and other ancient civilizations. It is rather a disturbing thought that with such tremendous growth and advance in technology and in sciences in attaining power over the material forces of nature, humanity has not kept pace intellectually, perhaps morally. The great future of the modern age is perhaps advertisement and slogan. I am alarmed at its prospects. I am personally allergic to advertisement. If I see it I react against it. But that is a feeling of mine which is not shared by other people. I do not like to be told too much to do this or that. I want to like or dislike a thing because I like or dislike it. I do not want to be compelled and to be continually tickled in a particular way. In that particular, I think, perhaps, I am not a normal representative but abnormal.

1. Speech while inaugurating the Southern Languages Book Trust, Chennai, 5 October 1955. From *The Hindu*, 6 October 1955.

It is not a question of reading only. It is a question of thinking. The habit of thinking grows less and less. The other day I was reading Dr Albert Schweitzer.² He is, as you know, one of the greatest men of our age. He is a wonderful man. And he bemoans the lot of the present age chiefly because he says people are giving up thinking. It is much less and grows less and less. We shout a lot, of course, in the political and other levels. How then are we to remedy this? Because it is a very serious defect. Dr Schweitzer was writing about the world at large and how real thinking had deteriorated.

Thinking, of course, in a limited field has increased lately, in the technological, engineering, scientific and other fields. We have very fine thinkers, very great men, thinking in terms of what might be called 'wisdom', thinking about major problems of the day, intensely, objectively and dispassionately. That grows less and less as the world grows more and more turbulent in mind. In a sense the most powerful slogan today is the Atomic Bomb. It makes a lot of noise and it creates, no doubt, a deep impression wherever it might be used. The advantage of this latest slogan—presumably the latest is the Hydrogen Bomb—is that it is rather difficult to compete it with other slogans. How can we compete with it? Well, of course, some scientists may find something more horrible to compete with—the Cobalt Bomb or something like that. It is difficult to compete with it in terms of slogans. Are we then to surrender before the Atomic Bomb? Surely not. Then we must find some other method to meet it. It cannot be noise. So, presumably, it should be lack of noise because you cannot compete with noise. Therefore, it should be something entirely different. The only way to compete with it is non-violence. It is a different conception. It is possibly difficult for the Atom Bomb to meet it at that level.

I want this reading habit to spread although I confess, when I see the nature of the large number of books that appear today, I shudder at the idea of anybody reading them.

In this connection I want to refer to a book sent to my grandson by somebody. I shuddered when I looked at it. I wonder if that is the kind of literature that is being published nowadays for children. Of course, it tickled the fancy of the child or person who read it. But I dislike such books. However we cannot run away from the evil. We have to face it in a better way, fight it and overcome it. We cannot run away from bad books by not reading. We have to meet the situation by knowing to read and read well.

In any kind of democracy, one must develop an intelligent reading public for the purpose of thinking. The modern industrial civilization clearly helps the people to think. Democracy and progress in any country require that a large

2. (1895-1965); awarded Nobel Peace Prize for 1952.

number of its people should be able to read and write, they should be educated in some degree and should have the reading habit. Among those who go through schools and colleges—young men and women—there are not many who may be considered to have the reading habit. Presumably, they get so tired with the text-books that they do not like to read any books at all. Whatever the reason might be they are not well read by any standard. It is the most unfortunate thing. You cannot force a person to read, but you can create an atmosphere for reading. You can give opportunities to read easily. The first opportunity that you create is to provide good, cheap books which are not normally available in India. The reason was there is no large-scale publication of books. The publishers work in a small way and publish very small number of copies. Naturally, the prices are high. The poor author is also concerned in this. He goes to the wall. In India the authors seldom have a fair deal from the publishers. I have a strong feeling on this, being an author myself. The publisher treats the author badly. I know about the authors and I have had dealings with at least forty or fifty publishers in India, Europe, America and elsewhere. Being an author, I come in touch with authors in other countries and in India. I can inform you that there is a universal opinion among authors that publishers are a bad lot.

Books are read by young girls who work as domestic servants in your house. It is rather unusual to find that type of girl in other countries reading Shakespeare. Whatever views there might be about the Soviet Union, I think one good thing about it is that there is a widespread habit of reading serious books. No doubt many of the books are pure propaganda material and are one-sided. But still there are classical books from various languages, including some from Sanskrit—the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

If people take to extensive reading they are forced to think, consciously or unconsciously, and thinking, of course, is a very dangerous thing: it is a revolutionary thing which the authoritarian people do not like. But they cannot help it, unless they limit the number of books, and it is not possible to do that.

I might inform you that the Government of India have been thinking about a similar project on a bigger scale, that is, to have a large publishing house of their own. There may be many regional houses; it will depend on the State Governments whether they want them or not. We want to cover all languages of India and English and produce various types of books—classical books, translations from classics of other countries, books on arts, etc. The idea is to produce them in large quantities so as to make them available at cheap price. We want to make the books on art and other subjects so cheap that the average reader, besides the specialist, also can increase his knowledge. The proposed publishing house may be a semi-autonomous body which will be helped by the Government.

I welcome the formation of the Southern Languages Book Trust and congratulate it on having given the lead in this regard.

7. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
October 10, 1955

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of October 7th.²

I agree with you in much that you say. But when you say that the actual amount of knowledge possessed by the present day student is certainly larger than that previously, I am not so sure, though I do not possess intimate knowledge of the students of a generation ago.³ All I know is that a number of people who come here for the IAS and IFS examinations are woefully ignorant. It is not merely a question of language but not knowing the simplest facts of life.

Apart from this, we have to face this difficulty of language, that is, one language, namely, English fading out and the other language, namely, Hindi or any other Indian language not fully taking its place.⁴ In a literary sense the Indian languages will catch up. But in a scientific and technical sense they just cannot do so for a long time to come. Therefore not knowing English or a foreign language means not knowing science or technology except in the lower stages. That is dangerous from the point of view of all our planning and future development. In fact a scientist today cannot get on unless he knows two or

1. JN Collection.
2. Replying to Nehru's letter of 27 September to Chief Ministers, Sampurnanand stated that education was not receiving the attention it deserved. Referring to the Allahabad University, he said that the Chancellor had placated the students to "purchase temporary peace", and added that giving concessions "to forces of indiscipline... is bad not only for the students but for society in the end.... Drastic action, including even shooting, may have to be taken in a few instances in the beginning: universities may have to be closed by the Government summarily, action may have to be taken against the members of the staff responsible for misguiding students and unpopularity may have to be faced. But I have no doubt that this will be ultimately beneficial to all concerned". Sampurnanand also pointed out that for an all-India conference of education ministers to bear any fruit, Nehru would have to act as its chairman.
3. Sampurnanand wrote that because of the easier access to general knowledge that an average student coming from a middle class family had through the radio and the press, the actual amount of knowledge possessed, and to a large extent assimilated, by him was larger than that which a student of the same class had to imbibe a generation earlier.
4. Sampurnanand wrote that because of the "regrettable indifference" of the majority of Indians towards English it was not possible for any government in the post-1947 era to whip up enthusiasm for it. He added that the reason for the standard of Hindi not reaching the level that it should was that the majority of students and teachers had never had the opportunity to study the language earlier and hoped that this "transitional stage" would be got through soon.

three foreign languages. The new books containing new advances come out almost from day to day. It is impossible to translate them.

The letter you sent me complaining about the attitude of Central Ministries was circulated by me to the Ministries concerned.⁵ I received two replies. One was from the Education Ministry and the other from Commerce and Industry. The Education Ministry pointed out that you were under a misapprehension and the Central Government have never tried to impose any rigid pattern of education at any level. The Council for Secondary Education is meant to advise Governments, both Central and States, in secondary education and implementing the recommendations of the Secondary Education Committee. The Central Government was merely drawing up certain model syllabuses and curricula and this too in consultation with and at the request of State Governments. It is also pointed out that in respect of Secondary Education Council a great part of the funds are likely to be drawn from the Ford Foundation and they are anxious that certain significant developments in secondary education should be encouraged and supported.

It is further pointed out that if Central funds are paid to certain institutions, the Ministry concerned has to justify it to Parliament, which has a right to know the purpose for which these funds are utilised. Coordination and maintenance of standards in universities is a Central responsibility, hence the appointment of the University Grants Commission.

In regard to Commerce & Industry and Food and Agriculture Ministries, it has been pointed out to me that all the Authorised Controllers that have been appointed so far under the Industries Act have been in accordance with the recommendations of the State Government and that there has been no difficulty in this matter. These appointments have been made under the Essential Supplies Act or the Industries Development and Regulation Act.

You refer to a report where the Maulana said that the Council for Secondary Education will guide and "direct" the States to do certain things.⁶ You know that the Maulana speaks in Hindi or Urdu. I do not know what words he used. But the position is quite clear. Surely whatever is done by the Central

5. Referring to an earlier letter of his concerning the relations between the Centre and the States, Sampurnanand said, "What we feel to be pinpricks are coming to us constantly from one Central Ministry or another and the strain is increasing." He also felt that Morarji Desai and B.C. Roy shared his apprehensions.
6. Sampurnanand objected to a reported statement of A.K. Azad, made at a meeting held in connection with the reorganisation of secondary education, that the Central Ministry of Education would guide and "direct" the States to do certain things. He wondered whence the power of giving directions comes to the Centre under the existing Constitution and why the States that spent huge amounts on education should not be considered worthy of association on equal terms in this work of reorganisation.

Government is done after repeated references and close consultation with the State Governments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
October 10, 1955

My dear Sri Babu,²

I understand that a children's book in Hindi named चित्रों द्वारा शिक्षा³ is widely used in the primary schools of Bihar. This book has been published by Lever Brothers, the soap manufacturers. It is a good and attractive book but in effect it is an advertisement for Lifebuoy soap. Probably, Lever Brothers give it free.

I think it is objectionable for advertisement material of this kind to be allowed to be used in our schools, more especially the advertisement of a product of a foreign firm. I hope you will ask your Education Department to look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1887-1961); Chief Minister of Bihar, 1946-61.
3. Learning through pictures.

9. Education for Good Citizenship¹

I have performed the auspicious task of laying the foundation stone of this college for which I came here. Now there is very little left for me to do except

1. Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of Bhogilal College, Bhavnagar, Saurashtra State, 1 November 1955. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

to talk to you about this and that. If anybody had told me that an Intermediate College was being put up here, I would have asked 'why' or what shape it would take. There is no doubt about it that we desperately need educational institutions. But the question is what they should be like and the kind of education that ought to be imparted because in most places the old system still prevails. As you know, it is not very satisfactory and the changes that ought to be brought about in the system to make it more relevant to the modern world are being talked about everywhere. There is a greater emphasis on technical subjects, on science and technology. It is obvious that those subjects ought to be taught but at the same time it is necessary to teach certain other subjects as well. That is, attention will have to be paid to arts subjects too. It is not good enough or proper for a person merely to become a good carpenter or a doctor or an engineer, without being aware of what is going on in the rest of the world. We must broaden both our minds and hearts.

Our education has so far been oriented more towards arts courses as it is very easy to put up a building and appoint a few lecturers and call it a college. It is far more complicated to put up a technological institute or an institute of science because they need laboratories and equipment which is more difficult to get. So the easiest thing was to put up arts colleges. Even commerce has the same advantage. We are now paying attention to the other side.

I should also like to know what connection there would be between the teaching in this college and basic education. We accepted the principle of basic education a long time ago. It is a seven-year course for schools. But what happens after that? The education that is imparted in colleges and universities or technical institutes should have some connection with basic education. It is essential to have a continuity about the whole thing. We shall have to consider how it should be done. There are no hard and fast rules about it. But it is obvious that if our aim is to provide basic education to girls and boys between the ages of seven and fourteen then it should be possible for them to go to college or university or to some higher institute if they wish to. Otherwise it will be a dead end. If a completely different line starts in college without a proper foundation, then there will be problems. What I mean is that we must make some changes in the primary and secondary education as well as in college and university education, so that there is continuity throughout. Moreover, education should be geared to the modern conditions.

I do not know what they teach in your colleges these days. My own college days were over a long time ago. There have undoubtedly been great changes since then but I often have a suspicion that the education that is being imparted today is not of a very high standard. The products that I see are not very well educated. Now I do not know whether this is the fault of the teachers or the taught. Perhaps both. But this is not proper because ultimately our aim is to make good human beings. That is our biggest task because the success of all

our plans and projects depends upon them. If they are not up to the mark, nothing can work, no matter what we do. This is true especially now when we are building a new India which is gradually taking shape. The most important aspect of that is the making of our young boys and girls, that is, providing opportunities for them to train themselves, moulding their character, etc. Character cannot be moulded by scolding or punishing children. Those days are gone when such methods were approved. You must also understand that giving long lectures or too much advice is not good, for that only serves to put up the backs of the listener. So advice should be made palatable and children allowed to think for themselves and learn. The old method of maulvis and pandits sitting and lecturing to the pupils is no longer relevant.

Therefore it is extremely important to provide suitable opportunities to the children to learn to read and write. As important as book knowledge are physical fitness, training in some practical skill, etc. I would like to draw the attention of boys and girls especially to the importance of athletics and games, for we have to compete in every field in the world. We must learn to respect manual labour because that is fundamental to our progress. We have got into the strange habit of thinking that people who sit in the offices are superior to those who do manual work. It is absolutely wrong. The man who does not know how to use his hands and feet is only half a man. He cannot be fit mentally or physically. Therefore we must teach children right from the beginning to respect manual labour and train them in some skills. I want to tell you that the most important part of our Five Year Plan is education of the young because not enough attention has been paid to it. Some of you at least must be aware that the most critical time in a child's life is the initial few years. The first seven or eight years are the formative years and after that it is too late to remould their character. I think it is at this time that the least attention is paid because it is mistakenly felt that they will learn later in schools and colleges.

Anyhow, I am not a teacher or a professor. I am voicing my thoughts because it is obvious that children's education is extremely important. I feel bad to see that millions of our children are still without any means of education. I do not know what the situation in Saurashtra is but in many places, there are no schools for the village children. This is very wrong because it should be the foremost duty of every government to look after children. That includes their feeding, opportunities for education, training, etc., because when they grow up, they will have to shoulder the responsibilities of the nation. Now our Government is trying to do all this. I know that it is difficult to make arrangements for the millions of people in India but we must concentrate our attention first on the children.

You have made me lay the foundation stone of your college. I might tell you that this tradition is slowly becoming obsolete. For one thing, I have had the experience of putting up a stone on which nothing was built for years. One

of my colleagues in the Central Government had recently laid a foundation stone near Delhi and a few days later it was learnt that somebody had stolen the stone. So now the practice is to wait for the foundation to be completed before having a ceremony because after that the building starts coming up. If the stone is buried underground it is forgotten.

I hope that this college and others too will prove to be good centres of education and produce good citizens who will serve Saurashtra and India.
Jai Hind.

10. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
November 14, 1955

My dear Maulana,

Your letter of the 14th November about the allocation for education in the Second Five Year Plan.²

I entirely agree with you that it is of the first importance to increase the basic salary of primary school teachers. I think that the salaries we pay to them now is something that we ought to be ashamed of. Also, as you say, that we cannot expect any improvement in the quality of teaching so long as we pay these miserable salaries.

I do not know anything about the various figures which are mentioned in the note that you have sent. Nor have I been in touch with recent developments on this subject in the Planning Commission. I have referred your letter and note to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

I hope that you will be attending the meeting of the Planning Commission on the 16th November at 11 am. I am placed in some difficulty because Dr Hatta³ will be here then. But I hope nevertheless to attend that meeting.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 17(118)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Azad wrote that "one of the major causes for fall in standards of education as well as deterioration of discipline among students is the poor quality of teachers and this is due to the miserable salaries that are paid to them." He added that there being over eight lakh primary school teachers in India, political necessity alone, apart from any other consideration, demanded that something must be done to improve their salary scales.
3. Mohammad Hatta (1902-1980); Vice-President, Republic of Indonesia, 1945-56.

VI. CULTURE

1. Films on the Buddha¹

Please acknowledge this letter of Shri Bimal Roy.² Tell him that I am greatly interested in his documentary.³ As regards the other film, it is quite clear to me that an attempt to show Siddhartha or Buddha on the film will be deeply resented by Buddhists. In fact, I have already received a protest about this from the Mahabodhi Society of India.⁴ We cannot, therefore, encourage any such representation.⁵

2. Tell him further that we are forwarding his letter to the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting who will deal with some of the points raised in it.

3. Send this letter and copy of your reply to the I & B Ministry. Also, the letter from the Mahabodhi Society which you should also acknowledge.

1. Note to Private Secretary, 2 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. (1909-1966); prominent producer and director of films; joined New Theatres Limited, Kolkata; emerged as a leading cameraman in his first assignment, *Devdas*; became a director in 1943 and directed several films some of which are: *Do Bigha Zamin*, *Madhumati*, *Sujata* and *Bandini*; a documentary, *Immortal Stupa* (Sanchi), was made by him in 1964.

3. Roy made a documentary for the Films Division of India entitled *Gotama the Buddha* in 1957 which received the President's Gold Medal.

4. The Mahabodhi Society of India was established in Kolkata in 1892 by Dharmapala Angarika.

5. The Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon also wrote to Nehru objecting to the idea of showing the Buddha in films. On 25 September 1955, Nehru asked his PPS to inform the Society that some persons who proposed to make a film relating to the times of Lord Buddha had been told to first get the approval of the leading Buddhist organisations.

2. Jugglers and Acrobats¹

As I told you, I am anxious that some kind of enquiry should be made in regard to jugglers, acrobats, *nats* and like people who wander about our cities and villages. You are already, I think, in touch with some such group but it would be desirable to have an organised enquiry round about Delhi and in some parts of the Punjab, UP and Rajasthan. We cannot cover the whole of India to begin with. If we have a fairly good report on this subject, we can then consider what to do to encourage any good troupes.

2. I suggest that you might select a good person who is interested in this kind of thing to go about collecting information on this subject. For the present, I am prepared to place Rs 1,500/- at your disposal for this purpose. If some more money is required, I shall find it. This will have nothing to do with Government as such. The money will come from the funds at my disposal for folk dance and cultural activities.

1. Note to Indira Gandhi, 8 September 1955. JN Collection.

3. To P.C. Bagchi¹

New Delhi
September 18, 1955

My dear Professor Bagchi,²

Thank you for your letter of the 12th September.³ I am glad to learn that the master plan for Visva-Bharati is being drawn up.

1. JN Collection.
2. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1898-1956); writer with published works in Bengali, English and French; Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University, 1954-1956; some of his books are: *Bauddha Dharma O Sahitya*, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* and *Le Canon Bouddhique en China*.
3. Bagchi wrote that Rathindranath Tagore, was willing to make a gift of his property to the Visva-Bharati University for a suitable pension. It was thought that a monthly pension of Rs 1,500 would not be too high considering the market value of the property, which was about Rs 5 lakhs. Bagchi sought Nehru's permission to go ahead in this matter and request Rathindranath Tagore to transfer the property before December.

I think it is certainly desirable for the Uttarayan property⁴ to be acquired by Visva-Bharati. It also seems to me proper that we should give a life pension to Rathi Babu⁵ in exchange for a full transfer of this property. What exactly this life pension should be it is difficult for me to say. Perhaps, the figure you suggest, i.e. Rs1,500/- a month, might be right.

I fear I shall not be able to come to Visva-Bharati for the convocation next December. I have a multitude of engagements and many eminent foreign visitors are coming about that time. All I can say is that I shall bear this in mind if by any chance I can manage to go there.

You can certainly invite Shri K.M. Panikkar⁶ to deliver the convocation address. I suggest that you write to him saying, in the course of your letter, that you have asked me and that I join in this invitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Uttarayan was the collective name for a group of buildings, which Rabindranath Tagore used as his residence at Santiniketan. Later a portion of the main building in this group was named as Rabindra Bhavan for housing Tagore's published works, paintings, manuscripts and other memorabilia.
5. Rathindranath Tagore (1888-1961); son of Rabindranath Tagore; retired as Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati in 1953.
6. (1895-1963); Member, States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55; Ambassador to France, 1955-59.

4. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
September 28, 1955

My dear Keskar,²

Some months ago my attention was drawn to a picture being shown in the cinema houses in Delhi called "An African Adventure". The African students here took strong exception to it. Later, I think, the Chief Commissioner³ and others saw it and some small bits were cut out of it. Even so, the African students were not fully satisfied.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1903-1984); Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, 1952-62.
3. A.D. Pandit.

Last night, a large number of these African students came to my house. They were emotionally warmed up and rather excited about a new picture called "Tanganyika", which is being shown at the Rivoli. They had in fact gone to see this picture and had walked out in protest, and subsequently had paraded Connaught Circus.

I had a talk with them and told them that I would certainly look into this matter and I was entirely opposed to any pictures being shown here which offended the sentiments of the Africans or any others.⁴

I am taking a Press Conference this morning, and I propose to mention this matter there.⁵

Whenever such a question arises, we are told that it is for the Board of Film Censors to pass these pictures and, once they have done so, we are all helpless in the matter. I do not think this is a satisfactory position because that Board does not judge these pictures from this point of view. Possibly they have no directions either in this effect. I do not see why we should allow American or other foreign pictures to come here which cause ill will between our country and other countries. More especially this should apply to pictures relating to Africa, Burma and Indonesia.

I remember that an American picture about India, shown in America was objected to by us on the same ground, and we protested to the US Government.

I think, therefore, that we should take some fairly effective measures to prevent any such pictures coming into India. This is a matter of international and inter-racial relations and has to be judged accordingly. I think you should inform the Film Censor Board to this effect. They might be told that whenever such a picture comes in, they might invite a representative of the External Affairs Ministry to see it.

I have no doubt that these pictures are deliberately propagandist and are meant to defame Africans, more specially when struggles for freedom are going on there. It may be that some of the pictures are actually of a documentary kind. Even so, they are not justified. The person may well choose the worst aspects of life in a place and give a completely distorted picture.

I should like you to consider this matter urgently.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The District Magistrate of Delhi had banned the screening of the film on 28 September, following a protest by African students who had met Nehru on 27 September.
5. At the end of the press conference Nehru objected to the screening of films calculated to wound the susceptibilities of African people by depicting them as savages. He suggested that the film censors should look into this matter.

5. Understanding Indian Culture¹

My friend and colleague, Dinkar,² has chosen a fascinating subject to write upon.³ It is a subject which has often filled my mind and it has coloured any writing that I have done. Often I ask myself: What is India? What is the essence of India? What are the forces that have gone to make India and how are they related to the major dominating influences of the world in the past and in the present? The subject is a vast one and covers the entire field of human activity, not only in India but elsewhere, and I suppose no single person can do justice to it. But we can take up some particular aspects of it and try to understand them. We can at least try to understand our India, although that understanding will be limited if we do not have the wider picture of the world before us.

What is culture? I look it up in the dictionary and I find a variety of definitions. One great writer has called it "the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world." Another definition says that it is "the training, development, or strengthening of the powers, mental or physical, or the condition thus produced; improvement or refinement of mind, morals, or tastes; enlightenment of civilization". Culture, in this sense, is something basic and international. Then there are the national aspects of culture and there can be no doubt that many nations have each developed a certain genius and individuality.

Where does India fit in? Some people have talked of Hindu culture and Muslim culture and Christian culture. I do not understand these terms, although it is true that the great religious movements have influenced the culture of a

1. Foreword, written on 30 September 1955, to a book in Hindi, *Sanskriti Ke Charr Adhyay*, by Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinkar'. File No. 9/148/55-PMP. Enclosing it to Dinkar, Nehru wrote to him the same day: "I am sending you something much more than you had asked me for. I hope it is not too much but, when I sat down to dictate this, many ideas coursed through my mind, and I had some difficulty in holding myself in check. I am sorry I cannot send this to you in Hindi. I would have found it difficult to write in it. You can use it as you like." The book was published in Patna in March 1956 and received the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1959.
2. (1908-1974); famous Hindi writer and member, Rajya Sabha. 1952-64.
3. According to Dinkar, the history of Indian culture is based on four revolutions: i. The coming of Aryans and intermingling of their culture with the indigenous non-Aryan culture, ii. Propagation of Buddhism and Jainism by Buddha and Mahavir respectively against the established Hindu dharma, iii. The advent of Islam and its contact with Hinduism, iv. The coming of Europeans and their influence on Hinduism and Islam.

race or a nation. If I look at India, I find, as Dinkar has emphasized, the gradual growth of a composite culture of the Indian people. The origins of this culture may be traced back on the one hand to the pre-Aryan period, the civilization of Mohenjodaro, etc., and the great Dravidian civilization. On the other hand, it received a powerful impress from the Aryans who came to India from Central Asia. Subsequently, it was influenced by repeated incursions from the North-West and later by the people who came across the seas from the West. Thus, this national culture gradually grew and took shape. It had a remarkable capacity for synthesis and of absorbing new elements. So long as it did so, it was dynamic and living. In later years it lost the dynamic quality and became essentially static which led to weakness in all fields. Throughout India's history we see the two rival and contradictory forces at work—those in favour of a synthesis and absorption and those fissiparous tendencies which separate. Today we face the same problem in a different context. There are powerful forces working for unity, not only political but cultural also. There are also forces that disrupt and lay stress on separateness.

The question, therefore, for us today is not an academic one but a vital issue, on the understanding and solution of which depends our future. Normally, it is the business of the intellectuals to give a lead in dealing with such problems, but our intellectuals have failed us. Many of them do not even seem to realise the nature of this problem; others suffer from frustration and a crisis of the spirit, not knowing where to turn.

Marxism and its progeny attracted many of the intellectuals, and there is no doubt that it gave a certain analysis of historical developments which helped us to think and to understand. But even that proved too narrow a creed and, whatever its virtue as an economic approach, it failed to resolve our basic doubts. Life is something more than economic growth, though it is well to realise that economic growth is a basic foundation of life and progress. History shows us two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change. They appear to be opposed to each other and, yet, each has something of the other. We notice what we consider sudden changes in the shape of violent revolutions or an earthquake. Yet, every geologist knows that the major changes in the earth's surface are gradual, and earthquakes are trivial in comparison to them. So also, revolutions are merely the outward evidence of a long process of change and subtle erosion. Thus, change itself is a continuous process, and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.

There are periods in history when the processes and tempo of change are more in evidence. At other times, the appearance is much more static. The static period in the life of a nation is a period of progressive deterioration and weakness, leading to the decay of the creative arts and tendencies and often to political subjection.

Probably, the most powerful cultural element in India came from the union of the Aryan with the older elements in India, chiefly the Dravidian. Out of this arose a mighty culture, chiefly represented by our great classical language, Sanskrit. That language, though it has its origin together with old Pahlavi in a common parent in Central Asia, became the national language of India. Both the North and South contributed to its growth. Indeed, in later days, the South played a very important part. Sanskrit became the symbol not only of our people's thought and religion but the embodiment of the cultural unity of India. Ever since the Buddha's time, it has not been the spoken language of the people and yet it continued to exercise this powerful influence all over India. Other great influences came in, which led to new avenues of thought and expression.

Geography made India, in her long past, almost a closed country. Surrounded by the sea and the mighty Himalayas, it was not easy of entry. Migrations took place to India in the course of thousands of years but probably there was no big migration of peoples after the coming of the Aryans. We must contrast this with the tremendous movement of peoples right across Asia and Europe, one tribe driving the other and changing the texture of the population. In India, after the Aryans came, these incursions were relatively limited. They produced their effect but did not change over much the basic population. It must be remembered, however, that there were marked changes even in India. The Scythians and the Huns and the many others who came to India later developed into branches of the Rajputs and claimed ancient lineage. The fact that India was for long a closed land, gave it its peculiar character. We became as a race somewhat inbred. We developed some customs which are unknown and not understood in other parts of the world. Caste, in its innumerable forms, is a typical product of India. Untouchability, the objections to interdining, intermarriage, etc., are unknown in any other country. The result was a certain narrowness in our outlook. Indians, even to the present day, find it difficult to mix with others. Not only that, but each caste tends to remain separate even when they go to other countries. Most of us in India take all this for granted and do not realise how it astonishes and even shocks the people of other countries.

Thus, in India, we developed at one and the same time the broadest tolerance and catholicity of thought and opinion, as well as the narrowest social forms of behaviour. This split-personality has pursued us and we struggle against it even today. We overlook and excuse our own failings and narrowness of custom and habit by references to the great thoughts we have inherited from our ancestors. But there is an essential conflict between the two, and so long as we do not resolve it, we shall continue to have this split-personality.

In a more or less static period these opposed elements did not come into conflict with each other much. But, as the tempo of political and economic change has grown faster, these conflicts also have come more in evidence. In

the atomic age, at the threshold of which we stand, we are compelled by overwhelming circumstances to put an end to this inner conflict. To fail to do so is to fail as a nation and lose even the virtues that we have possessed.

We have to face, therefore, this crisis of the spirit in India, even as we have to face great political and economic problems. The industrial revolution is coming rapidly to India and changing us in many ways. It is an inevitable consequence of political and economic change that there should be social changes also if we are to remain as integrated human beings and an integrated nation. We cannot have political change and industrial progress and imagine that we can continue unchanged in the social sphere. The stresses and strains will be too great and if we do not resolve them, we shall crack up.

The picture of India, as we see it, in the first millennium after Christ and indeed even before that, is very different from its later appearance. We see in those early days an exuberant, vital people, full of the zest of life and adventure, carrying their message to far countries. In the realm of thought, they dared to scale the highest peaks and to pierce the heavens. They built up a magnificent language and in the realm of art, they showed creative genius of the highest order. That early period does not indicate a closed-in life or a static society. We see also then the same cultural impulses surging throughout the land of India. It was from South India that the great colonising expeditions went out to South-East Asia. It was also from the South that the great Bodhidharma went to China with the message of Buddhism. North and South joined in this great adventure of life, each nourishing the other.

Then come the later centuries when a process of decay sets in, visible in the growing artificiality of language and the ornateness of our architecture. Our thoughts become largely a repetition of what has been. The creative spirit grows less and less. We become afraid of adventure either of the body or mind, and we develop the caste system and a closed-in society. We talk still, as of old, in the highest terms, but we act differently.

It is extraordinary how our professions run far ahead of our practice. We talk of peace and non-violence and function in a different way. We talk of tolerance and construe it to mean our way of thinking only and are intolerant of other ways. We proclaim our ideal that of a philosophic detachment even in the midst of action, that of a *sthitaprajna*, but we act on a far lower plane, and a growing indiscipline degrades us as individuals and as a community.

When the Westerners came here across the seas, the closed land of India was again thrown open in a particular direction. The modern industrial civilization gradually crept in in a passive way. New thoughts and ideas invaded us and our intellectuals developed the habit of thinking like British intellectuals. That shaking up and opening out was good in its own way and it began to give us some understanding of the modern world. But this cut off these intellectuals from the mass of the people who were little affected by this new wave of

thought. Our traditional thinking was displaced and those who still clung to it did so in a static and uncreative way, totally unrelated to modern conditions.

Now this faith in Western thought is itself being shaken and so we have neither the old nor the new, and we drift not knowing whither we are going. The younger generation has no standards left, nothing to direct their thinking or control their action.

This is a dangerous situation and, if not checked and improved, is likely to lead to grave consequences. It may be that we are passing through an age of transition, political, economic and social, and these are the inevitable consequences of such a period. But in the atomic age no country is likely to be given many chances to correct itself, and failure may well mean disaster.

Even if we do not understand fully the mighty forces that are at work in the world, we must at least endeavour to understand what India is and how this nation has developed its composite personality with its many facets and yet with an enduring unity. No one section of the community in India can lay claim to the sole possession of the mind and thought of India. Each part has contributed its share in making this country what it is. If we do not understand this basic fact, we do not understand India at all and if we do not understand India, we cannot function adequately or render any effective service to this country of ours.

It is because I think that Dinkar's book will help in this understanding to some extent that I commend it and hope that many will profit from its reading.

6. Music, Dance and the Soul of India¹

I am indeed happy to associate myself with this ceremony this evening. Among the many defects in my education has been the lack of training in most of the arts, particularly music. If I appreciate music, it is rather an untrained approach to it and not the trained approach of the expert or even of the amateur. But, apart from my personal feelings in this matter, I am quite convinced of the importance of the arts of music and dancing in the life of the country.

I think one of the most significant developments in India during the last few years has been this growing interest in dancing and music. That indeed

1. Speech while laying the foundation-stone of a new building for the Madras Music Academy, Chennai, 5 October 1955. From *The Hindu*, 6 October 1955.

shows we are going through a period in India that is not something superficial, but something much deeper in regard to life of our people—not only in regard to experts and amateurs and others, but also those among the villagers who indulge in folk music and folk dancing. There is no doubt about it that there has been a great upsurge in regard to folk dance and folk music, as also classical music and dancing in the last few years. It has amazed me—I confess my ignorance—to see during the last few years, more than ever before, what wealth and talent we have in this respect in India.

We know very well how the people in my own generation to some extent, and even more so the one that had preceded mine, were rather ashamed of anything Indian. They thought that there were some virtues in Indian dancing, but it should not be encouraged too much. It should not be considered the right thing. So it is well known that in India many of our own arts were allowed, not to perish, but certainly not to flourish. I am not talking of the last six or seven years but of 20 or 30 years ago. I know that here in Madras, attempts were made with considerable success to revive it and in other parts of India too this has happened. During the last seven or eight years, that is, since Independence, it is natural that much more attention has been paid to these things. In spite of my ignorance, I feel a certain pride in the great development of dancing, music and other arts in India, and I respect greatly those who today are star performers in these.

On another occasion, it was in Delhi, when the lady² who has been singing here came there, and I was asked to say a few words at the end of her recital. I said, 'Who am I, a mere Prime Minister, to say anything about a queen, the queen of songs?' And I always honestly feel that way.

There are many of my tribe in India, namely, politicians. Some of them are good and some are not so good. There are all varieties of them. I suppose it is but right that even politicians have their use, but undoubtedly whatever use politicians may have, there is no doubt about it that a country's soul finds its utterance not so much through its politicians, but through these arts. Therefore, it is of the highest importance that every opportunity should be given, every encouragement should be given, to the people of the country to discover themselves, if I may say so. I am very happy on this occasion to associate myself with this function.

As I was sitting in the hall I glanced rapidly through some of the sketches drawn by the architect for the building to be put up. It was only a cursory glance, but I must say that I was impressed by the sketches. Here was something new, and yet it seems to me to be in keeping with the cultural traditions of the people, at any rate, of South India. It seems to me to be a very happy combination of a modern theatre or a music hall, or whatever you like to call

2. M.S. Subbulakshmi.

it, with modern conveniences, acoustic properties, and yet something not imposed from outside but growing here out of the soil of India.

Now there is a struggle in India, not only in building but in other matters also, as to how to do something which, on the one hand, grows out of the soil of India, and how, at the same time, to make it fit in with the temper and the requirements and the needs of today. A mere reproduction of the old is not good enough, obviously. A copy of something new from outside is something superficial—it is not deep enough. The problem before us is how to combine the two.

In so far as the sketch of this building is concerned, it did appeal to me. Here was an attempt to put up a structure like a temple and that with some success. I hope this attempt will induce others to think also on new lines.

In Delhi we have all types of architecture, mostly unattractive, some imposing, some from which all you can do is to turn your face away when you are passing. In Delhi there had also been a project for a national theatre and I had been distantly interested in it—interested greatly, but looking at it from a distance. For the last many months—maybe a year or more—we have been thinking of what shape to give it, that is, architectural shape. The matter is still in the air and people are still thinking.

Only recently there appeared in Delhi a five or six storeyed structure for Government offices and when one looked at it one saw a structure with some sort of sun-hat on top of it. These sun-hats had gone out of India. They were the special emblem of British rule and it was right that they had gone. But here we use it on the top of our buildings. So the problem before us is how to get our engineers to think differently. Anyhow, I am glad that the engineer or architect who is responsible for this sketch of the hall for the Academy does think differently and I, therefore, congratulate him.

One thing more. It is not wholly relevant here, but it requires a very stout heart and a very strong physical frame to put up with the garland you gave me.

7. Censorship of Literature¹

I am inclined to agree with the Vice-Chairman.² I am not in a position to judge

1. Note to K.R. Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, 8 October 1955. JN Collection. Nehru was Chairman of the Sahitya Akademi.

2. S. Radhakrishnan was Vice-Chairman of the Sahitya Akademi.

the merits of this book.³ But there is no doubt that not only has it roused criticism but deep resentment among a large number of people. In any event, I think that for the Sahitya Akademi in its early days to come into conflict with the Home Ministry would be undesirable, more especially in a matter in which public opinion in general is likely to support the Home Ministry. If any aspect of this matter has to be brought to the notice of the Home Ministry, it should be done by some individual and not by the Sahitya Akademi moving formally in regard to it.

3. In his letter of 3 October to K.R. Kripalani, K.M. Panikkar, member of the executive committee of the Sahitya Akademi, wanted the issue of censorship of literature to be taken up by the Akademi in the context of the prohibition of entry into India of Aubrey Menen's book *Story of Rama Retold* on the ground that it was irreverent in its attitude to gods. He stated, "In fact the Hindu tradition has tolerated if not encouraged an irreverent treatment of gods", and it was extraordinary for a country like India to ban the book, which, in his opinion, was "of outstanding quality, satirical no doubt, but touching profound truths." S. Radhakrishnan, in his note of 7 October, stated that even if Menen's "satirical" comments were "calculated to raise cheap laughter at our expense....I personally won't mind circulation of his book. But the Home Ministry has to take into account many factors.... The Akademi should avoid sitting in judgement on the decisions of the Home Ministry, nor should it assume the responsibility of advising it in censorship matters unless called upon to do so."

8. Monuments of Nagarjunakonda¹

At my request, the Joint Director General of Archaeology² sent me a note in regard to Nagarjunakonda.³

Anxious as I am to preserve this site, I am afraid we can hardly give up the great Nandikonda project, which will bring relief to large numbers of people. The question, therefore, is how we can save as much as we can of these

1. Note to the Union Education Minister, 9 October 1955. File No. 40(21)/56-63-PMS.
2. T.N. Ramachandran.
3. A project comprising the construction of a dam on the Krishna near Nandikonda village, about a hundred miles from Hyderabad, was expected to irrigate an area of more than 20 lakh acres but would also submerge the valley of Nagarjunakonda which was the seat of the Ikshvaku Kings of Andhra and Mahayana Buddhism propagated by Nagarajunacharya in the second century AD. The foundation stone of the dam, later named as Nagarjunasagar dam, was laid by Nehru on 10 December 1955.

monuments and other relics. I see that the Education Ministry has specially interested itself in this matter and so has the Planning Commission. But the Joint Director seems to be quite ignorant of the progress of the Nandikonda project. Obviously there should be close coordination between his activities and the activities of the engineers.

I should personally imagine that much more can be saved than what is suggested by the Joint Director. He should certainly increase the staff and the financial allotment for this purpose. It should be possible to remove even parts of monuments. Whole buildings have been transferred from England to America. It is really a question of how much we can spend upon it and the staff we employ. I hope that we shall not hesitate to add to the staff or to the expenditure in this matter.⁴

4. The monuments were eventually transplanted to a site at a distance of eleven kilometers from the dam and preserved there in a museum named the Nagarjun Island Museum. On 4 August 1967, the waters of the dam were released into canals by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

9. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
October 10, 1955

My dear Balkrishna,
Your letter of October 9th² about the National Book Trust.³ Your Ministry will of course be associated with this Trust. The present proposal is for fifteen Trustees to be appointed. These will consist of two representatives of the Sahitya Akademi and one representative each of the Education Ministry, Ministry of

1. JN Collection.
2. Keskar expressed the hope that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would be closely associated with the formation of the National Book Trust since it would be its main printers and its suggestions could lead to a more efficient organisation of the Trust. Keskar also wrote that a committee consisting of educators, librarians and linguists had reportedly been set up in US to select non-Indian titles for the Southern Languages Book Trust, and expressed the fear that there might be a certain bias in the selection of titles by this committee since the venture was being carried out in collaboration with the Ford Foundation.
3. The National Book Trust was eventually set up in 1957 with the object of encouraging the production of good literature and making such works available at moderate prices to libraries, educational institutions and the public.

NR & SR, I & B Ministry and Finance. The others presumably will be selected by Government from well known authors etc.

Some time ago, the Ford Foundation approached me with a proposal for our Government to set up a Book Trust to which they would contribute. I did not like this idea at all and did not encourage them. Later, without my knowledge, they came to an agreement with the Universities of South India. I did not know anything about this till I went to Madras recently and was asked to inaugurate the Southern Languages Book Trust.³ I believe they are giving them 500,000 dollars. The books will be published in the Southern languages.

I am quite clear that the Ford Foundation or indeed any outside agency should have nothing to do with our Book Trust.

I hope you are going ahead speedily with the new press. This must be thoroughly up-to-date and capable of publishing good books, reproductions, etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 5 October 1955 Nehru inaugurated the Southern Languages Book Trust in Chennai. S. Govindarajulu Naidu. Vice-Chancellor of the Venkateswara University. was the Chairman of the Book Trust. See *ante*. pp. 200-202.

10. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
October 11, 1955

My dear Balkrishna,

... I have already written² to you to expedite the setting up of a really good book publishing press. This of course should be capable of doing all kinds of fine printing, including photographs, colour printing, etc. Dr Raghuvira³ came to me yesterday and told me that he wanted to get printed many of the manuscripts, etc., that he has brought from China. He said that this could not be done in India and that he would have to get them printed in Germany or some other country. We should be in a position to print all these things.

1. File No. 43927/56-PMS. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. (1902-1963): Sanskrit and Hindi scholar; Member of Parliament, 1957-61.

You mentioned the other day in Cabinet that an enquiry had been made as to what the capacity of our press should be. I think this should be thought of in the largest terms. The press should be able to publish not only all that your Publications Department issues now but a great variety of new books, reproductions of old paintings in colours, manuscripts, etc. There is really hardly any limit to the amount of work that it may have to do. Therefore you should plan on a large scale and it should be of the best quality.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi,
October 11, 1955

My dear Maulana,

I am sending back to you the draft constitution for the National Book Trust of India. It seems to me that what we have got to issue to the public is not a constitution but a resolution of the Government of India. On the basis of this resolution, a constitution will be drawn up. That will require only a few changes in the preamble, etc.

I have, therefore, somewhat redrafted this in accordance with the normal practice of the Government. The draft you were good enough to send me was rather on the UN model of resolution which is not usually used in the resolutions of the Government of India. There are also some minor changes.

The draft resolution which you finally agree with should, I suggest, be circulated to the members of the Cabinet Committee appointed for this purpose. This means, apart from you and me, the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of Finance. I would suggest that a copy might be sent also to the Minister of Information & Broadcasting as he is concerned with this matter.

When this draft has been circulated, if it is agreed to, then it can be finalised. Or else we can hold a meeting of the Committee to finalise it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
19 October 1955

My dear Radhakrishnan,²

Thank you for your letter of the 17th October.³

The Southern Languages Book Trust was started without any reference to us. As far as I know, even the Madras Government did not know much about it. This was a direct approach by the Ford Foundation to the Vice-Chancellors of Universities.

I entirely agree with you that the two clauses you mention are not desirable and should be modified. But how am I to interfere in this matter? No reference has been made to me and some kind of an agreement has already been arrived at. Perhaps, you, with your contacts with the Southern Universities, could point this out to them.

I agree entirely that we should have a first-class press. In theory we decided this and we have asked the I & B Ministry to establish one as soon as possible.

Ever Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(66)/55-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1888-1975); Vice-President of India. 1952-62.
3. Radhakrishnan wrote that if the Southern Languages Book Trust was to be affiliated to the National Book Trust, then two clauses of the Trust were required to be modified: one regarding the American consultant provided by the Ford Foundation as its adviser; the other regarding the Special Advisory Committee, convened by Ford Foundation in the US, to assist in the selection of non-Indian titles.

13. To Raksha Saran¹

New Delhi
October 24, 1955

My dear Raksha,²

Your letter of October 23. I had not heard previously that a memorial to Sarojini

1. JN Collection.
2. (1901-1992): politician and social worker: Vice-President, Federation of University Women, 1950-52; President, All India Women's Conference, 1958-60; Chairman, Delhi Social Welfare Advisory Board, National Council for Women's Education and Delhi Women's League; member of Governing Body, Janki Devi Mahavidyalaya, Indraprastha College for Women and Kalavati Saran Hospital.

Naidu³ was going to be put up here. In fact, I am connected with an appeal for a memorial to her to take the shape of a children's hospital in Allahabad, for which land has been acquired. However, it is perfectly right for the All India Women's Conference⁴ to have such a memorial in Delhi. It seems rather odd to have a joint memorial for Sarojini Naidu and Margaret Cousins.⁵

You wrote to me that you have selected 6 Bhagwandas Road for this purpose. Presumably you will add to the existing building there. Not knowing your own ideas about this building Indira⁶ had asked Sardar Swaran Singh⁷ for that building for the purpose of having a Children's Museum and a Children's Little Theatre. Immediately she wanted to use it to house the large number of dolls which Shankar⁸ had collected.

However, since you need the building for your joint memorial, you can have it, if Sardar Swaran Singh is agreeable. As you are prepared to pay for it, I suppose you have collected some money already. Or are you merely living in hope?

Will it be possible for you to allow this house to be used for some time for the Children's Museum and, more especially the dolls, till other arrangements are made for them?⁹

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1879-1949); poet and freedom fighter; Governor of Uttar Pradesh, 1947-49.
4. The All India Women's Conference, one of the oldest women's welfare organisations in India. was founded in 1926 on the initiative of Margaret Cousins who was also its first secretary.
5. (1878-1954); educator and women's advocate; treasurer, Irish Women's Franchise League; delegate, Parliament of Women; first non-Indian member of Indian Women's University, Poona, 1919-20; founder, National Girls School, Mangalore; first woman magistrate in India; supported the Theosophist Movement in India; imprisoned in Madras for protesting against Government's emergency ordinances; paralysed in 1943 until death.
6. Indira Gandhi (1917-1984).
7. (1907-1994); Union Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, 1952-57.
8. K. Shankar Pillai (1902-1989); worked as cartoonist for *The Hindustan Times*, 1932-46; founder-editor *Shankar's Weekly*, 1948; founded Children's Book Trust, 1957, and International Dolls Museum, New Delhi.
9. The dolls, packed in boxes, were kept in the Theatre Communication Building which was situated in Connaught Place and where Palika Bazar was later built. The dolls were finally shifted to the Dolls Museum set up by Shankar in Nehru House on Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg. The Museum was opened by S. Radhakrishnan in November 1965.

14. To Swaran Singh¹

New Delhi
October 26, 1955

My dear Swaran Singh,

The Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon² intends building a big dharmashala or rest house for Buddhist monks in Sanchi, Bhopal. They have already collected some Rs 50,000/- in Ceylon for this and probably will be able to collect more.

The Bhikkhu³ in charge of Sanchi Vihara came to see me today and spoke to me about this proposed dharmashala. He showed me a plan which had been made by the Chief Engineer⁴ of Bhopal.

I am particularly anxious that nothing should be built round about Sanchi which does not fit in with the old stupa there and its surroundings.⁵ In fact, whatever is built should be built some distance away and even so it should be in keeping with it.

The Bhikkhu in charge relies completely on the Chief Engineer of Bhopal, who has drawn up a plan for the dharmashala. I should like one of your competent architects to look at this plan which I am sending you. This is something more than an architect's job. The archaeologists also should be consulted. It might be worthwhile for your architect and someone from the Archaeological Department to go to Bhopal and discuss this plan with the Chief Engineer there.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The society was founded by Angarika Dharmapala at Colombo in 1891.

3. Bhikkhu Thero.

4. Mirza Fahim Beg.

5. The old stupa is the principal monument among a number of such remains, collectively known as the Bhilsa topes, in Sanchi and the adjacent region. Originally built of brick in Asoka's time, the stupa was enlarged possibly a century later when the stone railings and gateways were also added.

6. Nehru wrote a similar letter to Shankar Dayal Sharma, Chief Minister of Bhopal, on the same day.

15. Ramlila Celebrations¹

I have long been of opinion that the Ramlila celebrations here in Delhi are not only very badly organised but rather crude and inartistic. Ramlila is a national festival of great age and importance. In Delhi all kinds of foreign diplomats and others go to see it. It is a pity therefore that the organisation cannot be better than it is.

I realise that it is not easy to control such large crowds. Nevertheless I think that much can be done to the advantage even of the crowds. As it is, most of these people cannot even see anything because of the pushing and shoving and people standing up and all that.

I suggest that you might consult the two Ramlila committees of Delhi and discuss two matters with them:

- (1) Proper organisation of the functions. I am not thinking of this merely from the point of view of foreign visitors or security, but rather from the larger point of view of the orderly and disciplined behaviour so that everyone has a chance to see.
- (2) Some attempt should be made to make the actual Ramlila more artistic. I suggested to both the Ramlila committees yesterday that they must consult Uday Shankar² about this. I do not mean that something difficult and highly specialised should be put up. That of course is not possible. But a little training and some intelligent organisation would no doubt improve matters much.

You might consult the Chief Minister³ of Delhi and his colleagues in this matter.

1. Note to A.D. Pandit, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, 27 October, 1955. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to the Home Ministry.
2. (1907-1977); won international reputation for his Indian dances; created a number of dance-dramas and two shadow plays, Ram Lila and Lord Buddha.
3. Gurmukh Nihal Singh.

VII. SOCIAL WELFARE

1. Casteism and Untouchability¹

I am glad to know that the Vice-President is inaugurating a seminar on Casteism and Removal of Untouchability. The complete removal of untouchability has been one of the principal planks of our programme in India for the last thirty-five years and more. It has been given effect to by law and otherwise, although, unfortunately to some extent, it continues in practice still.

Untouchability is only an extreme form of casteism. From the removal of untouchability, it naturally follows that we should also put an end to various aspects of casteism, which have weakened and divided our society for a long time. From any democratic or socialist point of view, casteism is an anachronism and objectionable. From the human point of view, it is also wholly undesirable. I hope that the seminar will lead to useful suggestions as to how to deal with this problem effectively.

1. Message drafted on 24 September 1955 and sent to the organising secretary of a seminar on Casteism and Removal of Untouchability held in the Delhi School of Social Work from 26 to 29 September 1955. File No. 9/148/55-PMS.

2. Children, Diseases and Preventive Care¹

I am happy to be associated with this ceremony of laying the foundation of a sanatorium for tuberculosis. I am told that in the past, tuberculosis patients were attended to in the general hospital here. But now separate arrangements

1. Speech while laying the foundation stone of a tuberculosis hospital at Gorimedu on the outskirts of Pondicherry, 4 October 1955. From *The Hindu*, 5 October 1955.

are being made for their treatment. That of course is right, for it is not desirable from the point of view of these patients or that of the others, that they should be treated in the same hospital. I hope this hospital will be built soon and will give relief to patients.

Generally speaking, I would like much greater stress to be laid on the preventive side of medicine than on the purely curative side. We must, of course, have curative medicines so long as there is any disease. There are plenty of diseases in the world and in India, and it has always seemed to me that even in a country like India, stress should be laid on prevention. What is the good of trying to cure tuberculosis if the conditions in which people live inevitably produce tuberculosis. After cure, you get it again and the process goes on like this. The real thing on which stress should be laid is the preventive side. All steps to prevent disease must be taken. The first step is to provide adequate and healthy diet. Almost every other thing is secondary. If a person has no resistance in his body, he is bound to suffer from one disease or other. I think here, as elsewhere in India, the stress should be laid on preventive measures.

I see a large number of children wherever I go. My attention is specially drawn towards children, not merely because I like children, who will grow up, and will be the future citizens of India. It pains me to see that some of these children are not properly looked after and attended to. It is not the fault of the parents. If you like, it is the fault of the circumstances or whatever it may be. I think all of us have a certain responsibility to see that children in this country are properly looked after. At the present time all of them do not go to schools. The population of school-going children is, no doubt, increasing and I hope the time will come when all children of school-going age will attend schools. They should be given milk in schools besides light refreshments. I think it is as important as education. I believe that here in Pondicherry, some kind of milk or milk powder is being distributed to primary school children, which has shown good results. It is bound to show good results.

I should like that all poor children, particularly primary school children, all over India would have some kind of a school attire also. Uniformity in dress has a certain psychological effect. If all children in a school have some kind of uniform, at least while they are in the school, it produces a sense of discipline, cooperation and esprit de corps. All these and many other things I would like to have. I hope some time or other, we shall have all these. We wish to proceed step by step in these things, in this vast country.

Anyhow the step we are taking here today is a good step and I am glad to be associated with it. With the supervision of eminent doctors, who are looking after it, it will bring relief in and around this place and make the lives of tuberculosis patients worth living. I thank you for inviting me to take part in this function.

3. To Durgabai Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
October 21, 1955

My dear Durgabai,²

I have your letter without date sending me a report of the Advisory Committee on After-care Programmes as well as the report of the Social and Moral Hygiene Advisory Committee.³

I am afraid I have no time to read these bulky reports and indeed I have no specialised knowledge in these matters to be able to advise. I suggest that your Central Social Welfare Board should consider these carefully and then make their recommendations to Government. It is obvious that many of the matters raised in these reports will require governmental action.

Although I have little time, I propose later to read through the report submitted by Dhanvanthi Rama Rau's⁴ Committee. This is chiefly because Dhanvanthi Rama Rau came and saw me about it before she left India and gave me an alarming account of what it contained. She was much agitated at the conditions she had found prevailing in many of the so-called orphanages and women's homes, more especially in the UP and Punjab. The brief report she gave me was that such orphanages, etc., conducted by Christian missionaries were usually well kept and decent. But many of those connected with the Arya Samaj and many other Hindu organisations were disgraceful. This raises a very important problem which may well require the State action.

So far as your Board is concerned, it should take particular care now in giving financial or other assistance to these so-called orphanages and women's

1. Durgabai Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1909-1981); Chairperson, Central Social Welfare Board, 1952-62.
3. Durgabai enclosed the reports and recommendations of the Advisory Committees on Social and Moral Hygiene and After-care Programmes, appointed in December 1954 by the Central Social Welfare Board to study the methods of existing institutions and to recommend measures necessary for the rehabilitation of inmates. She wrote that Dhanvanthi Rama Rau, Chairperson, Social and Moral Hygiene Committee, had visited 86 towns in all states except, Kutch, Manipur and Tripura, inspected 120 voluntary institutions, interviewed officials, non-officials and, social workers, visited brothels and had talks with women given to this way of life. The Committee on After-care Programmes, chaired by M.S. Gore, had toured all the states except Jammu and Kashmir and collected data from about 695 institutions.
4. (1893-1987); taught English, Queen Mary's College, Madras University, 1917-19; Member, Board, International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, 1932-38; President, All India Women's Conference (Bombay branch), 1946, 1947; President, Family Planning Association of India, 1949-63; Member, Central Social Welfare Board, 1956-61; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1959.

homes and satisfy itself that they are properly and decently run. The fact that some prominent persons are associated with them does not necessarily mean that they are good. Such names are easy to obtain and sometimes these people do not know what is happening in the institution they support.

In view of these reports, it will be desirable for your Board to consider every aspect carefully and make recommendations before extending the Board's activities too much.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Later, while inaugurating a conference of the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards in New Delhi on 5 November 1955, Nehru referred to the report on prostitution by the Social and Moral Hygiene Committee and stated: "One thing, however, amazed me in this report. It was stated that often organisations in this country which professed to remove these bad things aided and abetted them. These organisations went to the public for collecting funds to eradicate this evil and probably they might have come to the Social Welfare Board also. But after collecting the funds they did the exact opposite of the professed aim for which they were collected.... I was also amazed to find in the report that the arms of the law were not powerful enough to bring these organisations and the anti-social people behind them to book. Reference was made in the report to the clause in the Constitution guaranteeing individual liberty which created difficulties in apprehending the evil doers. Was it the contention that under the guise of this individual liberty, any crime could be committed? I do not understand this kind of liberty and freedom although I am a very great adherent of individual liberty."

VIII. MINORITIES

1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
October 20, 1955

My dear Sri Babu,

We have received several agitated complaints about an incident that is reported to have happened on the morning of the 5th October, 1955, at Vardhman Nagar, Gaya District. It is stated that a Christian clergyman was in his church with

1. JN Collection.

sixty of the catholic colony when a large crowd, armed with lathis and led by some Arya Samajists, actually entered the church and began to assault the people. Father Matthew, the priest, was beaten badly and driven away. Other men and women were beaten and bound. There was looting of many things in the church. There is a great deal more that is said in the reports. Even if a small part of all this is true, this is a disgraceful occurrence, and very effective steps should be taken to punish those who are guilty. You will appreciate that this will create a bad impression about us not only in India but in all parts of the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
October 29, 1955

My dear Sri Babu,

I wrote to you some time ago about an incident that is said to have happened at Vardhman Nagar, Gaya District, when some Arya Samajists are reported to have attacked a church when prayers were in progress. I was astonished to read of the misbehaviour of these people. I have not heard from you about this. I might tell you, however, that a very grave situation has been created among the Bombay Goan Christians because of this report.² All our work of months has suddenly collapsed.

I should like you to consider this as a matter of vital importance. It affects the credit of India and the credit of your State especially. It is scandalous that Arya Samajists or anybody else should function in this lawless and violent way against a respected religion of India. There should be heavy punishment for this and the State Government should make its position clear. Thus far nothing has been said by the State Government.

1. File No. 7(318)/55-PMS.

2. S.S. Carvalho, Vice President, National Congress (Goa). Bombay branch. wrote to Nehru that the Bombay Goan Christians were deeply agitated by the incidents, adding that this had cast a spell on the Bombay Goans "rendering uphill our already Herculean task."

This matter is important enough for you to appoint a high level enquiry, preferably judicial. It is far more important in my eyes than student misbehaviour,³ because this raises a vital issue about our treatment of religious communities.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 29, pp. 68-73.
4. Sinha replied on 5 November that the case had been thoroughly investigated and all efforts were being made to bring the offenders to book, and added that precautions had been taken to prevent any further trouble. He did not consider that, in the circumstances, a judicial enquiry was necessary. On 6 November, in a note addressed to the Home Ministry, Nehru stated. "I think that the behaviour of the Arya Samajists of this place was so disgraceful that I can find no parallel for it in recent Indian history. Very strong action must be taken against everybody, including the Arya Samaj locally, if necessary. The Bihar Government should be made to realise that their reputation will sink to the lowest ebb if this matter is not set right."

3. Temporal Allegiance of Muslims¹

Please reply to this telegram as follows:

Dear Sir, The Prime Minister has received your telegram. He is not aware of what the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh said at Banaras, but judging from your report, he does not understand why you should take any exception to it. What Shri Sampurnanand said was obviously on the political plane and not on the religious plane. Muslims can certainly look to Arabia as the country which was the fountain-head of their religion. That is natural. But politically the citizens of each country look to that country and not to another. Christians, no doubt, look to Jerusalem as a city connected with the founder of their religion, but politically and culturally they look to their own countries. There is no conflict between these two approaches...

1. Reply to a correspondent, drafted on 13 November 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. B.N. Kaul, Nehru's Principal Private Secretary, was asked to send the reply in his name. A copy of the reply along with a copy of the telegram under reply were sent to Sampurnanand.

4. To Durgabai Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1955

My dear Durgabai,

Your letter of the 12th November, with which you have sent me a copy of your letter to Maulana Azad.² Since you have addressed me on this subject, I am writing to you about my approach to this question. I have no detailed facts and I am only proceeding on principle.

I do not think it is desirable to make any distinction in this matter between Christian and other institutions. We should apply the same standards to all. Of course, if we are informed that a particular institution, whether Christian, Muslim or Hindu, is behaving in an aggressive and undesirable way in regard to proselytisation, then this becomes an important matter to consider. But to make a special mention of the Christian institutions does seem to me to be an invidious distinction. As a matter of fact, your social hygiene report made out that the Christian institutions were generally well run and criticised severely certain Arya Samajist institutions.

It is very important that we should not take any action which indicates that we do not give a fair deal to our minorities.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(284)/53-PMS.
2. In her letters of 12 November to Nehru and Azad, Durgabai sought their guidance in the matter of procedure to be adopted for making grants to Christian-missionary institutions doing voluntary welfare work. She pointed out that the existing procedure, whereby a certificate was obtained from the State government to the effect that the concerned institution did not indulge in proselytisation or other objectionable activities, had been criticized at a recent meeting of the Central Social Welfare Board and the Conference of Chairmen of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards on the ground that this made "an invidious distinction between Christian institutions and institutions run by persons belonging to other religions."

IX. URBAN DEVELOPMENT

1. Problems of Tenants in Delhi¹

For some time past, I have been receiving notes from the Delhi State Government and other sources in regard to large scale evictions of tenants in Delhi. Under the existing law thousands of evictions have taken place. I am told that perhaps as many as fifty thousand have had orders passed against them for eviction, but they are still holding on to their houses against the law. They have nowhere to go to. This process is likely to continue and I gather that about one hundred thousand persons may be involved. The Delhi State Government has been urging that some legal steps should be taken. I understand that it was proposed that an ordinance should be passed to stop evictions pending some further consideration of this problem.

2. Then there is another problem which is likely to arise and which may also lead to further evictions of tenants. This is in regard to houses which have been under the control of the Custodian of Evacuee Property and which are going to be sold by the Rehabilitation Ministry. Houses up to Rs 10,000/- have been exempted from this process. There are apparently, however, excellent houses sheltering at present hundreds of families. These tenants are both Hindus and Muslims. Some of them, I am told, have been tenants for many years from long before the Partition. They have continued to live there, although their owners have gone to Pakistan and the property has vested in the Custodian. When these houses are sold by auction, as it is proposed to do, these people, or many of them, will probably be affected. What is going to happen to them?

3. Thirdly, quite a number of houses have fallen down during the recent heavy rains, and their occupants are now being given shelter in the Delhi school buildings. Most of these houses were in a very bad state of repair as they were evacuee houses and no particular attention was being paid to them.

4. All these factors taken together have already led to a serious situation in Delhi and are likely to lead to a still graver situation. The present situation is held in check by two facts:

- (a) Tenants are holding on to their houses in spite of orders of eviction, and
- (b) Many tenants are staying in the school buildings.

1. Note to the Home Ministry, 26 September 1955. Sent as an enclosure with a letter to G.B. Pant on 29 September 1955. JN Collection.

5. Obviously this kind of thing is unsatisfactory and cannot continue. The law is clear enough and is against the tenants, but whatever the law, we cannot look on complacently when fifty thousand or a hundred thousand persons become shelterless. This may well create a law and order situation apart from the inhumanity involved in it.

6. I have no suggestion to make at present, but the point is that we shall have to deal with this situation later anyhow, and it is better to get a grip of it now and do something before the situation worsens and becomes more difficult to handle.

7. I suggest that the Ministries concerned should confer together. At present there is a divided responsibility, and therefore, no particular Ministry is concerned. The Delhi State Government, of course, is concerned, but cannot do anything of its own accord. The Central Ministries concerned, presumably, are Home Ministry, Rehabilitation Ministry and Works, Housing & Supply Ministry. In case any legal steps have to be taken, the Law Ministry is also concerned.

8. I would, therefore, suggest that the Home Ministry might take this matter in hand and arrange for these Ministries concerned plus the Delhi State Government representatives to meet together to discuss this entire question in its various aspects and suggest remedies.

9. I am sending copies of this note to the Ministers of WH&S² and Rehabilitation³ and to the Minister for Legal Affairs, Shri Pataskar.⁴

2. Swaran Singh, Union Minister for Works, Housing and Supply.

3. Mehr Chand Khanna (1897-1970): Union Minister for Rehabilitation, 1954-62.

4. H.V. Pataskar (1892-1970): Union Minister for Legal Affairs, 1954-57.

2. Bangalore—a Feast for the Eyes¹

The problem before the country today is how to combine the genius, wisdom and experience of our ancient race with the growing and tremendous advance and magnificent achievements of science in the modern age. There is no conflict between the two if we see them right. This problem presents itself in a miniature form in a growing city like Bangalore.

1. Speech after laying the foundation stone of a five-storeyed building to house the offices of the Corporation of Bangalore, Bangalore, 6 October 1955. From *The Hindu*, 7 October 1955.

Bangalore is an attractive and growing city and there are many beautiful buildings. But what appeals to me most in Bangalore has been the trees. Whenever I come to Bangalore, I feast my eyes upon the beautiful trees. The same is the case when I visit Mysore city.

It is right that you should try to put up a noble building. You should not accept or tolerate ugliness anywhere, in your life, in your buildings and ultimately, of course, ugliness in individuals and groups.

A beautiful environment helps to develop a sense of beauty. Therefore it is desirable that when we construct a building, however simple it may be, however humble it may be, it must have, to some extent, an artistic value.

Do not think of artistry and aesthetics in terms of money. Certainly big buildings cost money. But a touch of artistry does not cost money. You can make the humblest building attractive and beautiful, even though it is a cottage. You can make a palace a horrid thing. We have many such palaces in India. So far as great public buildings are concerned, they have necessarily to be costly, because they have to be enduring. In erecting public buildings, one should think of producing something which is not only great in itself, but which fits in also with the background of the work it has to do. I see from the sketch which was shown to me that your Corporation building will be an imposing structure. I have no doubt that your engineers and architects will pay proper attention to the requirements of such a structure. May I suggest that in all great buildings you should try to encourage young artists, sculptors and painters. They will embellish and make the building, to some extent, attractive and their talents also will get rewarded.

You referred in your address² to the growth of Bangalore and the horrid fact that many slums are growing. That is a disease which, if not checked immediately, might well overshadow the beauty of Bangalore. There is no reason why slums should be allowed to grow. It is bad enough to inherit slums. It means, in the ultimate analysis, that those in whose times the slums grew up, were deficient in their knowledge as to how the city should grow. To have allowed the slums to grow is your own fault, the Government's fault, your Corporation's fault and our fault. No industrial development should be responsible for the growth of slums. Each industry must have a special responsibility to see that it will not allow the growth of any slum. I believe in no argument, economic or otherwise, which justifies the creation of slums.

I do not mind if a person lives in the open like a vagabond. I am a vagabond myself and I like vagabonds and gypsies. If you cannot design buildings for these slum dwellers, give them plenty of open space and give them water supply and sanitation. The rest can follow. In a city like Bangalore, particular attention should be paid as to how it grows. It was stated that a committee has been

2. The welcome address was given by V.P.P. Deendayalu, the Mayor of Bangalore.

formed. We have so many improvement trusts in India, but I confess that I am not too happy with their approach to the question of the development of their cities. I should like in regard to each city that there is a clear plan before those who are in charge of its administration and they should think what the city would be like in 20 or 30 years. Do not allow anything to come in the way of execution of that plan. That is what we are concerned with in Delhi today. Be clear about every little detail in regard to the building you propose. Nobody should be allowed to spoil the master plan. In Delhi, we have narrow streets and now it is difficult to widen them. Have broad avenues. The Bangalore Corporation Council has a magnificent opportunity before it not only to provide the civic amenities to the million inhabitants of the city, but also to see that good buildings are put up in this city, giving it an atmosphere of beauty.

I am happy to be able to participate in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the new building.

3. Big Bungalows¹

I send my good wishes to the Planning Seminar² organised in Lucknow by the Institute of Town Planners of India. The more I see our major cities and towns the more I realise how important it is to plan them properly. We talk about town planning but there is seldom any real attempt at building the city beautiful. I think that there should be a plan for every major and minor city giving some idea of what it should be twenty or thirty years hence. If this plan is kept in view, then it will be possible to prevent developments and constructions which not only are undesirable but are likely to come in the way of future growth.

Our roads are usually much too narrow. Often extensions of a town are built without adequate arrangements for drainage or water-supply or lighting. It is somehow expected that all these things will follow. As a matter of fact, these amenities should precede the building of houses.

We have to think more and more in terms of relatively small houses. The days of the big bungalows are passed or will pass soon, and few will be able to afford such large houses. Public buildings, of course, have necessarily to be big. There is no reason why they should not be attractive in addition to being

1. Message to the Institute of Town Planners of India, 20 October 1955. File No. 9/148/55-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The seminar was opened on 22 October 1955.

utilitarian. In these public buildings, I think our artists and sculptors should be encouraged to put in some of their work.

We are the inheritors in India of a bad tradition in regard to building. This tradition grew up during the last two hundred years or so under the British rule which produced quite extraordinarily unattractive houses. We have thus to develop again a sense of beauty in regard to architecture. Beauty does not necessarily mean expense or ornateness. Indeed, there is too much attempt at this ornateness by some of those who can afford it. The result is not at all happy or pleasing.

I do not know what the Planning Seminar will consider but I hope they will give a lead to our architects so that they might help in developing better taste in architecture and a pride in developing our cities so as to make them not only good to look at but gracious centres of living.

4. To Swaran Singh¹

New Delhi

October 28, 1955

My dear Swaran Singh,

I met Major Aubrey Weinman today and he discussed the proposed Zoological and Botanical Gardens. He showed me a plan too which included the Purana Qila. Now that we have taken up this matter, I hope we shall proceed with it with some speed. I think that the first thing to do is to decide on the area. As this is going to be a big park, the area should be large and it should obviously include the Purana Qila. This does not mean that this whole area should immediately be developed for those gardens but that there should be no building put up in that area unless it is required for the purposes of the Zoo or the Botanical Gardens or the park.

The Purana Qila is one of our very valuable relics. I like it very much and the whole surroundings of the Purana Qila should be kept free of buildings which conflict with it. I am sorry to learn that a number of refugees still live there. I think they should be removed.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 5. Ajit Prasad Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nehru wrote on the same day to M.C. Khanna, Minister for Rehabilitation, seeking early clearance of the Purana Qila area. Khanna replied that it would take a year to select a new site to relocate some of the families in Purana Qila.

5. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1955

My dear Ajit,²

I enclose copy of a letter³ I have written to Swaran Singh. I hope you will go ahead with this proposal for a Zoo and Botanical Gardens. Amrit Kaur today said in Cabinet that the Zoo should not be so near a city. I think this is quite far enough. We cannot have it too far away as then it will not serve any useful purpose. But the Zoological Garden part might be kept as far away in that area as possible.

What kind of name should we give to this park? I do not like the English names for this purpose, although they may be mentioned as a kind of additional name. I think the whole park should have some general name and the Zoological part of it a special name. Perhaps the Botanical should have another name. What do you think of calling the Zoological Gardens "Pashu Lok"?⁴ I realise that I am taking a name which Mira Ben⁵ had used. But it sounds to me a good name for the Zoo.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(61)56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1902-1977): Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1954-59.
3. See the preceding item.
4. Jain suggested that a more appropriate name would be "Pashu Batika".
5. Madeleine Slade (1892-1982); a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi who lived at Sabarmati Ashram for many years.

6. To Swaran Singh¹

Rajkot
2nd November, 1955

My dear Swaran Singh,

During my present tour² I have been to Ahmedabad and I have seen the whole aspect of the city changed because of the wide streets and avenues that they

1. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nehru was on a five-day tour of Gujarat which began on 31 October.

have introduced. I used to dislike Ahmedabad very much and considered it a most unattractive city. It has now got a certain dignity. This was a reminder to me of our streets in Delhi which strike me more and more as being very narrow. I hope at least that in future a great deal of room will be left for further widening, whenever necessary, and no buildings will be put up which might interfere with this process.

In Bhavnagar and Jamnagar I performed the opening ceremonies of two institutes—one was the Gandhi Smriti building, a kind of a museum, and the other was the Ayurvedic Institute at Jamnagar. Both these buildings struck me as very attractive with a distinctive architecture. This is something that we lack in Delhi. Our new buildings lay no claims either to distinctiveness or to beauty of design. There has been plenty of building work in Delhi and therefore a good deal of room for the exercise of talent in this direction. It seems to me that our engineers and architects are not particularly interested in this aspect. The buildings we have put up are very undistinctive. I suggest that more attention should be paid to their architectural feature and good taste both outside and inside. There is no reason why other towns and cities should have more attractive new buildings than Delhi.

I hope also that the tragedy of the flats and houses adjoining Lodi Gardens will not be repeated anywhere. Apart from the incongruity, Delhi, like all old cities, has a certain atmosphere and we should keep this in mind. Anything put up as a new structure has to fit in with it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

I. STATES REORGANISATION

1. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
September 30, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

This afternoon a copy of the report² of the States Reorganisation Commission was delivered to me, a copy having been sent to the President³ to whom it is addressed. The Home Ministry will be sending you very soon a copy of this report. Please keep this secret. There has unfortunately been far too much loose talk on this subject during the past few weeks. Chief Ministers certainly should be the last persons to talk about this report till it is released for publication.⁴

2. I have not had time to read the report and I have only glanced through some of the main recommendations. I do not wish to express any opinion till I have consulted my colleagues.

3. As the subject of this report has attracted a great deal of attention, we feel that publication of it should not be delayed too much. All of us, whether in the Centre or the States, have to give the fullest consideration to it and naturally we shall take some little time. It does not seem necessary, however, for publication of the report to be postponed till we have come to our own decisions. There is far too much speculation and, on the whole, it seems better to issue the report to the public within a reasonable time. I cannot say definitely

1. G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 275-276.
2. Taking into account such factors as language, homogeneity, socio-economic imbalances between contiguous regions and within the regions and the educational and cultural needs and aspirations of the people, the report suggested the replacement of existing 27 states by 16 full-fledged states and three centrally administered areas; removal of distinction between Parts 'A', 'B' and 'C' States, abolition of the system of Rajpramukhs; and readjustment of the state boundaries in some places.
3. Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963); President of India. 1950-62.
4. On 7 and 14 September, Nehru had written to B. Gopala Reddi and P. Govinda Menon, Chief Ministers of Andhra and Travancore-Cochin respectively, expressing his unhappiness at the remarks reportedly made by them in public on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. Reddi defended himself by saying that he had made certain comments in a "humorous strain", adding that he had been "evasive" in answering leading questions. Pillai noted that he had only told the newspapers that he had no authentic information about the proposals. He did add that "minute details of the recommendations of the Commission were given in the local press."

on what date this will be issued, but it is our intention to do so within two weeks. This will give you some time also to read and consider the report. We feel that it will not be desirable to issue any brief summary of the report. It is better to issue the entire report when the time comes for it.⁵

4. It is clear that the recommendations of the report will meet with a mixed reception. That was inevitable. It was not possible to produce something which everybody would like. Already there is evidence of strong irritation in some quarters. We must try, of course, to help to create an atmosphere of objective and dispassionate consideration of the report and the problem. Whatever our opinion might be in regard to any particular recommendation, we must agree about one thing and that is that we cannot tolerate unconstitutional action. There are plenty of ways of constitutional expression of opinion. This is going to be a big test for all of us.

5. The report and the recommendations will have to be discussed at the appropriate time in State Legislatures and also in Parliament. But before that time comes, we shall have to apply our joint minds to it. It may be necessary for us to have a meeting of Chief Ministers to consider it.

6. Nothing has so far been decided, but I am writing to you immediately as I want to share my thoughts with you and to impress upon you that we must do everything in our power to deal with this subject in a democratic and disciplined way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The report was eventually published on 10 October 1955.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
October 8, 1955

My dear Pantji,²

Panikkar³ came to see me this afternoon and he handed to me the two enclosed

1. JN Collection.

2. (1887-1961); Union Home Minister. 1955-61.

3. K.M. Panikkar, Member of the States Reorganisation Commission. 1953-55.

letters, one dated 6th October⁴ and the other dated 8th October.⁵

These are really two notes which might well form part of the States Reorganisation Commission's report itself, but it was thought that the points mentioned in them had better not be referred to in the report. I was told that both of these notes had the concurrence of Hriday Nath Kunzru.⁶ As Kunzru was not here, he could not sign them.⁷ The Chairman did not sign them partly because he had not himself gone to these hill areas in the NEFA or Himachal Pradesh, and partly because he was reluctant to say something about Christian methods of propaganda in the NEFA.

Panikkar told me that a third note will be coming to us soon signed by him and Kunzru. This note deals with the Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Division of the NEFA. In this it is recommended that these two areas should be under one authority, that is, either the Naga Hills District should be tagged on to the NEFA or the Tuensang Division should be added to the Naga Hills District. I pointed out to Panikkar that it was odd that this matter should be dealt with in this way separately. It could well have been discussed in the report itself. He said that, in fact, the Commission had come to the decision to recommend that the Naga Hills District should be attached to the NEFA, but later the Assam Government representatives came to see them and brought forward many arguments to show that they had controlled the situation

4. In his letter of 6 October, Panikkar said that in the Autonomous Hill Districts of Assam, most of the educated people were Christians, having a hold on the region's political and educational life, though the Christians were not in a majority in any of the Districts visited by the Commission. He pointed out that the problem was not confined to religious conversion and the influence of the Christians on social manners and customs alone and that the Christians seem to look upon themselves as a superior people and to look down on non-Christian tribal people as "pagans". Panikkar further stated that in view of the misuse of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution by the religious minority in the Hill Districts to maintain its privileged position, he along with H.N. Kunzru would recommend the appointment of a body to look into the matter and to suggest provision to ensure that the really backward group received facilities for their advancement.
5. Pointing out that the people of the Chini and Pangi areas of Himachal Pradesh and the Lahaul and Spiti areas of the Punjab were mainly Indo-Tibetan and nomadic, Panikkar, in his letter of 8 October, recommended, both from the security point of view and from the point of view of the rapid assimilation of these people into the broad framework of Indian life, that the question of constituting an Agency area of these regions and administering them directly along the lines developed in NEFA might be urgently examined.
6. Member of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55.
7. S. Fazl Ali (1886-1959); Chairman, States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55, informed Nehru on 17 October that Kunzru subscribed only to the note dealing with the hill areas of Assam.

in the Naga Hills District while, in the Tuensang Division, trouble had been spreading. They criticised the NEFA administration. Because of this last moment evidence, which could not be checked up by reference to the NEFA people, the Commission decided not to say anything about this in their report, but Kunzru and Panikkar are of the opinion that these two areas should have a single administration. The Chairman, not having gone to these areas, did not wish to express any opinion.⁸

I suggest that these notes might be circulated to Members of the Cabinet only before the meeting on the 11th. If you think it desirable, they might be referred to at the Working Committee meeting also. Perhaps it will not be desirable to circulate them to members of the Working Committee. But some of the Chief Ministers can be given copies.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

8. In their letter of 13 October to the Prime Minister, all the three members of the Commission suggested that Government might institute an inquiry to find out whether it would be desirable to place the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Division of NEFA under the same administration, and that such an inquiry should take place after the meeting of the Nagas to be held in December 1955. They pointed out that the Chief Secretary and the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills District, had assured them that there were indications of the Naga leaders adopting a more cooperative attitude and it was likely that they might disapprove of Phizo's leadership at their forthcoming meeting.

3. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
October 14, 1955

My dear Krishna,²

Apart from our normal work, which is not particularly light, we are facing now two flood situations: one of these you know of; the other is the consequence of the States Reorganisation Commission's report.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1896-1974): India's Representative to the United Nations. 1952-62.

I received your note on the proposed Kerala State some time ago.³ I read it carefully more than once.⁴ I also took the liberty of giving copies of it to some members of our Cabinet⁵ as well as to some others, like Morarji Desai.

Nobody here likes the proposal for a Kerala State as suggested.⁶ We do not think that the Communists will get a majority there. That is possible, but I think not likely. Anyway, if they get it, we have to face the risk. But, this apart, I am sure that it will be bad for Kerala and for its neighbouring states. But what are we to do? No other neighbouring state agrees to have Kerala. Kamaraj Nadar⁷ and the Madras Cabinet absolutely refuse to have anything to do with it. So do the Karnataka people. We have tried to argue with them and we are arguing still. But I fear we shall not succeed in this matter. It is obviously not possible for us to bring about a union when neither party wants it.

This report of the Commission has let loose all kinds of forces, mostly bad. Of course, that is not the fault of the Commission. The forces and disruptive tendencies were there. In fact, it was because of them that we appointed this Commission nearly two years ago. Because the Commission was functioning, these tendencies were held in check. The moment the report was out, that check went and now we face the flood. The two almost troublesome problems are, of

3. Asserting that the agitation for a Malayalam speaking state was a recent and artificial one and backed only by parties seeking "conquest of power", Krishna Menon alleged that the anticipated recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission pertaining to the creation of separate Kerala and Tamil States was inspired by the personal views of one of the members of the Commission (the reference being to K.M. Panikkar), and said that the recommendation was inadvisable for economic, political, administrative, strategic and national security reasons. As a sectarian sub-nationalism of fascist orientation was developing in the Tamil country, he argued, a separate Tamil province would be very anti-national, while the Kerala state would doubtless go Communist after the next general elections with disastrous domestic and international consequences. Krishna Menon added, "We will Balkanise India if we further dismember the States instead of creating larger units."
4. Sending his note to Nehru on 28 September, Krishna Menon wrote, "I fully recognize the validity of your approach that it does not matter so much what we do so long as it gets done and the whole question is not reopened", but noted, "I am more than ever convinced that it would be a short-term political view not to give this matter the consideration that its grave implications warrant."
5. On 8 October, Nehru sent a copy of Krishna Menon's note to G.B. Pant. He also made a mention of the note at the Cabinet meeting on 11 October and the same day sent its copies to C.D. Deshmukh and T.T. Krishnamachari with the comment, "It is rather emotionally worded. I am not sending it to all the Members of the Cabinet."
6. Krishna Menon suggested the creation of "a Southern State, a Dakshin Pradesh, as a corollary to Uttar Pradesh, which could include the present Tamil Nad, Travancore, Cochin, Malabar and possibly Kanara up to Kasargode." He argued that the base of India should be heavy enough to prevent national disruption and also enable sound administration and industrial development.
7. K. Kamaraj Nadar (1903-1975); Chief Minister of Madras, 1954-63.

course, Punjab⁸ and Bombay.⁹ Master Tara Singh¹⁰ is issuing all manner of threats and I am afraid they are not empty threats. In Bombay, the Maharashtrians are also becoming more and more violent in their language. The Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, which is a very strong body and, in fact, which has no rival in the Maharashtra area, is almost united over this issue except in so far as action is concerned, where there are differences of opinion.

I think that it is just possible that these first explosions will tone down somewhat. But the situation is a difficult one. We shall have to face it, of course, and we cannot delay decisions much.¹¹ The Congress has to give some lead. Without that lead, people will not only drift, but adopt wrong courses. The Working Committee met yesterday and today for a preliminary survey and passed a resolution,¹² copy of which I enclose. Within the next two or three weeks, we are going to have a meeting of Chief Ministers, later a meeting of Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees, to be followed by another meeting of the Working Committee. Meanwhile, we shall be meeting groups and individuals. The next meeting of the Working Committee, which is fixed for 8th and 9th November, will have to come to some general decisions in regard to the major problems. By the end of November, the State Assemblies will consider the report and, in December next, Parliament is likely to have a debate on it.

8. There was unrest in Punjab where the Sikhs wanted a state of their own. The majority opinion in the States Reorganisation Commission recommended enlargement of Punjab by the merger of Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh, while Chairman Fazl Ali wanted Himachal Pradesh to be a centrally administered territory.
9. The people of the Marathi-speaking districts of Bombay State intensified their agitation for a separate state of Maharashtra after the Commission decided that the State, shorn of the Kannada-speaking areas but enlarged by the addition of Saurashtra, Kachchh and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad, would continue as a bilingual province, including people speaking Marathi and Gujarati.
10. (1885-1967): prominent Sikh leader of Punjab; after 1947 supporter for the creation of a Punjabi Suba. On 11 October, Tara Singh termed the Commission's recommendation as a decree on Sikh annihilation and gave a "do or die" call to the Sikhs.
11. Krishna Menon said that because the Commission had sat in private and had not had the advantage of public criticism and ventilation of views and also because public feelings on its recommendations were very strong, these should not be precipitately implemented, but accepted piecemeal after allowing free discussion. He cautioned that seeking "to rush it before the elections... would be an ill-fated course to take and one from which it will be difficult to retract."
12. The resolution urged "a cooperative approach" to the report and said that "the problems dealt with in it, should be seen in their entirety, apart from their individual merits". It asked Congressmen to avoid "the agitational approach" and to refrain from associating themselves with other parties or groups in making any demands.

Thus, things are moving pretty fast and, to some extent, took their own momentum. We shall try to control this movement and we may succeed to a large extent. But it is exceedingly difficult that we shall be able to avoid all trouble.

The other floods have almost established a hundred year record. They are now gradually going down in the Punjab and in Delhi, leaving a trail of wreckage and misery behind them.

When do you think this session of the UN is likely to be over and when do you expect to be back here?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. Meetings with the MPCC Deputation¹

Pursuant to the discussions in the Working Committee,² the President³ invited some of the representatives of the three PCCs concerned⁴ of the proposed composite State of Bombay.

The interviews started on the 17th. They were followed by interviews on the 18th and 19th. Panditji, Maulana Saheb, Pantji and the President were present throughout except that on the first day, only Panditji, Pantji and the President were present.

The representatives from Maharashtra gave their reactions to the report. They contended that the report (a) showed a feeling of suspicion and distrust against the people of Maharashtra; (b) that the Commission was unfair in dealing with the question of Vidarbha; and (c) that the Commission singled out Marathi-speaking people as the only people who should have no linguistic State of their own.

As regards (a), Panditji read with them the particular chapter of the report dealing with Bombay and tried to convince the Maharashtrian friends that there

1. Minutes of the meetings with the representatives of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, New Delhi, 17-19 October 1955. File No. G-20(ii)/1955-56, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. The Congress Working Committee met on 13 and 14 October.
3. U.N. Dhebar.
4. Namely, the Maharashtra, Bombay and Gujarat PCCs.

was no aspersion cast upon their bona fides anywhere in the report. All that the Commission had said was that they had received complaints and they had observed a feeling of nervousness amongst the non-Maharashtrian people; but nowhere they have given a finding on this matter. The fact that the Commission used these apprehensions in support of their conclusions is no evidence that they have given a finding on it. It only means that the existence of apprehensions, whether justified or unjustified, is admitted by the Commission.

As regards Vidarbha, the representatives from Maharashtra argued that while every effort was made to bring all the Gujarati-speaking areas under one administration in spite of the objections from the prominent citizens from that area, the Commission had dealt with Vidarbha on a different footing to keep a portion of Marathi-speaking people deliberately outside the proposed Bombay State.

It was explained to the Maharashtrian friends that a bilingual state requires a certain degree of balance on the two language groups and the Commission had to work out a practical solution which would satisfy the reasonable elements in both the groups. The balance had, therefore, become inevitable.

Coming to (c), the Maharashtrian friends drew upon the creation of the fifteen unilingual States and the exclusion of Maharashtra from that list. It was pointed out to the representatives that once the Commission had reached the conclusion that Bombay cannot be given to Gujarat nor can it be formed a part of an unilingual State, the only alternative was to keep Bombay separate or to have a bilingual State. As they stated in the report, the Commission had tried their best to give satisfaction to the Maharashtrian sentiments by creating a Marathi-speaking State and also giving an important voice in the new composite State.

The Maharashtrian friends on the next day tried to impress upon us that the demand for inclusion of Bombay into the Maharashtrian State was just and fair and a refusal on the part of Congress High Command to accept justice of the cause was coming in the way of a solution.

It was conceded that while Bombay, physically speaking, can be considered to be a part of Maharashtra and that it has to depend for some of its basic needs upon the Maharashtra area, the character and the composition of Bombay was also a reality which could not be ignored. The Dar Commission,⁵ JVP

5. The Linguistic Provinces Commission, also known as the Dar Commission, was appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 16 June 1948 under the chairmanship of Justice S.K. Dar to examine and report on the feasibility of formation of the provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. In its report submitted in December 1948, the Commission recommended against the formation of linguistic provinces and in favour of the later recasting of some existing provinces on administrative considerations.

report⁶ and the Fazl Ali Commission were all agreed that Bombay has a special status of its own and that status cannot be overlooked.

There was a meeting on the 19th once again. Panditji suggested to them that if the report was not acceptable, then the Working Committee can exercise its influence to persuade Vidarbha to its inclusion in Maharashtra and Gujarat and Maharashtra being split up as language States, Bombay remaining a separate State with an option that at the end of five years, its Legislature, on the basis of Telengana, may merge with Maharashtra. The representatives of the MPCC, however, did not show their willingness to accept this proposal. Further deliberations, therefore, had to be postponed....

6. The AICC subcommittee on linguistic provinces, formed at the Jaipur Congress in December 1948 with Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya as members, suggested in its report published on 1 April 1949 that, in view of the unsettled conditions in the country, the consideration of linguistic provinces might be postponed for ten years; but some steps could be taken in individual cases if there was agreement between the parties.

5. Dealing with the SRC Report¹

Friends and Comrades,

It is just twenty-two days ago that this report was given to us by the Commission, to the Government here, and it is just twelve days since it was published for the public, but during this very brief period it has attracted naturally a great deal of attention and caused a good deal of excitement and all of you, who naturally are very intimately concerned with it, have considered it fully and no doubt discussed it with your colleagues in your own Governments and where possible with others. You know that sometime back a meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held;² some of you were present there and we gave a good deal of thought to it. We did not think it right at that time to come to any final decisions without further opportunities of consultation and it is in continuation of that that we met some of the our colleagues from other States and had long discussions with them and that process is going to continue.

1. Speech while inaugurating the Chief Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 22 October 1955. File No. 2/3/55-SR, MHA, NAI. Extracts. For Nehru's remarks during discussion on various subjects at the Chief Ministers' Conference, see *post*, pp. 301-303, 325 and 326.
2. The meeting was held on 13 and 14 October 1955.

But it was important that representatives, that is, the Chief Ministers, more especially in the States, should meet all together and discuss this matter with us. Now, obviously this kind of discussion may easily become a discussion on some specific proposals in the report. There are many proposals, some on a big scale, some on a small scale. Whether a proposal is a big or a small one, naturally it affects the people. Now, some proposals are of deep interest, let us say, to two States or three, and of practically no interest to others except a friendly interest that the right thing should be done. Now, how exactly are we to deal with it in our discussions here? But all of you must have seen the Working Committee Resolution which tried to place this question in the proper perspective. The full thing appeared in the press; it was published fully. That only referred to the approach to it, not to any sort of decisions this way or that way.

Now, all of you perhaps do not quite realize what people coming from North and East India have to face today in the shape of floods. It is a matter not directly concerned with our discussions, but nevertheless it does give a certain background to present conditions. These floods had been on a terrific scale and there is no record I believe of such floods all over at the same time. In some places you had worst floods, but here, everywhere, I do not know how many of you know that these floods or the consequences of these floods have done colossal damage to the Bhakra dam, which is a big thing. Now, I am going there in about a few weeks' time to perform some ceremony. I wanted to read out a letter to you, but I cannot find it. The chief man there, our American construction adviser,³ he says that in his 38 years of experience all over the world, he has never seen anything like this sudden damage when mountains moved and huge landslides occurred and a great deal of work that had been done was suddenly demolished. However, he concludes the letter by saying that he will be ready to receive me on the 17th of November for the ceremony and that they shall work night and day. I am just mentioning to the Conference the background of North and East India.

Now, as I said, how exactly are we to consider this here? There is a certain approach, the general approach of the Commission, certain principles laid down, certain proposals in regard to reorganisation and certain proposals in regard to, let us say, the protection of the culture of minorities, joint services, this, that and other, each one of them requiring a good deal of consideration. Probably it will not be right for us to discuss the relatively smaller matters. At any rate let us discuss, I suggest, the broad approach of this report and in discussing it broadly—that is, the picture they have framed—one has naturally to refer to

3. Harvey Slocum (1887-1961); headed a corps of American engineers as an advisory team to the Bhakra-Nangal irrigation and power project, 1951-55.

the specific recommendations—I do not mean that it should not be referred to, which would be absurd, but what I suggest is that we should not—at any rate, to begin with—suddenly start discussing each individual item in detail because otherwise probably we shall be rather lost in the smaller details and forget the big proposals.

Now, I do not wish to take up your time at this stage because it is really for you to tell us your impressions, your reactions and the reactions of your people. Obviously it would be easy for us here in the Central Government, or at any rate it would not be very difficult for us to decide something if there is agreement among the people especially concerned. The difficulty arises when there is no such agreement there. One thing rather amazes me and distresses me and that is that sometimes we see in some places people demonstrating against another State. That kind of thing happened in Orissa. Now, that is, I think, the height of the ridiculous; it has no meaning to my mind. It is the same type of thing as a country demonstrating against a neighbouring country preceding war. It has no meaning to me except just a lack of balance and a lack of thought. We say something by way of expressing one's opinion, but that is not a question of expression of opinion, but it is a question of even sometimes violence, of stopping trains, this, that and other, which just is rather infantile. It is not politics; it is not the reaction of a mature nation or an individual and I do not think we shall go up in public estimation by indulging in this kind of infantile expressions of a vicious nature. Obviously there are differences, divergences of opinion in these matters as they sometimes are in regard to major questions. Well, we have to face them and some decision has to be given and some decision has to be accepted unless we think in terms of, by superior pressure tactics, bringing about a situation when that decision is to be upset. That kind of thing again in a democratic structure is not a desirable approach. So I think that I may say with all respect that it is far more important how we face this issue than what we decide.

To my mind I have no doubt about that. How we approach it, of course, we ought to decide rightly as far as we can but it is more important how we face it than the manner of our approach. Then ultimately the actual decisions, naturally we should try, should be right decisions. I may put it even more; a wrong decision, that is, a decision which is not the best rather is better, provided we do it in the right way because the wrong way does not lead to any decision at all. It may lead to some kind of a temporary conclusion. And in this matter we have to give the lead to our own people and if we give a lead, at the top, of anger, passion and conflict, then obviously we do not serve our people's cause well. We have to face frequently the disruptive tendencies and forces in this country—an inheritance of the past. We have strong forces for unity too. Now, it just depends how we deal with these matters now as to whether we strengthen these big tendencies of unity or the other tendencies which disrupt...

6. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
October 24, 1955

My dear Partap Singh,²

I was rather surprised to learn from Dr Parmar³ of Himachal Pradesh that you have made all kinds of suggestions to him which were rather far-fetched. I presume the report I have received is correct. I am afraid that this kind of talk is not likely to do any good. It has a tendency to spread and create ill will and difficulties.

I cannot say what the future of Himachal Pradesh will be. In the course of the next two or three weeks we might be in a position to say more definitely. That will have to be considered from a variety of points of view.

I met Master Tara Singh today in the morning for a few minutes. That was more or less a social call. Then we had two hours' talk with him. Maulana and Pantji were present. In the main, the talking was done by Hukam Singh⁴ and to some extent by Giani Kartar Singh⁵ and Principal Jodh Singh.⁶ We listened without saying much. Probably we shall have to meet them again some days later.

I am told that Master Tara Singh was pleased with his reception by me.⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1901-1965); Minister for Development, Government of Punjab, 1952-56.
3. Y.S. Parmar (1906-1981); Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh, 1952-56.
4. (1895-1983); Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67.
5. (1901-1981); Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly; left Congress Party in 1941; General Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, for several years.
6. (1882-1981); taught mathematics from 1906 and divinity from 1924 at Khalsa College, Amritsar; Principal, Khalsa College, 1935-52; founded Punjabi Sahit Academy, 1954; appointed Vice-Chancellor, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1962; author of several books on the Sikh gurus and Sikhism.
7. The same day Tara Singh conveyed to Nehru through Ram Narayan Chaudhuri, a Congressman from Rajasthan and associated with the Bharat Sevak Samaj, that he was "well satisfied" with the talks. Singh also assured Chaudhuri that "in his life-time there would not be any conflict between him and the Prime Minister."

7. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi

October 26, 1955

My dear Gadgil,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th October which I received today. I hasten to reply to it.

2. I am surprised to read in your letter that some people say that I "hate" you. It is rather difficult to speak of oneself, but I cannot, for the moment, think of anyone in the wide world for whom I have any hatred. Naturally I have likes and dislikes, I react more or less favourably to some people, but in the main my dislike of individuals is not deep and passes. So far as you are concerned, I have always had courtesy and friendliness for you and I hope that I have behaved in a like manner to you. We have agreed in a large number of matters and if I have disagreed with you in some, there was nothing remarkable about it. The best of friends can disagree. Therefore, please disabuse your mind of this suspicion that I have any feeling against you. I have considerable respect for your ability and capacity for sustained work. Both when you were a colleague in the Cabinet and afterwards, I have always valued your opinion, even though I did not wholly agree with it. The one thing that has distressed me, however, has been not what you said, but the manner of your saying it. It has seemed to me that sometimes you put unnecessary heat in what you say and I have been surprised to notice even a trace of violence. That, I am sure, you will agree with me, is not a good thing in our public life.

3. You refer to what Hiray³ said in the MPCC meeting on the 21st October.⁴ When I read this, I was surprised, because it did not fit in at all with such knowledge as I possessed. Also it seemed to me wholly unlikely that any member of the Commission would function in that way. Nevertheless, I had to make sure and I wrote a letter⁵ immediately to the Chairman of the Commission

1. File No. 3, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. (1896-1966): Union Minister for Works, Production and Supply, 1947-52.

3. B.S. Hiray (1905-1961): Minister for Revenue and Agriculture, Government of Bombay, 1952-56.

4. Speaking at a meeting of the Maharashtra PCC in Pune on 21 October, Hiray alleged that one of the members of the States Reorganisation Commission had decided to grant the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay city as its capital and had even read out to him a chapter of the report to that effect in the presence of the other two members, but that chapter was not included later on. Supporting Hiray's statement, Gadgil claimed that the changes in the draft report were made after certain people from Gujarat and Bombay met the Commission in June 1955.

5. On 22 October.

drawing his attention to Hiray's statement and asking him how far this was true. The Chairman wrote to me immediately in reply and expressed his great distress at Hiray's statement which, he said, was entirely contrary to the facts.⁶ Independently, the other members of the Commission were also asked and they supported the Chairman and did so with some warmth.

4. Throughout the period of the Commission's functioning and till it presented its report, I hardly met the Commission or any members of it except at social functions. Only once did I meet the full Commission rather formally and on that occasion we discussed chiefly the problems of the North East Frontier. On two or three other occasions I had brief talks with the Chairman of a general nature. I do not think on any of these occasions any reference was made to Bombay or Maharashtra. I rather avoided intruding myself or discussing the matters which were being considered by the Commission.

5. It was after the report was given to us that I met the Chairman and had a brief talk about it. I gathered from his talk that they had been much exercised over the question of Maharashtra, Bombay, etc., and had tried their utmost to find some way which was both right and feasible and at the same time was generally accepted by the parties concerned. He told me that they had explored numerous avenues. It had often been their practice in the course of talks with people, to put these various suggestions to find out the reaction of those people. They did this particularly to people who might be opposed to them with a view to eliciting their reactions. It was because of this procedure that wrong impressions sometimes were given.

6. Presumably you think that Morarjibhai influenced the Commission to change its opinion. This is not so, firstly because the Commission did not come to a decision, according to the Chairman, till quite late.⁷ But, apart from this, to my knowledge, Morarjibhai kept away from the Commission and avoided discussing any matter with them. He came to Delhi many times for various meetings. Deliberately he avoided seeing any member of the Commission. He did the same in Bombay except when the Chairman of the Commission was ill and had gone there for treatment. Even then, Morarjibhai went to enquire after his health and to make some arrangements for him and did not discuss the work of the Commission.

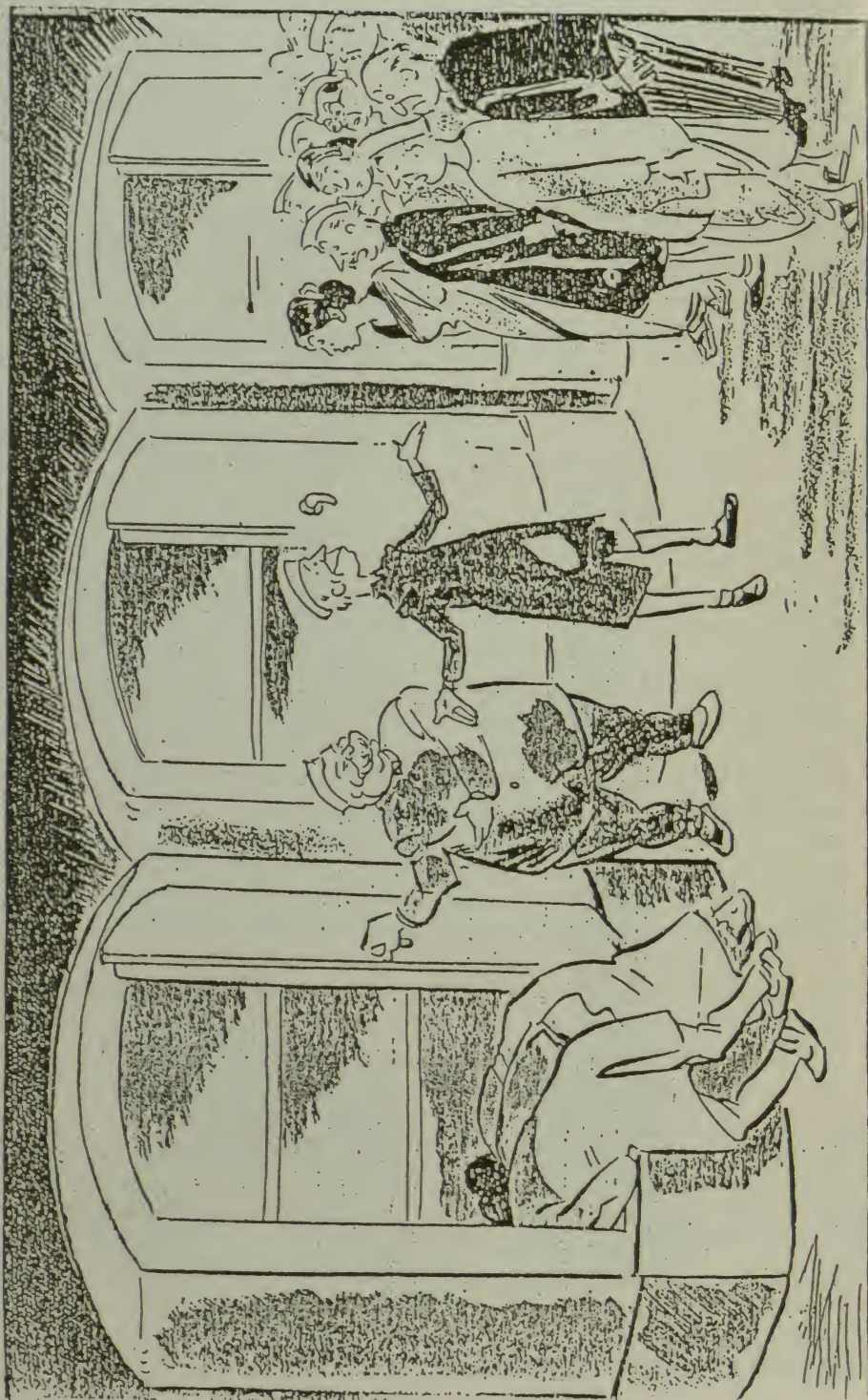
6. Fazl Ali clarified to Nehru, in his letter of 23 October, that only after the last series of interviews were over, the Commission met, in the last week of June, to consider the main proposals before them and to take decisions thereon. No decisions had been taken by them before that either on the question of Samyukta Maharashtra or any other proposal made before them, he added.

7. Fazl Ali wrote to Nehru, "The drafting of the report was taken in hand in the first week of July and it was not until the second week of September that it was finalised and sent to the press."



RECEIVING THE BHARAT RATNA FROM RAJENDRA PRASAD,
NEW DELHI, 7 SEPTEMBER 1955

Free Refrigeration Service



Pandit Nehru has urged that the States Reorganisation Commission's report be received by the public rally and discussion meeting
A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 OCTOBER 1955

7. You will appreciate that in this matter I have to accept the clear word of the Chairman and the members of the Commission. I feel that Hiray must have been the victim of some misunderstanding.

8. You refer to what happened in Bombay city on the 16th August.⁸ I do not claim to have personal knowledge of those events. But I must have discussed them with a very large number of persons of all types, apart from the newspaper accounts and other reports. Whether the situation was tactlessly handled or not, can be a matter of opinion. But I should have thought that there was an utter lack of provocation on the part of Government. In fact, orders had been issued to the Police not to interfere and for the greater part of the day Bombay seemed to have no Government. I think that this was a mistake on the part of the Bombay Government. Anyhow it shows a desire not to interfere, which is the very opposite of being provocative.

9. Perhaps you refer to the fact that the National Flag was not lowered at the Secretariat and consider this provocation. If this is so, I do not agree. As I have said on several occasions in public, in speaking about the National Flag, I would never agree to lower it under any pressure. I do not myself see where the attempt to discredit Maharashtrians comes in into this matter. In fact, I had not heard of this charge in this connection previous to getting your letter.

10. You refer to the injustice done by the SRC, and that their final recommendations were not the result of fair, impartial or independent thinking, but were made with a view to please and placate certain interests. The members of the Commission were not party men and hardly politicians except, to some extent, Kunzru. But Kunzru's politics are of the liberal variety which did not affect these issues. Whether one agrees with the members of the Commission or not, it is clear to me that they were able and impartial men and they did their best in the circumstances. That best may not be approved of. That is another matter. I cannot conceive of their being compelled to decide something against their own thinking. As for placating and pleasing certain interests, I do not quite understand what is meant. It should be the endeavour of a Commission such as this to win over to its viewpoint as many people concerned as possible. That indeed is the approach of Government too, subject to the right thing being done. If, however, you suggest that certain vested interests influenced the Commission in their favour by some pressure tactics, then I am sure you are mistaken.

8. Demonstrations took place on 16 August in Mumbai and Delhi leading to violence, in protest against firing on satyagrahis in Goa. According to Gadgil, the situation in Mumbai "was tactlessly, but provocatively handled and the object was to discredit Maharashtrians."

11. I have no knowledge as to what happened to the Dar Commission at the eleventh hour, as you say,⁹ nor have I heard of any such charge before I got your letter.

12. I have endeavoured to keep an open mind on this subject not only of Maharashtra but of the whole question of the reorganisation of States. During the last two years, ever since the Commission was appointed, we have hardly discussed this subject amongst ourselves. I saw no reason to discuss it in the air and waste my time and energy. It was only when the Commission's report came out that I saw their recommendations. Generally speaking, as you know, I do not like the idea of purely linguistic provinces, though I recognise fully the importance of language in a community. I have, therefore, always tried to balance various considerations. I do not understand at all anyone saying, as the MPCC has said, that the linguistic state as such involves a moral principle. It may involve an important principle, one of several. But where morality comes in in this matter, is not clear to me.

13. Thus, my approach has been to balance various considerations and, at the same time, to seek as large a measure of agreement as possible. It is impossible for everyone to agree to any proposal. I am, broadly speaking, opposed to compulsion of any considerable group or area, though of course it is impossible to have self-determination for every little patch.

14. It is with these broad considerations in view that I approach this problem and we have not yet come to any final decision. On the one hand, what the people of Maharashtra say and desire¹⁰ is obviously of great importance, but it is equally important for us to consider what the people of Gujarat or Bombay city or Vidarbha might say. It does not seem to me desirable to compel any such area to do something against its will because some others want it to do so. If a broad agreement was arrived at, well and good.

15. You warn me against persons telling me that with firmness something can be imposed upon. I agree that there should be no imposition. But that is exactly what would happen if we acted against the wishes of any of the areas mentioned above in regard to that particular area. If you can get others to

9. Gadgil alleged that the Dar Commission had changed its recommendations at the eleventh hour as a result of certain influences. The Dar Commission had concluded that "linguistic groups as sub-nations do not exist anywhere at present" and strongly expressed itself against redrawing the map of the whole of southern India, including Bombay. It also stated, "The bitter dispute which rages...between the Marathas and Gujaratis about the city of Bombay reveals a mentality which to our mind will be the death-knell of Indian nationalism."

10. Gadgil noted, "It is my duty to tell you that no Maharashtrian will agree to a separate state for Bombay city and the proposed Bombay state as recommended by the States Reorganisation Commission is equally unacceptable to them."

agree, I shall be happy. But do you wish me to impose your wishes on unwilling people?

16. If everybody says that for one reason or another every proposal is unacceptable, then there are only two courses open, either to have no change at all and preserve the status quo or to decide on one proposal which is the least unacceptable.

17. You refer to the building up of a real socialist state.¹¹ I do not myself see the connection between this and a suitable reorganisation of our States.

18. I shall gladly meet you, but I am leaving Delhi on the 30th October morning for about a week.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Gadgil wrote, "The creation of Samyukta Maharashtra...will be a great factor in building up a real socialist state. The fact today is that those who oppose us are the real opponents of socialist state...."

8. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1955

My dear Sachar,

I had a large delegation from Hariāna today. I knew, of course, that the Hariāna people, or many of them, are dissatisfied with present conditions. But I must confess that I was a little surprised to find how very dissatisfied they are and the case they put forward appeared to me to have substance. It may have been exaggerated, of course. Nevertheless, there appeared to be much in it. I am informing you of this just to keep you in touch with the impression I gathered. You must, of course, know the facts much better than I do. Whether this influences our decision in other matters is, of course, another thing. But it does seem to me unfortunate that a certain section of the Punjab province should feel so strongly about being ignored by the Government as well as the Congress Party of the Punjab.

It almost appeared to me that in our considering the tension and occasional tug of war between the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Hindus in that part of the

1. File No. PB/46, Bhimsen Sachar Papers. NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

Punjab, we forget the Haryana people who have nothing to do with that conflict. The Punjab politics, both in Government and in the Congress, seem to be governed by that conflict, and the Haryana people suffer. In fact, they appeared to have a feeling that they are not a part of the Punjab at all and are rather looked down upon as "Hindustanis".

This is just for your information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1955

My dear Partap Singh,

...Naturally, we have been thinking a good deal about the Punjab and we shall continue to do so. We have come to no decisions and we may have to consult you and other colleagues again. Finally, of course, the matter will be considered by the Working Committee.

You told me that you were anxious that whatever we decided should be made known to you previously so as to guide your own action in the matter. I realise this, but I don't think we will decide anything finally till we meet in the Working Committee.

I might suggest, however, that the general attitude you should take up is, first in regard to Himachal Pradesh, that you will welcome the association of Himachal Pradesh with the Punjab, but in this matter it is for the people of Himachal Pradesh to decide and you do not wish to come in the way of their decision.² Secondly, you should lay great stress on the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab pulling together to build up a common life, each respecting the other and cooperating with it and not interfering with each other in any way. You might further lay stress on assurances being given or arrangements made to ensure that legitimate grievances of any group or community are properly considered and remedied.

This is a broad approach which anyhow should be good and should fit in with whatever we may decide.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See also *post*, pp. 280-281.

I had a deputation from the Hariana people today. I knew previously that they were dissatisfied with many things done by the Government and the Congress of the Punjab. But I must confess that I was a little surprised at their strong resentment and they put up what appeared to be a fairly good case. The impression I got from them was that in the quarrels and the tug of war between the Sikhs and the Hindus of the Punjab proper, the Hariana people get left out or are ignored. I am merely mentioning this for your information because I do not think any group of people should feel that way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
November 9, 1955

My dear Krishna,

I have just received your letter² of November 3.

It is hardly possible to do any work here now because of a succession of eminent visitors who take up all my time and energy. This is likely to continue. In about a week Bulganin³ and Khrushchev⁴ are coming. Before that, U Nu⁵

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Repeating his plea against hasty implementation of the Commission's proposals in regard to South India, Krishna Menon said, "I fear we are taking a step of retrogression and once again paving the way for the disintegration of India which has been her fate in history every time she has achieved some unity and hegemony." He pointed out that the least desirable of the changes suggested were plainly linguistic though the report was avowedly against linguism, and added, "Self-determination is a horse which we have been driving too hard and even in the international sphere it is beginning to kick us in the face." Agreeing with the fourth alternative course suggested by Nehru in his letter of 14 October to Chief Ministers (see *post*, pp.498-502) viz., "to treat the report without too much ceremony as just a basis for our consideration and make such changes as we like, major or minor", Krishna Menon exhorted Nehru to assert his right to put national considerations "before all local considerations and even over Chief Ministers."
3. N.A. Bulganin (1895-1975); Deputy Chairman, Soviet Council of Ministers, 1949-55; Prime Minister, 1955-58.
4. N.S. Khrushchev (1894-1971); First Secretary of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1953-64.
5. (1907-1995); Prime Minister of Myanmar (Burma), 1947-57.

and Hatta will be here and immediately after Bulganin, the King⁶ of Saudi Arabia will come. I feel rather worn out.

But the real burden we have had to carry is that imposed upon us by the States Reorganisation Commission's report. Passions have arisen and in some parts of India the atmosphere has been very tense.

When you wrote to me previously and sent me a long note on Kerala, etc.,⁷ I circulated your note to a number of my colleagues in the Cabinet and in the Congress Working Committee. Many of them agreed with you. But I am afraid you do not quite appreciate the kind of forces we have to contend against in India at the present moment. When you suggest that States should become merely administrative divisions and far greater power should be concentrated in the Centre, you say something which is utterly beyond anyone's capacity to do at the present moment.⁸

Whether the Commission was good or bad, we have to face a difficult situation.⁹ We try to make the best of it, but we cannot do all that we like to do. It is almost impossible to have a Southern Province, much as we would like it. We have tried our best and failed. We have decided, therefore, not to bewail our lot but to face the situation as best as we can. We have gone too far to withdraw, nor can we put a sudden stop to the course of events.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

6. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud (1902-1969); King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-64.

7. See *ante*, pp. 248-251.

8. Krishna Menon argued for a stronger Centre in the context of new instabilities which he thought were inevitable if the Commission's proposals were implemented. He also suggested that in the creation of units, the divisions in regard to educational, judicial and economic spheres should not correspond with the State boundaries.

9. Krishna Menon held that the States Reorganisation Commission functioned neither as a commission in a parliamentary system nor as a tribunal but worked practically in secret, without adequately taking into account the factor of national cohesion. He contended that failure to legislate upon the Commission's proposals in a great hurry would not produce any more agitation than the attempt to do it.

11. Report of the SRC¹

Since the last meeting of the Working Committee held on the 13th and 14th October 1955, full and detailed consideration has been given to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Congress President and other members of the Working Committee have met a large number of deputations and conferred with their colleagues in the different parts of the country. They have also considered the opinions expressed by various organisations, individuals and the press. Chief Ministers of States as well as the Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees have also met and had an opportunity of expressing their views.

2. Having considered in detail the recommendations of the Commission, the Working Committee are of opinion that, broadly speaking, the Commission's recommendations should be generally accepted, except in cases where it is possible to find alternate solutions which receive a more general agreement or in certain cases of adjustments of boundaries.

3. The Committee have come to final decisions in regard to certain matters. In regard to certain other matters, they have also come to certain tentative decisions which will be finalised soon. There is a third category of subjects which are being referred by the Committee to a sub-committee for final decisions.

4. The Committee have always laid stress on national unity and solidarity as overriding considerations to be borne in mind in determining the constitutional structure of India. These considerations necessarily apply to any reorganisation of the States. Language is undoubtedly one of the important considerations, but there are, however, other factors which are equally important and must be kept in view. The reorganisation of states is only a means to an end, the basic objective being the unity of the nation and the prosperity of the people. In this unity, the people of every part of India should have the fullest opportunities of growth. From this point of view, the Committee particularly welcome the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission contained in Part IV of the report in regard to various safeguards for linguistic and other minorities in the sphere of administration and education, integration of Services, financial and other administrative measures, and in order to ensure the unity of India. The Committee broadly accept these recommendations. In

1. Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee. New Delhi, 9 November 1955. JN Collection.

regard to those, however, which refer to the appointment of Public Service Commissions and the creation of new all-India Services, further consideration is necessary.

The Committee hope that the Government of India will take early and suitable steps for the implementation of the these recommendations.

5. The Committee approve of the proposal of the Commission that there should be only one class of states as well as certain centrally administered territories. In these centrally administered areas, adequate opportunities should be given to the people for the management of local affairs, subject to central supervision and control. Each such area will have to be considered separately in this matter.

6. The Committee have given careful consideration to the views expressed by the Pradesh Congress Committees of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Bombay city in regard to the future of the present Bombay State. In view of the opinion expressed by the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, the Working Committee have come to the conclusion not to press for the acceptance of the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission in favour of a composite State of Bombay. The Committee have, therefore, explored alternative proposals which lead to the greatest measure of agreement and are in the larger interests of the country. They are of opinion that three States should be formed. These should be:

- (i) Maharashtra, comprising the Marathi speaking areas of the Bombay State, excluding Bombay as defined below, the Marathwada districts of Hyderabad and the Marathi speaking areas of Madhya Pradesh;
 Vidarbha, that is, the Marathi speaking area of the present Madhya Pradesh, should be invited to join the new Maharashtra State and the wishes of the people there should be ascertained.²
- (ii) Gujarat, comprising the Gujarati speaking areas of the present Bombay State, Saurashtra and Kutch;
- (iii) Bombay, comprising the area at present under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

These three States will to a considerable extent be interdependent in relation

2. M.S. Aney, who was against Vidarbha joining the new Maharashtra State, talked to Nehru on the telephone from Pune on 9 November after the CWC resolution was passed and asked how it was proposed to ascertain the wishes of the people of Vidarbha. Nehru told him that there was no constitutional way of ascertaining them, but it could be done by consultation with people.

to Bombay city and arrangements should be made to avoid any interference with this interdependence.

7. The proposal of the Commission in regard to a new State of Madhya Pradesh comprising Mahakoshal, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal is accepted. The suggestion of the Commission in regard to the capital of the new State is not accepted. Minor border adjustments might be made where considered necessary.

8. The State of Uttar Pradesh should remain as it is, subject to such minor border adjustments as might be considered necessary.

9. The division of the present Hyderabad State is generally accepted. The Committee are of opinion that it would be desirable, subject to the wishes of the people concerned, for the Telengana area to be attached to the Andhra State at the beginning of this reorganisation, and advise accordingly.

10. The Committee accept the recommendation in regard to the new Kerala State, subject to border adjustments, and the consequential changes in the State of Madras.

11. The Committee also accept the merger of Ajmer in Rajasthan as well as certain other minor changes in the Rajasthan State.

12. The Committee agree that Delhi, Manipur and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands should be Centrally administered territories.

13. The Committee recommend that the Laccadive Islands as well as the Amandive Isles should also be Centrally administered.

14. In regard to the Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh, the Committee appoint a sub-committee consisting of: i) Shri U.N. Dhebar; ii) Shri Jawaharlal Nehru; iii) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and; iv) Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, for a further consideration in consultation with the people concerned and to come to a final decision.

15. The sub-committee above named will also consider and decide in regard to the proposed Karnataka State and the various border issues that have been raised in the report or are connected therewith.

16. The Working Committee have endeavoured to deal with the complicated issues raised in the report of the States Reorganisation Commission and the divergences of opinion in regard to them with the sole desire to arrive at decisions which are as widely acceptable as possible and which are conducive to the good of the nation as well as the constituent parts of the country. It is essential that the decisions arrived at should be accepted in good spirit by all concerned and with a view to mutual cooperation. This spirit of cooperation is even more necessary than the actual letter of the decision. It is in the hope that this cooperative spirit will be forthcoming and that all Congressmen and others will set aside their conflicts of opinion and join in the great adventure of building up a new India that the Working Committee have come to these decisions.

12. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

Camp: Amritsar
November 11, 1955

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of November 10 in which you tell me about the appointment of a Committee² by the Punjab State Congress to discuss the question of reorganisation of States. We should be glad to meet this Committee. We shall also be meeting Master Tara Singh and his colleagues again. I would prefer to meet your Committee before I meet Master Tara Singh again.

I am afraid it is difficult to fix a meeting for the next few days because we are having a number of distinguished visitors, including the Prime Minister of Burma, the Vice-President of Indonesia and the Soviet Prime Minister. Mr Bulganin is likely to go away on the 22nd morning. I have written to Master Tara Singh saying that we would like to see him again but this will have to be after the 22nd of November.³ I have not fixed a date yet. Anyhow, I should like to meet your group before I see Master Tara Singh.

As you know, I am going to Bhakra-Nangal on the 17th of November. Perhaps we could settle up some time then.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9, AICC Papers. NMML.
2. It consisted of Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Bhimsen Sachar, Udham Singh, Sher Singh and Kairon.
3. In his letter of 11 November to Tara Singh, Nehru also stated, "I am grateful to you and to the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee for the warm and exuberant welcome that I got when I visited the Darbar Sahib today. I was much moved by it."

13. Meeting with the Hindu MLAs and MPs of Punjab¹

I met a number of Punjab MLAs and MPs at Nangal this evening. There were about forty to fifty persons present.

1. Note to U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, written in train on way from Nangal to New Delhi, 17 November 1955. File No. 3, AICC Papers. NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Copies of this note were sent to G.B.Pant and A.K.Azad.

2. When I was at Amritsar a few days ago, I was told by the Chief Minister that some MLAs wished to meet me either at Delhi or at Nangal. I had replied that it would be better if they met me at Nangal. Subsequently a convention of the MLAs and MPs was held, that is, a day or two ago, and there has been much reference to this matter in the press, where it is stated that a split has occurred in the Punjab Congress Party. It is also stated that an "alarm day" is going to be celebrated (Diwan Chamanlal² told me that this was quite untrue and he had denied this.). I had no idea in Amritsar that any such development was taking place. I was, therefore, a little surprised and somewhat put out at the convention and the general press propaganda about it.

3. Shri Bhimsen Sachar asked me if he should attend this meeting of MLAs and MPs this evening. I naturally said that he should and so he came with me. I found there that the other Ministers were not present. The Pradesh Congress President, Shri Gurmukh Singh Musafir, was also not present. The gathering was a Hindu gathering, though, later, I discovered that there was a Sikh in it whom I do not know.

4. Shri Thakurdas Bhargava³ got up at the beginning and spoke on behalf of the others. He told me of the convention and of the decision of that convention to support the SRC proposals about the Punjab, etc. They would have very much liked the proposals to go much further so that the Punjab State might be a bigger state; but they did not wish to press for that except for the addition of some place near Loharu; otherwise they were prepared to accept the proposals as they stood, that is, the merger of Himachal Pradesh and Pepsu in the Punjab. They were much concerned at suggestions that had been made that Himachal Pradesh should be kept separate and possibly some parts of the existing Punjab State might be taken away from it. This would be a very unfortunate step from every point of view. The fact that some people in various parts of the Punjab, like Hariana, or in Himachal Pradesh had complained about several matters, did not mean that they wanted to be separate from the Punjab. Such complaints were natural and they would no doubt be remedied.

5. Himachal Pradesh, according to him, should be an integral part of the Punjab for a variety of reasons. Three rivers came from there and Punjab had suffered much from deforestation in Himachal Pradesh. They had a great deal in common and petty complaints could be remedied; that all kinds of assurance could be given to that effect, etc. As for Kangra and Gurgaon, the people there were strongly opposed to being separated from Punjab.

6. Shri Thakurdas Bhargava also spoke about the demand for a Punjabi State which, in reality, was one for a Sikh State. This was dangerous and showed the extreme communal and separatist mentality of the Sikhs, which should not

2. (1892-1973); Member of Rajya Sabha. 1952-67.

3. (1886-1962); Member of Lok Sabha. 1952-62.

be encouraged. All this talk of percentages was also communal and against the principles for which we had stood. Shri Bhargava developed these arguments at length. When he had spoken for about twenty-five minutes continuously, my patience was exhausted and I told him that it was about time that I had my say.

7. I then said that the first question that came up before me was as to who the people who were meeting me were, or rather in what capacity they had come. Of course, as individuals or citizens of India anybody could meet me. But, as a Congressman, normally I met other PCCs or Congress legislature parties. This group was neither. The President of the Pradesh Congress Committee was not there, nor were important members of the Punjab Government and the Congress Party. In fact, Sikhs were absent and this group was, therefore, a Hindu group advancing what might be considered Hindu claims. From the Congress point of view, this was very bad. It meant group working which had been condemned repeatedly by the Working Committee. Whatever their motives had been, the fact was that much publicity had been given in the press to a split in the Punjab Congress. No doubt, this should produce repercussions elsewhere. Thus, they had actually injured the national cause and the Congress and, in my opinion, the very cause they sought to represent, because that cause could not be considered objectively in this way and became tied up with group and communal advocacy. They talked of the Akalis being communal which they were; but they were behaving in exactly a similar and communal way. I was much upset by this, quite apart from merits of what they said, and I had no doubt that the same impression must have been created in many other minds.

8. I was not going to express an opinion on the merits of what they had said. We were going to consider this question fully and no doubt their own viewpoint would also be considered. But I wanted to lay stress on the impropriety of what they had done. The merits of the question were important. Even more important was the manner of approach. The question essentially was not a very legal or logical one to be considered in the abstract. It raised strong psychological reactions. If they treated the Akalis or the Sikhs as opponents to be kept down, then undoubtedly the Akalis would become more and more hostile to them. The Congress attitude should be to win the confidence of all, without giving up any vital principles.

9. I spoke to them in this strain for some time and then I said something about individual matters they had raised, making it clear that I was not expressing any opinion. I pointed out that they had laid stress on the people of Kangra and Gurgaon not wanting to leave the Punjab. But they seemed to ignore the fact that the great majority of people of Himachal Pradesh did not want to be merged in Punjab. They had talked about rivers coming from Himachal Pradesh. Most of our great rivers went through two or three states.

We could not consider state boundaries on the basis of rivers in this way. We had, therefore, to deal with them through river valley commissions.

10. They had talked about percentages, but in effect they themselves had percentages at the back of their mind. We had seen also that, in regard to Bombay State, both the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis were concerned with certain percentages. Naturally we should not take a wrong step, but our basic approach should always be that the burden of winning over a minority must rest with the majority. If it failed to do so, the majority had not functioned satisfactorily.

11. Some representatives from Kangra got up and said that they wanted to be with the Punjab and Dr Parmar had misrepresented them when he said to Maulana Azad that Kangra wanted to be with Himachal Pradesh.

12. Shri Thakurdas Bhargava and others told me that they were anxious to be friends with Sikhs and to win them over.

13. I spoke to them, to begin with, somewhat curtly. But gradually I toned down and I think that the effect of this meeting was, on the whole, good and those who had come to see me felt that they had not acted wisely in the steps that they had taken. Indeed they confessed it very much.

II. STATE MATTERS

1. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi

September 1, 1955

My dear Jayaprakash,²

I have just received your letter of the 31st August.³ In this you refer to some other letter in which you asked me for a transcript of my speech. I have not

1. JN Collection.

2. (1902-1979); prominent Socialist leader.

3. Jayaprakash wrote, in connection with the incidents of violence and rioting in Patna since 15 August 1955, that Nehru was "captured by one-sided, untrue and interested versions" and had shut himself completely from public opinion in Bihar. He asked why Nehru should consider statements by him and other trustworthy, upright citizens to be untruthful and unworthy of note, and attach more weight to police reports. He alleged that "there was a great conspiracy afoot to cover up the truth, to cow down justice-loving citizens, to buy up inconvenient persons, to fabricate falsehood. All this is much more dangerous to the future of the country than an outburst of youthful anger."

received this yet or, at any rate, I have not seen it. I have never yet, so far as I remember, got a transcript of any speech of mine from the AIR. I do not know if they send it to any person. But if it is possible, I shall try to get it for you.⁴

I am sorry that anything that I have said or done should grieve you. But I ought to tell you that I have read your statement⁵ twice. It is obvious that our approach to this matter differs. When I read your statement for the first time when it appeared in the press, I was pained by it. This has nothing to do with any factual statement. But it did appear to me that, facts apart, you had ignored something that I considered basic and had laid stress on one aspect. That stress of yours might be correct, but it appeared to me unbalanced because of ignoring other factors.

You were no doubt powerfully influenced by what you may have seen or heard. But it seemed to me odd that you should express yourself so positively and definitely about some matters about which nobody can be wholly positive without a very full consideration. The whole effect of your statement on me was that of an unbalanced statement, even though the facts might be correct.

I have naturally received a number of reports about various incidents in Bihar. These have come from at least half a dozen sources. As is natural there are some differences in them. Everyone knows that the account of a number of eye-witnesses to an incident differs considerably. This is especially so in moments of excitement. The reports I have received were not only from the Bihar Government but also from Central Government officers who were specially sent to enquire into the matter and from complete outsiders who happened to pass through Bihar on the occasion. I think I mentioned the case of some MPs from Assam. I do not rely on any one report for facts. The facts, I thought, would be investigated fully. But I was much more interested in the atmosphere that prevailed in Bihar, whether that affected the police or the students or others. That atmosphere appeared to me to be deplorable. Accepting every single fact that you have stated, and condemning the police, I think the behaviour of the students and others was deplorable. Presumably your opinion is different.

I thought it odd and not very praiseworthy for a large crowd of students to try to bring pressure on me to visit the college building where firing had taken place. I would have appreciated much better a calm talk with the students.

4. On 9 September, Nehru sent Jayaprakash a transcript, prepared by the All India Radio, of his speech of 30 August 1955 at a public meeting in Patna. For the full text of the speech, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 68-83.
5. Jayaprakash Narayan released a statement to the press on 1 September 1955 in which he commented on Nehru's speech at Patna. Narayan said that Nehru "...applied salt to the wounds, lost his temper, shouted at the crowd, called the press choice names, and denounced the citizens for raising their voices against police *zulum*." He added that Nehru's speech was a "command performance" and that Nehru said what he was told to say.

Obviously, I think that it would be completely wrong of me to visit the college building in those circumstances, when the Chief Justice⁶ was making an enquiry. My going there would not have been a quiet informal visit but a public function under pressure and no doubt resulting in further excitement. I could have expressed no opinion by seeing bullet marks on the walls. I accept that fact when I am told that there are such marks.

You refer curiously to my mentioning Rajputs and Kayasthas, presumably suggesting that I missed out some others like Brahmans.⁷ I am really sorry that you should imagine this kind of thing. Later in the speech, I think, I referred to Brahmans and other castes also. Whatever occurred to me at the time, I said. In other places I referred to some other castes.

You refer to Congressmen's behaviour having fallen. Perhaps you are right. But I think the remark would apply to others' behaviour at least as much if not more. I may be wrong, but is it not possible that you may also be wrong?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

6. S.K. Das was asked to enquire into the incidents of 15 August 1955 in Patna where Independence Day Celebrations were marred by desecration of the National Flag, student-police clashes and black-flag demonstrations.
7. In his letter of 31 August Jayaprakash wrote to Nehru: "What you said about casteism and the castes you deliberately mentioned—Rajputs and Kayasthas—shows how onesided is the view which you have taken of the situation...."

2. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
September 5, 1955

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have just received your letter of the 2nd September² together with a press cutting.³

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Shriman Narayan, General Secretary, AICC.
2. Requesting Nehru to read his statement. Jayaprakash wrote, "If the only result of my labours is your anger, I will consider myself completely beaten.... If my statement does... raise the question in your mind why a person like me should make such a statement, I shall consider my efforts well rewarded." He suggested that U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President, be sent to Bihar and a commission be appointed to go into the whole question of law and order and police reform.

It is a little difficult for me to say anything in reply because your statement is an entirely personal one against me and I can hardly argue about myself or my actions with you. If you have this opinion of me or my actions, it ceases to be a matter for argument so far as I am concerned. You have made a number of statements which have amazed me beyond measure and which I consider wholly incorrect as well as most unfortunate. I can only express my deep sorrow that you should have this opinion of me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh¹

New Delhi
9th September, 1955

My dear Badri,²

Parmar³ saw me today and said that he could not carry on any more because of the continuous obstruction of his Ministers and apparently some people in the party. I have known, of course, of this non-cooperation in the Cabinet and in the party for a long time and we have repeatedly gone into this matter and advised the various people concerned. Apparently this has had little effect. I told Parmar that it was quite absurd for any change to be contemplated on the eve of the States Reorganisation Commission report. No one knew what this report would say about Himachal Pradesh and we must wait for this report and then think afresh.

As you perhaps know, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur dislikes Parmar greatly. She is very much a woman for believing every complaint without enquiry. I think her attitude has often encouraged the dissident elements in Himachal Pradesh. I cannot express a firm opinion myself about the various complaints made against Parmar. But, as you perhaps know, I went into many of these complaints at some length last year and came to the conclusion that there was not much in them. One major complaint was about the Potato Cooperatives. I could not

1. JN Collection.

2. Bajrang Bahadur Singh, Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh, 1955-63.

3. Y.S. Parmar, Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh.



WITH MALCOLM MACDONALD AND M.R.A. BAIG, NEW DELHI, 14 SEPTEMBER 1955



AT THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR, NEW DELHI, 29 OCTOBER 1955

personally examine that and I had then suggested that an enquiry should be made.

Whatever the faults of Parmar might be, so far as I know, he is the only competent person in the Assembly there. I can think of no one else who can shoulder this burden, certainly not his two Ministers. The level of the party members is also low.

This continuing conflict is a bad thing. But it is quite obvious that we cannot take any step at present to bring about any change. I would therefore like you to send for both Parmar's colleagues in the Ministry separately and give them this message from me:

Tell them that I am deeply concerned and grieved at this utter lack of cooperation in the Himachal Pradesh Government. They know that I have gone into this matter previously. But, for the moment, I am not going into the merits. A Chief Minister must have the loyalty of his colleagues. If a major change has to be made, it can certainly be considered at the right time. At the present moment, even the future of Himachal Pradesh is uncertain. Within three or four weeks, we shall have the report of the States Reorganisation Commission and will then have to come to our own decision. These mutual squabbles in the Government and the party there, if continued, will lead to the inevitable conclusion that Himachal Pradesh cannot carry on and should cease to be a separate state. They must realise that fully. There can be no question at present of our considering a change in the Chief Minister. That itself with its consequences would be a grievous blow to the future existence of Himachal Pradesh as a separate state. If conditions deteriorate completely and the Government cannot carry on effectively, the choice for us may well be to have President's Rule and later to incorporate Himachal Pradesh in some other states. We are very reluctant to do this as it would mean complete condemnation of both the members of Government and the party. It is rather absurd for a party which has a majority not to be able to carry on and to quarrel incessantly.

Therefore, my strong advice is that all these internal squabbles must end immediately, whether in the government or in the party, and every effort should be made to coordinate the work of Government. After the States Reorganisation Commission's report comes out and we have given consideration to it, the time will be right then for us to consider what could be done in Himachal Pradesh. This practically means another six or seven weeks from now. If they cannot pull together even for this brief period, then it is clear that their attempt to have a Government there has failed completely and some other steps will have to be taken.

Put this to them forcibly as a message from me and explain the consequences of this childish folly.

You might perhaps (I leave this to your judgment) meet some more or less

important members of the party also.⁴ You need not repeat this message to them, but you might give the substance of it to them, making it clear that it is the height of folly to raise trouble when we are waiting for the report of the States Reorganisation Commission which may well decide the future of Himachal Pradesh. To create trouble now is practically to commit suicide so far as a separate state is concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The same day Nehru sent through Y.S. Parmar a message for the Congress Party in the Himachal Pradesh Legislature: "During the past year or two I have often considered the affairs of Himachal Pradesh and taken the trouble of examining various complaints.... I learn, however, that internal conflicts continue. This is most unfortunate at any time, but more especially now when all of us are waiting for the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.... It is quite impossible to consider any major changes on the eve of this report. We have to wait for it and then, keeping that in view, decide on what steps to take.... For the present, therefore, it is exceedingly unwise for any member of the Congress Party to create difficulties. This is doing injury to Himachal Pradesh."

4. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
September 13, 1955

My dear CPN,²

I have received three letters from you on my return today. Two are dated September 12, and the third September 10.

So far as the programme for my visit to Nangal on the 17th November is concerned, I am generally agreeable to it.

You mention some letters I had sent to Sachar and Partap Singh. I have written a number of letters to them from time to time, some rather formal and some rather personal. I have usually written to you also on the same subject to keep you informed. There is no particular point in my sending you copies of all letters. In future, I shall also keep you informed either by sending copies of those letters or separate letters.

The proposal to have an enquiry about the incident of the 4th

1. JN Collection.

2. C.P.N. Singh (1901-1993); Governor of Punjab, 1953-58.

July³ had little to do with the report of the Commissioner of Jullundur Division. The publication of that report would probably not satisfy the Sikhs, unless it is in their favour. The whole point was that in a matter of this kind, or indeed any important matter, where a strong demand for an enquiry is made, there should be such an enquiry. Government should never appear to be afraid of an enquiry. What the legal aspects of the question are, I do not know. Sachar, however, told me that a number of facts are admitted, and there is no point in enquiring about admitted facts. In regard to the rest, he says that if the Sikhs want an enquiry, he would agree to it.

I hope that the decision taken by the Punjab Government about the examination of the grievances of the Sikhs in services will be considered satisfactory by all parties concerned. The main thing is to produce a sensation of fairness.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 4 July 1955, about four hundred Akalis gathered outside the Golden Temple in Amritsar, shouting slogans demanding a Punjabi-speaking state in defiance of the Punjab Government's ban on slogans concerning linguistic states. When the police intervened, the crowd turned violent and there was a clash in which twenty policemen and four Akalis were injured; thirty agitators were arrested. When the agitation became widespread the Government withdrew the ban on 12 July 1955.

5. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
October 11, 1955

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

I enclose a copy of a letter³ I have received from Trivedi,⁴ Governor of Andhra.

1. JN Collection. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML.
2. (1905-1977); President, Indian National Congress, 1954-59.
3. Chandulal Trivedi wrote to Nehru on 9 October that the relations between the Ministry and the United Congress Legislature Party in Andhra were "disturbing" as in recent time the party opposed policy decisions of the Government. For instance (i) the party decided by a majority that the District Boards should be reconstituted, for the time being, "solely by members of the Legislative Assembly" whereas the Government's decision was to reconstitute the Board by indirect election from village panchayats. (ii) The party pressed for a moratorium on agricultural debts when the Government "rightly" did not favour it. (iii) the party created "great difficulty" by opposing additional taxation on agriculturists, which was necessary for implementing the Second Five Year Plan in the State.
4. C.M. Trivedi (1893-1980); Governor, Andhra State, 1953-56, and Andhra Pradesh, 1956-57.

I agree with him in much that he has written. I think it is quite wrong in principle that the District Boards should be constituted solely by members of the Legislative Assembly. Indeed we have discouraged MLAs and MPs from being members of local bodies. To confine the District Boards to MLAs appears to me to be completely wrong.

It is also a matter deserving concern that the Government and Party in Andhra do not see eye to eye. I am sorry to say that Kala Venkata Rao⁵ is again playing a destructive role.

About the moratorium on agricultural debts, I do not know enough about the circumstances to be able to express a firm opinion. But here also I am inclined to agree with Trivedi. Anyhow, the point is that this development in Andhra of Party versus Government is undesirable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. (1900-1959): Minister for Planning in Andhra Government, 28 March-December 1955.

6. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
October 20, 1955

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Reports have reached me that Gopala Reddi² and Sanjeeva Reddy³ are again drifting further apart in Andhra and Gopala Reddi does not treat him as a Deputy Chief Minister; in fact that he relies much more on Kala Venkata Rao and Chandramouli,⁴ both of whom are by no means too popular in Andhra.

I think you should impress upon Gopala Reddi when he comes here soon that this is neither fair nor politic.⁵

1. JN Collection. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML.
2. (1907-1999): Chief Minister of Andhra, 1955-56.
3. (1913-1996): Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra, 1953-56.
4. Kalluri Chandramouli (1899-1992); joined Congress, 1926; participated in the freedom movement; Member, Madras Assembly, 1937 and 1946; President, Guntur District Board, 1938-40; General Secretary, Andhra Congress Committee, 1954; Minister for Revenue, Registration and Endowments, Andhra State, 1955-56, and for Religious and Charitable Endowments and Cooperation, Andhra Pradesh, 1960-61.
5. Nehru wrote on the same day a similar letter to Govind Ballabh Pant, Home Minister, emphasising that "it is necessary for us to speak to Gopala Reddi clearly and rather firmly. He has a tendency to bypass Sanjeeva Reddy."

Then there is some talk of an expansion of the Andhra Cabinet. Sanjeeva Reddy complains that he is never taken into confidence over these matters even.

Party meetings in Andhra, I am told, resemble a pandemonium. The Leader gives no lead and everybody goes his own way. Kala Venkata Rao was, I was told, responsible, for the recent decision of the party against the Government's proposal relating to District Boards. This is very extraordinary for a Minister to function in this way.

I think it should be made quite clear to Gopala Reddi that no expansion of the Ministry should take place without concurrence of the Parliamentary Board here and that in this matter Sanjeeva Reddy's views should be taken. Also that unless Gopala Reddi takes Sanjeeva Reddy into his confidence frequently, there is danger of groupism developing. The feeling that there is an inner Cabinet consisting of the Chief Minister, Kala Venkata Rao and Chandramouli is not a good feeling.

Further that the Ministers must work as a team in the party as well as outside and Gopala Reddi must take a strong line and not allow things to drift, more especially in matters relating to taxation, etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
October 20, 1955

My dear Sachar,

You may be coming here soon for the Chief Ministers' Conference.² We have very vital matters to discuss and, among them, probably the most difficult one is that of the Punjab. Master Tara Singh has written a letter to me saying that a deputation on his behalf wants to see me. I have fixed October 24th at 11 am for them to see us here.³ Before that, I shall be seeing you and discussing the matter with you.

1. JN Collection.

2. The Conference was held in New Delhi on 22 and 23 October 1955.

3. On learning that Nehru was going to meet Tara Singh, Chamanlal, who had known Tara Singh for a long time, wrote to Nehru on 22 October 1955 that "the best way of handling him is to appeal to his good nature alone and not in the presence of his followers." Citing two occasions in August-September 1947 when this strategy worked, Chamanlal urged Nehru: "Please try and get him by himself. I see no reason why he should not come back to the Congress fold."

I think it would be desirable for you to bring Partap Singh Kairon with you.

I see that the Akalis are still laying stress on the occurrences of July 4th in Amritsar. I do not quite understand where this matter is and why there has been so much difficulty about holding a formal enquiry. You mentioned to me that the matter was in the law courts. Normally, in a matter of this kind we should not hesitate to have the fullest enquiry. You had said, I think, that a Commissioner was enquiring. I should like to see the full report of the Commissioner. Will you please bring it with you?

In giving relief, you should utilise public bodies to help you. Naturally, most of the relief is given through official agencies, but we should invite public cooperation, and this will include, of course, the cooperation of the Congress organisation. We have to create a sensation of full cooperation between the official machinery and the public.

What has happened to the steps to be taken in regard to the language issue? As I pointed out to you, I think it important that formal steps should be taken by your Legislative Assembly as soon as possible. This is one of the important Sikh issues, and delay in this will be harmful. Our legislature party must be made to understand this clearly. We cannot postpone the issue. You have made an announcement on behalf of your Government. This has to be followed up. Otherwise, people will doubt our good intentions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
October 24, 1955

My dear C.P.N.,

Your letter of October 21st. I was surprised and distressed to read about the continuing conflict between Bhimsen Sachar and Partap Singh and more especially Sachar's constant complaints.² Sachar did not raise this

1. JN Collection.

2. C.P.N. Singh wrote that Sachar had complained that Partap Singh and his supporters were making things difficult for him, instigated members of the Legislature to insult him and interfered with the duties of district and police officers. Sachar wished to know the Governor's view on dropping Partap Singh from the cabinet. When told that a reshuffle was not possible in view of problems posed by floods, Akali agitation and states reorganisation, Sachar expressed a desire to resign from the Chief Ministership.

point with me, but I spoke to him about it. I did not mention your letter to me.

I made it clear to him that Partap Singh was the key man indispensable in the Punjab Government at present. Everybody else could be spared, but he could not be and it surprised me greatly that this patent fact was not recognised by Sachar. Also that Sachar was too much inclined to believe every kind of complaint without enquiry.

Master Tara Singh and some others came to see us today and spoke at some length. We merely listened to them. Probably we shall have to see them again. It appears that Tara Singh was very pleased at the friendly reception he got from me. In fact he has sent me a message through a common friend that he was greatly pleased and that he would not come into conflict with me in future.³

It is not possible for me to say what the future of Himachal Pradesh will be.⁴ No doubt, within two weeks or so, we shall be more definite. There is certainly a possibility of Himachal being kept apart from the Punjab. If I may advise, the proper attitude to take up for Partap Singh and others in regard to Himachal is to say that they will be happy to have Himachal in the Punjab, but if the Himachal Pradesh people themselves do not wish it, they will not come in their way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, p. 256.

4. C.P.N. Singh wrote that Partap Singh wished to know for certain whether Himachal Pradesh was to be merged with the Punjab as recommended by the SRC. Kairon told C.P.N. Singh that the position of nationalist Sikhs would be compromised if they started a campaign in favour of the recommendations which might be modified later. If modifications were to be made, Kairon would prefer to make the suggestion openly so that the Akalis did not have the opportunity to take political advantage. C.P.N. Singh added.

9. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi

October 24, 1955

My dear C.P.N.,

Your letter of October 20th giving me an extract from the daily *Parbhat*.² All this is very ridiculous but a logical answer does little good. As I have written to you today separately, a mere friendly meeting with Tara Singh today created a good impression upon him. I think it is best to avoid argument with people who do not understand it. At any rate, this should be avoided publicly. Privately, of course, it would help.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. In an editorial in *Parbhat*, the official organ of the Akali Dal, Tara Singh wrote that under slavery a Pathan remained a Pathan, a Jat, a Jat, but, "the question of Sikhs, however, is ... not of slavery alone but of complete annihilation. The reason is that Sikhs under Hindu domination may part with their long hair and beard, the symbols of Sikhism, and thus lose their very entity and existence."

3. C.P.N. Singh argued that instead of expanding their outlook, Tara Singh and his colleagues "were contracting their ways of living and wish to be in small world of beads! Nature's processes are subtle, but defined. Life is always represented by expansion. Contraction is the sign of death." It was surprising that even "the educated amongst them reconcile to the idea of a small home with limited activities for their men and women... Wider association will enable them to earn the goodwill and positive sympathies of their countrymen. Contracting to a new outlook and limited scope of association will render the entire community neurasthenic... this tendency must be resisted..." While the Hindus and nationalist Sikhs failed to tackle the problem, the Governors were not supposed to make political speeches and that was a great handicap, he added.

III. NAGA INSURGENCY

1. Situation in the Naga Areas¹

I have read the letter of K.L. Mehta,² Adviser, and the other papers. The situation in the Tuensang Division of the NEFA as well as in the neighbouring Naga Hills District certainly requires careful consideration and watching. We should take such steps as may be necessary. I have a feeling, however, that the Adviser is slightly worked up about it.

2. It is not possible for us here to judge of the military necessities of the situation. Whatever is considered necessary should certainly be provided for. It is better not to do things half-heartedly and, therefore, ineffectively. Adequate arrangements should be made for effective steps to be taken. At the same time, one must not overdo this kind of thing. I suggest that you might discuss this matter with Defence and Home Ministries. If necessary, we can ask for further information from Shillong. I do not know if our Defence Ministry is getting any direct information from the armed forces that have been sent there. This information should be useful in assessing the situation.

3. It is obviously desirable for cooperation between the Assam Government and the NEFA Administration in regard to the Naga and connected problems. Cooperation cannot be brought about by mere directions. I do not think it would help much, or indeed at all, by my saying that the Governor³ should coordinate these two activities. The Governor, as we know, is an exceedingly conscientious man who works very hard and goes into every single detail. The result is that little discretion is left to others and the work somewhat suffers. The Assam Government would not like this at all. However, I am writing to both the Governor and the Assam Government on the subject.⁴

4. I was myself of opinion at first that it was unwise for the Chief Minister⁵ of Assam to see Phizo.⁶ But, on second thoughts and further information, I am

1. Note to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary. MEA, 8 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. (1913-1991): Adviser to the Governor of Assam. 1954-59. Mehta had written to the MEA seeking deployment of more platoons of the Assam Rifles in the Tuensang area.

3. Jairamdas Doulatram (1892-1979): Governor of Assam. 1950-56.

4. See the next item.

5. Bisnuram Medhi (1890-1981): Chief Minister of Assam. 1950-58.

6. A.Z. Phizo (1890-1981): founder member, Naga National Council and its President since 1949. A Naga delegation consisting of Phizo, Jasokie and three other leaders met Medhi at Shillong on 15 August, and signed a declaration condemning terrorism and promising the use of peaceful methods by the Naga National Council (NNC). Also see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 29. pp. 130-131.

not sure about this. Phizo's motives cannot be relied upon, but the fact that he issued a declaration put him in a very false position with the people he had incited and encouraged. Thus, it created a rift among the aggressive Nagas and Phizo himself was afraid to face some of his own colleagues. Also, if Phizo acts in any way contrary to his declaration, it is much easier for us to take steps against him immediately. However, there is no point in discussing this matter as the interviews are past history.

5. The question of declaring an amnesty might be considered. In this matter the views of the Governor and the Chief Minister will have to be sought. There is one thing, however, I do not quite understand. It has been agreed to leave arms, etc., in the hands of those elements in the population which are considered friends and loyal. If so, how does one distinguish?

6. Apart from this, however, I see no difficulty in calling upon the Nagas to surrender their arms by a certain date and telling them that if they do so no further action would be taken against those individuals.

7. From the Adviser Mehta's letter, I find that the damage done by the hostile elements in the Tuensang Division is considerably more than has previously been reported to me. In answering questions in Parliament, we should not underestimate, just as we should certainly not overestimate the dangers.

2. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi

September 8, 1955

My dear Medhi,

I have been giving some thought to the Naga situation, both in the Naga Hills District and in the Tuensang Division. It is clear that these two are connected from this point of view and the question has to be dealt with with a single approach. Any duality in approach will make any action we may take ineffective.

When you were here, you received some telegrams from Shillong about Phizo. It is clear that we cannot rely upon Phizo and we have to watch him and his colleagues carefully. Your interviews with him probably did some good and weakened his position among his own colleagues and those whom he had incited. He may still secretly act against his own declaration. Still his declaration was something to our advantage, and if he misbehaves and goes against it, action will no doubt be taken against him.

1. JN Collection. Copy of this letter was sent to Jairamdas Doulatram.

The point is that in the situation that we have to face in these areas, the closest coordination is desirable between the policy adopted in the Tuensang Division and in the Naga Hills District. Therefore, I suggest that you should keep in close touch with the Governor and confer with him about these matters.²

We have to steer the middle course between a complacent approach to the problem and an over-dramatized approach. We must proceed calmly, without excitement, without shouting and yet with strength.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Nehru wrote in a similar vein to Doulatram the same day. He also said, "I am anxious to avoid taking any step which might psychologically be to our disadvantage", and added that simply rushing more troops would not have a "good effect" on the local people and the Government at large.

3. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
September 17, 1955

My dear Medhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th September² in which you discuss the question of the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division. I am sorry that you have the impression that there has been a certain lack of cooperation between the NEFA Administration and the Assam Government in the past.³ Some references you make in your letter are completely new to me and I think there must have been a good deal of misunderstanding about it.⁴ It may be also

1. JN Collection.
2. Replying to Nehru's letter of 8 September. Medhi stated that much of the troubles might have been avoided if the question of the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division had been dealt with with a single approach.
3. Medhi's contention was that the Assam Government had never been consulted in the past, and alleged that the NEFA Administration maintained the "closest secrecy." He gave the instance of the Governor calling a meeting on 23 June to raise the level of interaction between various agencies, but refusing to discuss the matter of coordination of policy on the ground that this meeting was not the proper place to discuss the matter. Medhi opined that the NEFA Administration was 'ignoring the realities.'
4. In addition to other issues. Medhi also raised the matter relating to appointments of persons with suspected links to the NNC in Tuensang; transfer of senior Naga officers away from Tuensang and the incident relating to a senior MEA official contacting an absconder, wanted in a case of violence, without any reference to the State Government.

that there have been occasional differences of opinion in regard to certain matters. In fact, you will remember that I have myself written to you in the past on several occasions about the Naga Hills District expressing my concern at the way things were being done there.

However, there is no point in our discussing the past. We agree completely, you and I, that there has to be the closest coordination between the two Administrations. As you know, the States Reorganisation Commission will be issuing their report and recommendations within two weeks or so. In spite of rumours and gossip, I know nothing about these recommendations. How they will affect the NEFA and those areas I cannot say. We have to wait for these recommendations and consider them carefully.

You refer to the lack of knowledge of the officers of the External Affairs Ministry.⁵ Naturally, these officers are far from perfect and they may make a wrong assessment of a situation. My own impression is, however, that we have been well served in the Ministry in this matter and the advisers and the new political officers in the NEFA are of high quality and full of sympathy for the people there. It is, I think, of basic importance that these tribal people should be approached sympathetically and with no desire of imposing our ways and customs upon them. I think, probably, one of the differences in approach has been in regard to this matter. The Assam Government has thought in the past of trying to assimilate them more to their own ways. There was nothing wrong about this desire, but I do not think any action of that kind was wise. The result was a growing drift between the tribal people and the Assam Government which was most unfortunate. It is clear that these tribal people have necessarily to live in the closest contact and cooperation with the Assam Government.

You refer to the policy of appeasement followed by the NEFA Administration and more especially the Governor visiting Phizo's house.⁶ That may or may not have been a wise action, but I do not attach much importance to it. Probably, if I had been passing Phizo's house or any house of an opponent or a hostile person, I would myself have stopped there.

I agree with you that the present policy you have been pursuing in regard to Phizo is likely to lead to good results and it is probable that he will be

5. The Assam Chief Minister was of the opinion that MEA officers were not familiar with the people of the area. He cited the case of an important officer who after a brief visit to Tuensang wanted to arm the Nagas, to enable them to defend the border.
6. Medhi noted that while the Assam Government's policy had been to ignore Phizo so as to lower his image among the people, the Governor had in 1951, "with a view to win over Phizo, went out of his way and stopped near his house in Kohima." This, he felt, enhanced Phizo's prestige and helped him garner support for his movement.

thrown out of leadership.⁷ If he misbehaves, then, of course, action has to be taken against him. But it would be better for events to take shape against him in his own groups.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Medhi thought that Phizo was likely to be thrown out by his own followers, who, he believed, were biding their time. "We feel it will be a far better way to destroy his pernicious influence than giving his leadership another lease of life by arresting him and detaining him", he added.

4. Phizo's Strategy¹

I think that we are taking a much too lopsided view of the Assam Government's action. We should be a little more objective. There is no doubt that Phizo has been guilty of encouraging people in Tuensang. This is admitted. Nobody also trusts Phizo. There is a tendency for the Chief Minister to blame the NEFA Administration. There appears to be an equal tendency to blame the Chief Minister and the Assam Administration.

I do not think the Chief Minister is at all complacent. He may occasionally take a false step, but he certainly does not trust Phizo at all.

For any member of the NNC to claim that they never asked anyone not to pay taxes, etc., is no doubt completely untrue and fantastic, but it is the natural thing to say when faced by Government.²

The question is whether Phizo has not been too clever and overplayed his hand. If so, there is no reason why we should not take advantage of this...

1. Note to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA, 26 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Medhi telegraphed to Nehru on 23 September that a delegation of the NNC led by Vilhume had met him on 22 September and given him signed statements denying that the NNC had asked anybody not to pay taxes to Government and declaring that the NNC stood by the policy of non-violence for its political objective of complete independence in the Naga hills and in the Tuensang area.

5. Telegram to Bisnuram Medhi¹

... I agree with you that we should be alert and vigilant about Phizo. We cannot trust him at all and he is capable of playing a double game. It is significant that he is keeping himself in the background now. Recent investigations in Tuensang reveal that leaders in Tuensang keep in constant touch with Phizo and probably act under his directions. Their names have already been intimated by NEFA Administration to your officers.² It would be advisable to take firm action against them.³

Vilhume does not appear to have much standing with the Nagas.

It is also significant that Phizo and his supporters are still laying stress on demand for complete independence. Phizo is reported to have shown many faked photographs of alleged atrocities committed by armed police.⁴ I am sure that you are watching situation carefully in concert with NEFA Administration and will take action whenever necessary.⁵

1. New Delhi, 27 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. In reply Medhi wrote on 30 September denying that NEFA Administration had given any evidence about the Tuensang armed gang leaders.
3. Medhi pointed out that it was difficult to arrest absconders in the Naga Hills adding that police had not succeeded in arresting Imkongmeren Ao, who had been absconding for nearly two years.
4. Medhi claimed that prior to his meeting with Phizo on 15 August, the NNC leader had been relying on sending out atrocity stories and faked photographs to discredit the Government and putting pressure to withdraw forces from the disturbed areas.
5. On the same day, Nehru sent another cable to Medhi describing his meeting with Harbhajan Singh, the new IG of the Assam Rifles. Emphasising the importance of putting down the trouble in the affected areas of Tuensang immediately. Nehru stated that two additional army companies were being despatched for the purpose. He added that it had been decided to set up at Tuensang a joint headquarters for army and Assam Rifles.

6. Action Against Hostile Tribesmen¹

On the 19th August I made a statement² in the Lok Sabha in regard to the situation in the Tuensang Frontier Division. In this I had stated that a battalion of the Army had been sent to the southern sector of the Tuensang Division to deal with some organised armed gangs which had concentrated in one or two fortified villages in the south of the Tuensang Frontier Division, adjoining the Naga Hills District. These gangs possessed firearms, including automatic weapons.

The troops sent there cooperated fully with the Assam Rifles platoons as well as with two or three platoons of the Assam State Armed Police which were put under the overall command of the Army Force Commander. They found that the organised armed gangs had concentrated in fortified positions in the villages of Leshyepu and Kheikiye. Both these positions were reached on the 10th September last. As a result of the military action that took place then, it is estimated that forty hostile tribesmen were killed and about thirty were injured. Our casualties were two killed and one injured.

It is understood that the ring-leaders of the hostiles came from the Naga Hills District of Assam.

Reports have been received that hostile bases have been set up in some other parts of the Tuensang Frontier Division. This matter is under investigation and it is possible that the Army troops will be retained in the Division to undertake one or more additional specified tasks. Coordinated action is being taken by the Assam State Administration and the NEFA Administration to bring the affected areas under full control. The necessity to retain troops in these areas will be judged from time to time.

I might add that recently, yesterday or the day before, we received further information—that has appeared already in the press—which indicates that a large number of people in those areas have themselves got rather tired of being harassed by these hostile elements and have taken action against them. For instance, a few days ago in certain villages around Noklak, people from 15 villages themselves attacked the hostiles, as a result of which about 14 of the hostile tribesmen were killed.

1. Statement in Lok Sabha, 30 September 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII, Part II, 1955, Col. 15848. Raghunath Singh, a Member of the House, wanted to know whether it was a fact that fourteen hostile tribesmen belonging to a terrorist party of NEFA were killed and several wounded by Indian soldiers near Lhoshyepu and Kheikiye in the Tuensang Frontier Division.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 131-133.

7. The Demand for Naga Independence¹

You spoke to me the other day about the telegram you had received from Zapu Phizo in which he had stated that a Naga delegation wished to meet you during your visit to Assam and Manipur. You referred this matter to the Chief Minister of Assam as well as the Governor. I have now seen the replies of both which have come today.

2. Both these replies agree in stating that Phizo is losing his influence, and other groups among the Nagas are challenging his leadership. It is obvious, therefore, that Phizo wants to re-establish himself, and he thinks that by leading a Naga delegation to you will help him in doing so.

3. The Chief Secretary of Assam suggests that you should not receive any delegation from the Nagas, but might meet Phizo as an individual, in the course of other interviews at Kohima. The Governor is opposed to any grant of an interview, unless Phizo gives up his claim for independence.

4. It is clear to me that the Nagas will not distinguish very much between your seeing Phizo as an individual and your seeing him in any other capacity. These fine points will not be apparent to them and Phizo, no doubt, will exploit his interview with you, if it takes place.

5. You may remember that the answer I gave him when Phizo asked for an interview with me was that I would meet him if he clearly gave up his demand for independence and condemned violence and dissociated himself from it. He may say now that he has dissociated himself from violence, although I rather doubt his bona fides. Recent reports have indicated that he has been playing a double game. While saying one thing in public, he has been encouraging violent activities in the Tuensang Division.

6. I would suggest, therefore, that you might repeat what I said previously to Phizo, that is, that you are quite prepared to meet any Indian national, subject to time and convenience, but that you are not prepared to receive any delegation from an organisation which has demanded independence. This demand must be clearly given up before you can meet any individual or delegation previously connected with this demand....

1. Note to G.B. Pant, Union Home Minister, 22 October 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of the note was sent to the Foreign Secretary.

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

1. Official Bookings by Air India¹

I have been surprised to learn that all our arrangements for travel by Air India International take place through some private agency, usually Govan Brothers. Air India International is itself a Government concern. Thus, in one Government Department dealing with another, we bring in a private agency and pay them a commission for it which, I understand, is usually 10%. This is rather a remarkable way of doing business for a Government.

2. As a matter of fact, Air India International is itself a travel agency for other airlines.

3. Please issue directions immediately to all our Ministries and Departments in future to make their reservations, etc., in our airlines directly and not through a private agency. Indeed, even when they travel on other airlines in continuation of our own, they should deal with Air India International directly.

1. Note to Y.N. Sukthankar, Cabinet Secretary, 7 September 1955. JN Collection. Copies of the note were sent to Secretary General, MEA, and Minister for Communications.

2. Special Privileges of the Services¹

...2. There are two aspects of this question.

- (i) The special privileges given to some senior servicemen. Many of these

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 8 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

are guaranteed by the Constitution.² Some are not. I think that most of these privileges are not only wrong in themselves but are against the whole spirit of our Constitution and our objectives. They tend to create ill will and to perpetuate a kind of caste system in the Services. I was against them when they were incorporated in the Constitution. A deputation came to me, headed by Shri Girja Shankar Bajpai,³ and I expressed my opinion frankly to them. During my absence from India when I went to Indonesia, these guarantees were incorporated in the Constitution at the instance of Sardar Patel, the then Home Minister, and there they are still. They are a source of constant irritation to the people at large in India and create a certain feeling of conflict. Some reference to this has been made in the Cabinet and the Home Ministry was asked to put forward proposals. They have not done so yet in spite of reminders.

- (ii) The second aspect is of generally improving the administration and toning it up. We have established an O & M Division and taken other steps. I feel, however, that we have not done much even to meet the criticisms made in Dr Appleby's⁴ report. There were also some suggestions made by the Auditor General,⁵ which, again, appear to have been forgotten.
- (iii) The Home Ministry is obviously the right Ministry to deal with these matters, but I have the impression that it would be better for a fresh

- 2. The revised Draft Constitution of November 1949, Part XIV, Chapter I, Article 314 provided: "Except as otherwise expressly provided by this Constitution, every person who having been appointed by the Secretary of State or Secretary of State in Council, to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the commencement of this Constitution to serve under the Government of India or of a State shall be entitled to receive from the Government of India and the Government of the State, which he is from time to time serving, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may permit as that person was entitled to immediately before such commencement." The Constitution (Twenty-eighth Amendment) Act, 1972, finally omitted Article 314 from the Constitution.
- 3. (1891-1954): a member of Indian Civil Service: Governor of Bombay. 1952-54.
- 4. Paul H. Appleby (1891-1963); consultant to the Union Government on public administration, who conducted a survey in India from September 1952 to January 1953, had in his report, suggested reorganisation of Government Services. Also see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 24, pp. 338-343.
- 5. Asok Kumar Chanda had suggested, and the Government of India had in principle accepted, that as soon as the administrative arrangements and the necessary trained manpower was developed; (i) to bring about a complete separation between Audit and Accounts and (ii) to make arrangements for internal financial scrutiny and control similar to those which obtained in the UK.

mind to be brought to bear upon them. The Home Ministry has probably revolved round the same circle of thought for many years and it cannot break out of it.

- (iv) In some matters at least, and more especially those relating to special privileges and the like, it would obviously be better for the initiative to come from the Services.
- (v) SG might remind the Home Ministry that we are still waiting for their proposals. Of course, those proposals should be strictly limited because of the constitutional guarantees, etc. Nevertheless, that will be a small step forward.
- (vi) I should like FS to talk over this matter with SG and CS, and then we can all have a talk together.

3. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi

September 15, 1955

My dear Mehr Chand,²

Your letter of September 14th about Mathrani.³ You have made a request in it which is against all our rules and conventions. We have been laying great stress for some time past on officers not holding on to a post in the Central Government beyond a certain period and, secondly, that they should go back to the State Governments. On several occasions, we have enforced this convention even at some inconvenience. The argument you have advanced in the case of Mathrani has some justification, but this can often be said in other cases also. Mathrani has been in your Ministry for a pretty long time, longer than is usual, and now you ask me to press the Bombay Government to allow you to retain him for another year and a half. With what grace or justification can I suggest this to the Bombay Government? If it had been a case of three or four months, perhaps, one might have said something. But I feel myself quite unable to make a suggestion which is so contrary to our repeated assertions and advice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Cabinet Secretary.
2. (1897-1970); Union Minister for Rehabilitation, 1954-62.
3. Kewalram P. Mathrani (1911-); joined ICS, 1936; served in Bombay in various capacities from 1936; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, GOI, 1952-56; with Government of Bombay from March 1956.

4. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
September 16, 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

Your letter of 13th September. I am much concerned about what you have written about sons and relatives of prominent Government engineers being employed by foreign firms who are dealing with our industries. I have written to Nanda also about it,² and something will have to be done in the matter. It is not quite clear to me what we should do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See *post*, p. 298.

5. A Post for H.R. Bachchan¹

I have suggested some time ago that Dr H.R. Bachchan² of the Allahabad University might be thought of in connection with our Hindi Department in External Affairs. He is a Hindi poet of repute and he has recently obtained a Ph.D from Cambridge in English. I understand that External Affairs had written to him asking him some questions. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting have offered him some post in the All India Radio, Allahabad, and he has joined that post on deputation from the Allahabad University. He asked me about this and I told him to accept it. If, however, we think he is particularly suited for the work we have in view in External Affairs, I suppose we could get him from I & B Ministry later.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 17 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1907); celebrated Hindi poet; lecturer in English in Allahabad University, 1941-52 and 1954-55; Producer (Hindi), AIR. 1955; officer on special duty (Hindi), MEA, 1955-66.

6. Rules Governing Civil Services¹

I have, on repeated occasions, drawn the attention of the Cabinet as well as of the Home Ministry to what I considered patent absurdities in certain rules governing the higher Services. The question of Services has been, in some form or other, under our consideration for years past. I write notes and sometimes the matter is referred to in the Cabinet also. On every occasion it is said that the matter is under consideration. It is extraordinary how this consideration goes on and on without producing any results.

2. It is true that if we are to revise all our Service rules, it is a complicated matter. Even so, there appears to be no justification for years to elapse before anything concrete is achieved. When Dr Appleby's Report was considered, this matter was discussed in the Cabinet. Later, Shri Asok Chanda² produced a note on the Services. All these have been in various ways under consideration. The result is that important matters are tied up with many relatively unimportant questions, and there is delay in deciding anything at all.

3. It was, I think, in 1950 that for the first time I raised the question of certain privileges which the Lee Commission³ had given to our senior officers, in particular, to the free passages to the old ICS Officers and their families to go abroad. This seemed to me not only wrong, but objectionable from the point of view of a free India.

4. This matter was brought up before the Cabinet ultimately by me, and on the 6th February 1953, the Cabinet decided as follows:

"The Ministry of Home Affairs should, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, examine this matter and put up proposals to the Cabinet."

5. This was more than two and half years ago, but this relatively simple matter has not come up again before the Cabinet.

6. I suggest, therefore, that Cabinet should immediately consider the suspension of all these free passages abroad.

7. This matter should be put up before the Cabinet before the end of September. Meanwhile, the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry might be requested to send such comments as they wish.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 18 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. Asok Kumar Chanda (1902-1972); Comptroller and Auditor-General, August 1954-60.

3. The Lee Commission of 1923 was concerned mainly with the emoluments of the European section of the Services and with the problems arising from the increased recruitment of Indians following the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.

8. The Committee that is considering other Service matters should also report in regard to certain important matters, at the latest, by the 15th October.

9. This note should be circulated to Members of the Cabinet and sent to the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry.

7. A Special Cadre for NEFA¹

I am sorry for the delay in dealing with these papers.

2. I think that the NEFA does require special selection and, therefore, a special cadre is desirable.² The only point raised by the Home Minister was that this might not give enough room for promotion, etc., to the members of the special cadre.³ I do not see why the special cadre should be a rigid enclosure. People can be taken from it for the Foreign Service or, indeed, for the IAS. These will be generally special cases. The necessity for the special cadre remains subject to this flexibility.

3. A summary, therefore, should be prepared for the Cabinet.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary. 18 September 1955. File No. 9(22)/NEFA/54, MHA.
2. R.K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary, while suggesting formation of a separate Frontier Administrative Service, noted that it should be linked to the Foreign Service by creating deputation posts for officers of the NEFA cadre.
3. Pant suggested that the proposed Service be amalgamated with the IAS.

8. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi

September 27, 1955

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of September 24.² I have just sent you a telegram.³ Of course, I must have an open car. A closed car is only useful when it is raining heavily or when it is a long drive in the hot sun. In spite of the Home Ministry's instructions, I have been going about in the open car almost everywhere I have been to.

Also I am entirely in favour of travelling in the Governor's saloon in the train to Pondicherry, etc. This will be much more convenient than the air-conditioned one, which I dislike.

I shall, of course, see Rajaji.⁴ Give him my love and regards and tell him I am looking forward to meeting him.⁵

I am not going to Patna at all in the foreseeable future. Your son-in-law⁶ has, therefore, been misinformed about this. I am visiting the DVC and opening the Konar dam. This does not involve a visit to Patna.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 8/333/55-PMS.

2. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, wrote that he had a talk with Kamaraj Nadar, Chief Minister of Madras, who felt that "it would be pretty useless your having a tour here if it was in a closed car." Sri Prakasa also offered the Governor's saloon consisting of three bogeys with intercommunication between them for travelling between Madras city and Pondicherry. However the General Manager, Railways, proposed an air-conditioned saloon for the journey.

3. Nehru said that he disliked travelling by a closed car on such occasions and would therefore travel by open car and asked Sri Prakasa to inform the Railways that the Governor's saloon would be much more suitable than an air-conditioned one and that Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Railway Minister, shared the same view.

4. C. Rajagopalachari (1878-1972): Chief Minister of Madras, 1952-54.

5. Sri Prakasa had written that Rajaji who had been "far from well" was having trouble with his eyes, but had agreed to join Nehru at a lunch on 2 October in Raj Bhavan.

6. Satyendra Narayan.

9. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
October 1, 1955

My dear Gulzarilal,
Your letter of October 1st.²

I have not heard of any propaganda of the kind you mention or, indeed, any suggestion. It is true that Deshmukh wrote to me, as he wrote to you, about the employment of some relatives of your leading engineers by foreign firms.³ You dealt with that matter then. I suppose it was about this that Deshmukh spoke to you.

So far as Kanwar Sain⁴ is concerned, I have a high opinion of him. You know him even better than I do, and I see absolutely no reason why we should get rid of a really competent man because people whisper. I think you should keep him. When any question arises of any big contracts, we should be careful. That is all.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(76)/56-PMS.

2. Nanda wrote that, "There has been afoot very assiduous propaganda that I was espousing the cause of Siemens, under influence of Kanwar Sain... at no time, and on no occasion, ... Sain spoke a word to me about this case.... Sain insists that he should be allowed to go. He feels that he has become a source of embarrassment to me. When I consider my own need and his high fitness to perform the functions assigned to him, I feel very reluctant.... Nobody is indispensable. But there is a difference between the contribution of a creative mind and that of one who is just a competent worker. However, I have started thinking that perhaps it will be for the best to let him go."

3. See *ante*, p. 294.

4. (1898-1988); Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission, 1953-58.

10. To V.L. Mehta¹

New Delhi
October 1, 1955

My dear Vaikunth Bhai,²

Thank you for your letter of the 30th September.³ I have not yet read the report of the Karve Committee of which you were a member. I have just received it and I hope to read it.

I do not see any difficulty about your being both a member of the Karve Committee and the Chairman of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board.⁴ This is a common occurrence. I am often in some Committee whose report is considered by the Cabinet. I am in the Planning Commission, and the Planning Commission's report is also considered by the Cabinet. In fact, it is a little difficult for a person connected with several organisations to avoid this kind of thing.

In any democratic system of working, we have ultimately to arrive at some broad agreement. That broad agreement does not wholly represent every person's viewpoint. For any individual or group to refuse to agree means the breakdown of the democratic method. In India, there is a tendency, greater perhaps than in most countries, for people to find it difficult to come to a common agreement. That I think is a weakness. Of course, in matters of high moment and principle, each person has to function as he thinks best, but in national policy, one has to carry others. In fact, the test of the success of a policy is that it carries others. There is no such thing as a policy being correct in a vacuum.

I hope, therefore, that you will completely give up the idea of resigning from the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(49)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1891-1964); Chairman. All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, since 1953.
3. Mehta wrote that though, as a member of the Karve Committee, he was in broad agreement with the Committee's general approach and specific proposals he believed that these would fall short of the demands put forward by those who represented the Sarvodaya school of thought and would not coincide with the plan as drawn by the All India Khadi & Village Industries Board. Mehta concluded: "I can no longer presume to speak for and represent the Khadi Board. I should, therefore, feel grateful if you will kindly permit me to resign the Chairmanship of the Board."

11. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
October 9, 1955

My dear Ajit,

Some papers meant for the Cabinet about the FAO Conference have been sent to me by the Cabinet Secretary before circulation to the members of the Cabinet. From these papers it appears that your Ministry's proposal is for both you and your Secretary² to be away for a considerable time from India.³ I would suggest your reconsidering this matter. We do not like Secretaries to go on missions abroad except for brief periods. I know there have been some exceptions to this general direction especially in the case of the Labour Secretary.⁴ I think that the Labour Ministry and the Labour Secretary stand on a somewhat different footing from the Food & Agriculture Secretary who has to deal with much more urgent matters from day to day.

But, apart from this, we have a proposal here involving the absence at the same time and for a long period of both the Minister and the Secretary. It is true that Deshmukh⁵ will be here, but he does not deal with the food aspect of your Ministry, and I think that for all practical purposes there will be a big hiatus. There will, in fact, be a contravention of two of our directions. One is that the Secretary should not go abroad as far as possible and the other is that the Minister and the Secretary should both not be away at the same time. Added to this, there is the lengthy period of about nine weeks. I think that this will create difficulties for us and certainly impede the work of the Food and Agriculture Ministry at a time when we have terrific floods all over and the question of food has become very important. I do not know what the future situation might be because of these floods, and a great deal of burden is bound to fall on your Ministry.

I suggest, therefore, that you should make some arrangement for the Secretary to stay on here in your absence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 5, A.P. Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. P.N. Thapar, Secretary, Ministry of Food & Agriculture.
3. Earlier, on 7 October, in a note to Y.N. Sukthankar, Cabinet Secretary, Nehru said that "... the Conference as well as post-Conference session will last a long time. That means the Food and Agriculture Ministry will not be able to function properly during this joint absence. In view of the very heavy floods and the disaster caused by them, the Food Ministry will have to take very important decisions."
4. Vishnu Sahay, Secretary, Ministry of Labour.
5. Panjabrao S. Deshmukh (1898-1965); Minister of State for Agriculture, 1952-57.

12. Salaries of Government Servants and Judges¹

Jawaharlal Nehru:... There is no doubt about it that certain States are very much embarrassed when, for example, there are two scales of pay for the people who do the same kind of work, a higher pay for the Central Government employees and a lower pay for the State Government employees.² If the States were to raise their scales, it will be a tremendous burden on them....

Again, it is impossible to bring down the higher salaries. It is obvious. I am not talking of the High Court Judges. I am talking of the lower salaries, those of the clerks, peons, etc. You can bring down the salaries of the High Court Judges, but you cannot bring down the salaries of clerks. It has got to remain there.... First of all, if you want to have uniformity of salaries, it is a desirable thing, but it really depends upon hundreds of other factors. They have to go with this. We may try to do it in ten years or fifteen years, but in a social structure, you just cannot change one aspect of it only, without adjusting the other things. I think that, instead of raising the salaries, the best thing would be to give many facilities, to give free education, to give free health services, and so on and so forth. If you like, you may have old age pension. But if you try to reduce the salaries, you cannot do it without upsetting the whole structure. Take the case of Soviet Russia. The example of Soviet Russia is quoted, but it is forgotten that in Soviet Russia they get many other concessions like houses, cars, etc. In Soviet Russia, take the industries. They have deliberately raised the salaries. There the difference is considerable between the top man and the man in the lowest rung. I think that in exceptional cases it is as much as 15 times. Scientists get a little more. A dancer in the opera would get much more, but I am talking of industries. There is no doubt that they pay heavily for their big technicians, far in excess of fifteen times, may be even twenty times. They frankly said that they wanted to give incentives to them. In Yugoslavia, the range is 1 to 6. May be a few people are outside it. In Soviet Russia, it is 1 to 15....

1. Remarks at the Chief Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 23 October 1955. File No. 2/3/55-SR, MHA, NAI. Extracts. Nehru presided over the conference called to discuss the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.
2. K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of Mysore, argued that the salary scales of Government servants should be made uniform throughout the country and should have some relationship to the income of the common man. He thought that a general upgrading of salaries as a result of reorganisation would cause a great strain on the finances of the States.

So far as the High Court Judges are concerned, so long as you have the system of lawyers, some of whom are getting very large sums, you cannot avoid high salaries. A very competent lawyer may get as much as five times the salary of a High Court Judge....³

It is a common occurrence, even though we may not think very highly of their patriotism....

I must say that merely if we say that automatically the judges in Travancore and Mysore should get Rs 3,500, apart from the money involved, it upsets the whole balance.⁴ It has to be considered but I would like to put some things broadly. Broadly speaking, we came to the conclusion—the Pay Commission and others—that our top salaries should be Rs 3,500—exceptions apart. This amount really means, after paying income-tax, etc., Rs 2,600 which is not too high a salary. It is high of course when we see the average man in a hut but a modern State has to function in a particular way. It cannot function in a hut. The only thing to be done is to raise the hut. If you reduce the salary too much the result is you will suffer. Again we have to get all kinds of experts from outside and there is no limit of course to salaries of experts. We have to pay whatever they require. Because he demands it. That apart, there is a limit beyond which, as we function as a modern State, we cannot go. I am really thinking about industry and technical men and scientific men. It does not apply to lawyers. He does not go and practise in America. That is quite different. Because if a lawyer earns a lot and if you want to recruit from the lawyers, you have to pay decently otherwise you will get third rate men. I don't think you can go on reducing salary beyond the limit we have put, that is, Rs 3,500....

We have to consider whether we should not have temporary provisions or whatever it is, saying that in spite of the Constitution, the present salaries in Mysore, Travancore-Cochin need not be revised. But it will be difficult to send a man from outside unless he is paid more....

3. G.B. Pant and Morarji Desai pointed out that there were numerous cases where lawyers had actually refused to serve as judges.

4. The Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, P. Govinda Menon said that the top-most man in Travancore-Cochin might not earn more than Rs 2,500 because there were neither zamindars nor big businesses there, and opined that a salary of Rs 3,500 for a judge would be considered to be very extravagant in Travancore-Cochin.

13. Backward Classes in the Services¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Item No. 10—Recruitment to the All-India Services. This refers to the existing all-India Services. If new ones come in, it would apply to them also....

K. Hanumanthaiya:² You must give due representation to the backward classes in the all-India Services. We should give them more. Whatever you say, we have not yet done it and we must safeguard it. We must safeguard the interests of the backward classes in all-India Services.

JN: That principle, of course, is accepted. Let us take the Indian Foreign Service. I have tried my utmost to get scheduled castes people in the Indian Foreign Service. But there must be some limit of qualification. I cannot send a man abroad who is completely useless to me. I may tell you that the brightest person³ in the Indian Foreign Service is a scheduled caste, very bright and very able, but that is an exception. That is a separate question. The question here is, of course, regarding persons who come into the Service. The idea is to see that a certain proportion get wider experience. People from South should serve in the North and people from North should serve in the South. That is the idea.

KH: That idea is good, but it should not work to the advantage of only one community or one class.

JN: How is that? That is a separate question. Once they are in the Service, we have to deal with them.

KH: If they are assured that there is safeguard for backward classes, it would do.

JN: I do not understand you. We are dealing at present with two all-India Services. Your point relates to as to how we should get more of the backward classes into those Services. But having got them, those who have got in—they have to be distributed in a particular way....

1. Remarks at the Chief Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 23 October 1955. File No. 2/3/55-SR, MHA, NAI. Extracts. Nehru presided over the conference called to discuss the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.
2. (1908-1980); Chief Minister. Mysore State, 1952-56.
3. K.R. Narayanan, President of India.

14. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
October 25, 1955

My dear Jairamdas,

As you know, we have been full of the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. We have to deal not with one but with a multitude of complicated problems, many of which rouse heated debate and passion. We cannot bypass them and so we have to face them.

In this connection we have had to consider many allied problems. New States will be formed and nearly all the old States will undergo some change. Considering all these matters, it was brought to our notice that your term of office as Governor, which is normally five years, had expired already. I was a little taken aback to realise this. I mentioned this to the President.² I suppose that we must take steps therefore for a change in the Governorship of Assam. At present we have no clear ideas on this subject. But I hope that in the course of a few weeks we might be able to decide this. We do not wish to inconvenience you with a sudden decision and that is why I am writing to you. I imagine that probably a change might be brought about in January or thereabouts. We should like it to suit your convenience.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to G.B. Pant, Union Home Minister.
2. Earlier, on 21 October 1955 Nehru informed Rajendra Prasad that Bisnuram Medhi had pointed out "more than once" that the term of office of Doulatram, the present Governor of Assam, had expired and that Medhi was "insisting on a change as soon as possible."
3. It was only on 15 May 1956 that S. Fazl Ali succeeded Doulatram as the Governor of Assam.

15. Rules and Regulations of Civil Services¹

I have read the note of the Committee about service conditions of the ICS which you have sent me. I am sending copy of it to SG and a little later I should like to have a talk with both of you.

2. As you have stated in your note, the work of reviewing the Fundamental Rules, Civil Service Regulations, etc., was thought of in February 1951 by the Ministry of Finance, that is to say, four years and nine months ago. It has not, however, made any marked progress. This is surely a sad commentary on our methods of working. We should not surely give the impression to anyone that where service matters are concerned, there is a certain lack of enthusiasm or even a conscious or subconscious desire to delay.

3. There are some aspects of the questions that have been raised:

- (i) The use of foreign terminology and the payment in Pound Sterling. As I have stated previously, it is an insult both to our intelligence and to our self-respect to carry on with this practice. I do not see where the Attorney-General or anybody comes into the picture except in so far as any legal or constitutional changes may be necessary.
- (ii) Certain rules in regard to overseas pay and passage concessions. I see that you have suggested the ending of these passage concessions. I am not quite clear as to what overseas pay is and for what purpose it is meant.
- (iii) The question of leave outside India. The argument that foreign travel should be encouraged might well apply to others, apart from officers of the Government. As a matter of fact, there has never been quite so much foreign travel and deputations, delegations, etc., as we have had in recent years. It would probably be much more profitable to our officers to travel in India and see their own country and what is being done here. The point is that actual and psychological barriers between our officers and others should be removed as far as possible. This is not a question of the finances involved.
- (iv) The question of pensions and leave pay structure. This can be considered last of all after we have cleared up the other matters....

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 25 October 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

16. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1955

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of 22nd October about black-marketing in claims of compensation.² I have read your note. I still feel that we should be able to take some steps in this matter. The obvious step is to declare publicly that these claims are not transferable and that you will not pay them to anybody but the original claimant. It may be that, in spite of this declaration, some people may try to get round you. But this wholesale black-marketing will stop.

The case arises where people are in urgent need of money. You mention this. Broadly speaking, even an urgent need can be postponed if they know that they cannot sell their claim. But, apart from this, is it not possible for you to pay a part of the claim in known cases of urgency—25 per cent? Test will be urgency. This need not involve a large cash drain upon you.

I think it is highly objectionable for profiteers to come into the picture and make money out of the urgent need of the refugees. Far from their being allowed to make money, I think they should be punished for this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copies of the note were sent to Abul Kalam Azad and G.B. Pant.
2. Khanna wrote that "the only remedy to stop the sales of claims at lower values is the payment in cash in satisfaction of the claims...".

17. Arrangements During Tours¹

I think the arrangements laid down for my tours will have to be revised again in view of the experience gained.

2. First of all, it is quite essential for me to have open motor cars, except sometimes during a long journey in the middle of the day. Because of some instructions given, there has always been some trouble about an open car. Eventually, however, it has been obtained and used.

1. Note to A.V. Pai, Home Secretary, 3 November 1955. JN Collection.

3. The motor cyclist accompanying my car should be well away from the car, both ahead and behind. If there are four of them, two should be ten to fifteen feet ahead of my car, depending on circumstances and crowds. The two behind should be clear of the car and about five to ten feet behind it. This will enable them to give more effective service and be useful in an emergency which they are not, if they are right by the side of the car.

4. Instructions have apparently been issued that no people should be allowed to gather within thirty feet of me. This creates difficulties everywhere. If strictly applied, I cannot go in a street which is less than sixty feet wide.² The arrangements for public meetings are generally satisfactory except that the area left open in front of the rostrum is usually much too big—far more than even thirty feet. At a really big meeting, the thirty feet space is desirable, but it becomes rather absurd at small meetings or other small gatherings.

5. I think that in that thirty feet space some special people should be accommodated, such as the leading members of the Reception Committee, and some officials. This is desirable from several points of view, even for security. The place should not, of course, be crowded, but a small number would be desirable there.

6. Sometimes the arrangements for the meetings involve putting up of a forest of bamboos or poles. These look ugly and are otherwise also undesirable. While enclosures are necessary, it is usually not necessary to have more than three sets of concentric circles. Sometimes, there are as many as five or six. Also it sometimes happens that certain enclosures are reserved and are only partly filled. The result is that during a meeting there is a rush to fill these vacant spaces. This upsets the meeting. Therefore, the general reservations should be only two, one for women and the second for invited visitors, etc.

7. These are just a very few matters I have referred to here. There are many others also which require a change in order to bring about greater efficiency and convenience.

2. Earlier, on 29 September 1955, Nehru wrote to A.V. Pai that the Home Ministry's orders that a space sixty feet wide be kept empty for his car to pass to the Coach Factory at Perambur during his visit there on 2 October was "completely absurd and fantastic. If I find the open space, I shall get down from my car and walk near the crowd and possibly in the crowd." He also asked Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, to inform the organizers accordingly.

18. Senior Appointments in Government¹

The Chief Minister of the Punjab showed me a letter of yours dated 12th November addressed to the Punjab Government about Shri Nawab Singh.² In this letter you have said that you regretted that there was no post available for Nawab Singh in the Central Government in the near future. Perhaps later there might be such a post.

You will remember that you mentioned Nawab Singh's name to me some weeks or months ago and told me that you considered him a competent person. You hoped that there would be suitable place for him at the Centre and I agreed that it would be desirable to have him there.

I was, therefore, a little surprised to see your letter to the Punjab Government. Unfortunately many people have begun to think that Nawab Singh is being passed over because he is a Sikh. So this becomes another count against the Government for discriminating against Sikhs. There is little doubt that Nawab Singh is competent and able at his work. He is fairly senior. I was told that he was the same year as Bhagwan Sahay³ who is now our Ambassador in Nepal. Many persons junior to him have been promoted.

It is true that we must not attach too much importance to seniority in the higher posts; but where a man is acknowledged to be competent and is not given a chance, then dissatisfaction arises. This is not merely a personal matter, but has somewhat larger consequences. I think, therefore, that this matter should be given further consideration.

I was told at Nangal that there was a post of Deputy Election Commissioner vacant and that the Punjab Government had in fact been asked to suggest some names. I do not know if this is so and whether Nawab Singh would be especially suited for that. Anyhow, I should like you to consult the Home Ministry about Nawab Singh and try to find a suitable post for him at the Centre.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, written in train on way from Punjab to Delhi, 17 November 1955. JN Collection. Copy sent to the Home Minister.
2. (1907-); joined ICS, 1929; served in the Punjab in various capacities, 1929-47; Home Secretary, East Punjab, August 1947-48; Commissioner, Ambala Division, 1948-51; Chief Secretary, Punjab, 1952-56; Adviser, Programme Administration, Planning Commission, 1956.
3. (1905-1986); Ambassador of India to Nepal, 1954-59.

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

1. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
18 September, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

The Speaker² of the Lok Sabha has written to me on the subject of the status, salary and allowances and other emoluments of the Deputy Chairmen and Deputy Speakers in the State Legislatures. This question has been raised on several occasions in the Conference of Presiding Officers which are held annually.

It appears that there is considerable difference from State to State in regard to these matters. To some extent, this difference is perhaps inevitable as the States themselves differ in many ways. There are, however, some general considerations which, the Speaker suggests, should be kept in view. Broadly speaking, he thinks that the Deputy Speakers (and Deputy Chairmen where such exist) should have the same status, salary, etc., as the Deputy Ministers. It is true that the Deputy Speakers have probably much less work to do in the State Legislatures, but they occupy a position of importance and it would be improper to keep them on a lower level.

In some places, the Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman is permitted to carry on some profession such as, usually, of lawyers. The Speaker is strongly of opinion that it is not proper for a Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman to appear as a lawyer in the courts. His post as Deputy Speaker should be a whole-time one. That, indeed, is the practice in Parliament. I think it is undesirable for the Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman to appear in law courts or practice some other profession or business. That will undoubtedly take away somewhat from his dignity as Deputy Speaker.

If the Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen are to be whole-time officers of the State Legislatures, then they should be paid at least on the level of the Deputy Ministers.

The questions, therefore, are:

- (1) The Deputy Speaker (or Chairman) should be given the same status in the order of precedence as the Deputy Minister.
- (2) He should be given the same salary and allowances as the Deputy Minister.
- (3) His post should be a whole-time one, and he should not practice some profession or business.

1. JN Collection. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 262-263.
2. G.V. Mavalankar.

These general proposals appear to me to be worthy of acceptance. A certain uniformity is desirable.

It is true that the salary and allowances of Deputy Ministers vary in different States. That does not matter. The point is that the Deputy Speaker should be placed in the same category in this respect as the Deputy Minister.

I might mention that what I have suggested above is actually the practice in some States. However, I am sending this letter to all the Chief Ministers for their information.

The next meeting of the Presiding Officers' Conference is going to take place at Shillong on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th November. It is desirable that, before that meeting takes place, the State Governments might express their views on this subject.³ This will help that Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Hari Bhau Upadhyaya, Chief Minister of Ajmer, in his reply of 5 October to Nehru, stated that though he fully agreed that the Deputy Speaker and the Deputy Chairman should have the same status as Deputy Ministers, and that their emoluments should also be the same, in Ajmer it might be difficult to maintain uniformity. Ajmer did not have a Deputy Minister and the work of the Deputy Speaker was not so heavy as to prevent him from carrying on some other profession or business, he added.

2. Reports of the PAC and Government¹

In the fourteenth report of the Public Accounts Committee,² reference is made on pages 7, 8 and 9 to the contracts for the purchase of jeeps in the UK and other contracts for the purchase of ammunition and ordnance stores in foreign countries. In a previous report (the ninth report), the Committee had criticised these contracts and had recommended that a high-level committee consisting

1. Aide Memoir, New Delhi, 19 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. The fourteenth report of the PAC (1954-55) on the Appropriation Accounts (Defence Services) 1951-52 and 1952-53, was presented in Lok Sabha on 9 September 1955 by V.B. Gandhi, Chairman of the Committee. The PAC had twenty-two members of whom fifteen were from the Lok Sabha and seven from the Rajya Sabha.

of one or two High Court Judges should be appointed to assess the extent of individual responsibility in these transactions.

2. These matters had been raised in Parliament repeatedly and various statements had been made from time to time, and an assurance had been given that they would be fully enquired into. In 1952, a Committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and the Finance Minister, assisted by a number of senior officials, conducted a close enquiry for several days. Papers for this purpose had been obtained from London and elsewhere, and all these papers were examined. As a result of this exhaustive enquiry, the conclusion was reached that a number of procedural and technical irregularities had occurred but the bona fides of the officers could not be questioned. The circumstances prevailing when these contracts were entered into were peculiar and, at the time, there were not only military operations going on in Kashmir in 1948 but some military action was contemplated in Hyderabad and there was danger of an extended war with Pakistan. The then Defence Minister, Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyanger, in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha in 1952, referred to this enquiry by the Ministers and stated categorically that, as a result of this enquiry, he had no doubt about the bona fides of the officers concerned, although there had been irregularities.

3. Subsequently, the Public Accounts Committee having again gone into the matter, a note was sent to them on this subject on behalf of Government and, a few days later, the Finance Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha (on the 21st December, 1954) placing that note on the table of the House and stating that the matter might be treated as closed.

4. The Public Accounts Committee has now taken exception to the Finance Minister making that statement in the House without affording a reasonable time to the Committee to consider the note. They state that they consider this action inappropriate.

5. Further, the Committee state that they had not been informed in 1953 about the investigation conducted by the Committee of the Cabinet in 1952. They state that they see no reason to deviate from their view as previously expressed on these transactions but that the question of further action was a matter essentially for executive determination.

6. These comments and criticisms of the Public Accounts Committee raise certain matters of procedure, apart from other aspects of this case.

7. So far as is known, the procedure of the Public Accounts Committee is to examine officers of Government as witnesses. Questions are put to them and they are forced to answer them; only they are specially directed not to volunteer information unless asked for. This often makes it a little difficult for the officer concerned to bring out all the facts of the case. Subsequently, when the Committee has issued its report, it has sometimes been found that there have been some factual errors in it or that some facts were not within their knowledge.

As a consequence of this, statements have been made in Parliament drawing attention to these facts. It is understood that the practice in the United Kingdom is somewhat different. In the examination of officers, a greater latitude is given to them to explain all the facts and circumstances. Further, when the draft report is prepared by the Committee, the relevant parts of it are confidentially shown to the Ministry or Department concerned with a view to ensure that facts are correctly stated. This avoids any argument about facts at a later stage.

8. The statement made by Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar in 1952 was in the course of a speech in the Lok Sabha. It was a long statement and a great deal of attention had been drawn to it at the time. The Committee, however, have stated that this information was not made available to the Committee when they were examining this matter in 1953. The information was published and no doubt it would have been referred to if a question had been asked, but, as the officers have been told not to volunteer information, it is difficult for them to say anything unless asked. The fact, however, was publicly known and was on the records of Parliament.

9. In important cases which have aroused public interest, questions are frequently asked in Parliament. A brief answer to the question is often not satisfactory and does not give all the facts. It becomes necessary, therefore, to give a full answer or make a statement. This is particularly desirable in cases which have attracted public notice and are constantly referred to in the newspapers. It is a little difficult, therefore, to refrain from making such a statement in Parliament and to wait for many months and possibly a year, before the Public Accounts Committee has finished its consideration of the matter. That would not be fair to the Government or to the public.

10. It is also not clear when it might be thought that the Public Accounts Committee has finalised its consideration of a particular matter. The matters referred to in the fourteenth report are old subjects which have been brought up in Parliament in various ways on many occasions and have been previously considered by the Public Accounts Committee. The statement made by the Finance Minister in December, 1954, was after the Public Accounts Committee had considered it, although the Committee could certainly further consider it. It may be difficult to arrive at any finality in this matter as any statement made by Government or notes sent to Government by the Public Accounts Committee may still become a subject for further consideration. It would, therefore, be very embarrassing to Government not to say anything about a matter of public importance and more especially one in which charges have been brought against a Ministry or its officers.

11. After the publication of the fourteenth report of the Public Accounts Committee, to which much publicity has been given by the press, it seemed necessary that Government's views and decisions should be made known to Parliament as early as possible. If Government merely sent a note on this subject

to the Public Accounts Committee and waited for its further consideration of it, it might prevent Government from making any statement in Parliament or before the public for many months.

12. In these particular matters, namely, those relating to the jeeps and ammunition, the Government have conducted a thorough enquiry at the highest level possible and come to certain firm decisions which they placed before Parliament. The Government again considered this matter fully and again informed Parliament. In spite of this, however, the Public Accounts Committee have again suggested an enquiry by High Court Judges, although they have stated that the action to be taken is a matter for executive determination. The executive at the highest level has already determined this matter and stated so to Parliament. It is not quite clear what is expected of the executive after all that has happened. Apart from the extreme difficulty of such an enquiry after seven years or so in various foreign countries, this would mean practically an investigation into the conduct of Government itself. So far as Government is concerned, they have given as careful thought to this as possible and done so at the top level. They cannot do anything more and they have to adhere to their previous decision. Government are reluctant to take any step which may not meet with the approval of the Public Accounts Committee. It is their desire to maintain the high dignity of that Committee and to treat every suggestion it makes with respect but, in the circumstances, they are put in the embarrassing position of being unable to accept the Public Accounts Committee's recommendations.

13. There has been already a question in Parliament on this subject and, in the normal course, it should be answered. A brief answer will obviously be unsatisfactory. The best course for Government is, therefore, to give a full answer or to make a statement. That statement can certainly be sent earlier to the Public Accounts Committee, but the Government cannot wait for the further consideration by the Public Accounts Committee of that note or statement before it is placed before Parliament as this might mean long delay.

3. Claim for Damages in Purchase Deals¹

I am not competent enough to discuss the legal aspects of this case, but it seems to me clear that, normally speaking, we should institute legal proceedings

1. Note to Defence Minister. 24 September 1955. JN Collection.

in England to recover damages, unless we are convinced that such a case has no basis. The most that can be said is that we have not got a strong case. Also, that we may have to pay some damages ourselves. I do not think that this should deter us. This matter has been before Parliament and the public for many years now, and to leave it rather in the air would be unfortunate. We have suffered much both in money and in other ways. It is better to pursue this matter to the end.

2. I agree, therefore, with the views expressed by the Defence Minister and the Law Minister. We should inform our High Commissioner in London about this matter so that necessary steps might be taken. As it is possible that Shri Krishna Menon might have to appear as a witness, we should inform him also of the steps that we intend to take.²

2. Both K.N. Katju and C.C. Biswas, Defence Minister and Law Minister respectively, were of the view that the Government of India should institute legal proceedings in Britain to recover the damages due to India in the contracts for supply of jeeps and ammunition by a British company. The Home Minister also suggested that Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the High Commissioner in Britain, be asked to see whether there was any possibility of negotiations for settlement.

4. To G.V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
September 25, 1955

My dear Mr Speaker,²

Thank you for your letter No. D-2648/55 dated 24th September³ about the note forwarded by the Ministry of Defence for the Public Accounts Committee. I returned to Delhi yesterday afternoon and I saw your letter only today.

2. On my return yesterday, I learnt from the Defence Ministry that they had sent this note to the Public Accounts Committee and to the Lok Sabha Secretariat. Some members of the Cabinet had discussed this matter before I went away and generally considered the terms of the note. But I had not seen the final copy of the note till I returned yesterday.

1. JN Collection.
2. G.V. Mavalankar (1888-1956); Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1952-56.
3. Mavalankar suggested that paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Defence Ministry's note to the Public Accounts Committee, be dropped and the following be substituted instead: "There are two other matters arising out of transactions which have been commented upon in the PAC's XIVth report. They relate to matters of procedure. The Government have referred these matters to the Speaker for his guidance."

3. As the note has already been sent to the Public Accounts Committee, it is not quite clear to me how we should proceed about the matter now. Perhaps it is possible to withdraw that note and send another in accordance with your advice.

4. It is very far from our intention to take any step which might be a cause of embarrassment to you. More especially, to have a discussion in the House on a subject which might embarrass you, should certainly be avoided. Our feeling was that since the Public Accounts Committee in their report had specifically criticised Government for the procedure adopted by it, it would be proper for the Government to express their view-point in regard to that procedure. The credit and good name of the Government were involved in the criticisms of the Public Accounts Committee and the matter had been referred to in the public press also. The Government felt rather strongly on this subject because if the procedure they suggested was not a correct one, then they would have no chance of replying to public charges against them for many months or possibly even a year. That would be embarrassing to Government and rather unfair to Parliament and the public. Hence they felt that they should make their position clear in regard to these matters.

5. In regard to paragraph 4 of the note,⁴ I would submit that the directions issued some time back for the guidance of the officers who appeared before the Public Accounts Committee made it difficult for them to volunteer information. It is true that there was a sentence in those directions stating that a witness could make a statement by permission. But the general trend of those directions was against the official witnesses volunteering any information. I might add that that set of directions which were issued some time back appeared to me, when I saw them, to be rather inappropriate. I was told that they had been copied from some English formula. Possibly that formula was an old one, as even the language was rather archaic and hardly suited to modern times here or elsewhere. For witnesses to be asked not to spit or smoke and to bow on entering the room and then later before seating themselves as well as certain other directions appeared to me to be unnecessary and out of date. I do not know if the same set of directions apply now or have been varied.

6. I entirely agree with you that we are in a formative stage as regards our parliamentary procedure and conventions and we should settle any question that arises by mutual discussion and agreement.

4. In his letter Mavalankar wrote that in para 4 a statement was made that official witnesses were supposed to answer questions put to them and not volunteer information. This was inaccurate and perhaps did injustice to the Committee by suggesting that the liberty of the witnesses to state whatever they wished to state was restricted. Every witness, Mavalankar added, was at liberty to say whatever he wished to say of his own.

7. I am sending your letter to the Minister of Defence and recommending to him that he might make the changes in the note, as suggested by you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To G.V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
September 25, 1955

My dear Mr Speaker,

I am grateful to you for your letter No. 2649 of the 24th September² and for the note by the Lok Sabha Secretariat.³ The note prepared by the Committee of Economic Secretaries, which I had given to you, was out of date and probably some of the points raised in it are no longer relevant. That note had been prepared, as far as I can remember, on the basis of a letter received by me from Shri Shiva Rao,⁴ MP, who had expressed his concern at the widening of the scope of the work of the Estimates Committee which tended to impinge on the policies laid down by Government.

You will perhaps remember that I sent you an extract from a letter dated the 13th October, 1954, which the Comptroller and Auditor-General⁵ had addressed to me. This letter gave the practice in the UK in regard to the reports

1. JN Collection.

2. Mavalankar wrote that he was sending to the Chairmen of the Estimates Committee and Public Accounts Committee the two notes Nehru had given him on the scope and functions of the Estimates Committee of November 1954 and the Aide Memoire of 19 September 1955.

3. The Secretary, Lok Sabha, in his note, stated (i) that existing rules provided that a witness might, with the permission of the Chairmen of Financial Committees, place such additional facts as he considered necessary and relevant to subject under discussion. He suggested that to avoid any possible misapprehension on this point the Speaker might issue necessary directions to the Chairmen. (ii) On whether the PAC reports be sent in advance to Ministries concerned for factual verification, the Secretary suggested that if the Ministries were keen then "there appears to be no serious objection to this procedure" especially as it was already being followed in the Estimates Committee. After the Ministries had given their views, the PAC might consult the Auditor-General before carrying out any correction.

4. B. Shiva Rao (1891-1975); member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

5. Asok Kumar Chanda.

of the Public Accounts Committee, and indicated how the Treasury was consulted at an early stage on all the recommendations of the Committee. In the UK, much is done by conventions which have grown in the course of time. The Comptroller and Auditor-General pointed out that it was inconceivable that, in the UK, a situation would be allowed to develop in which the PAC, with a majority of members belonging to the party in power, would make observations which would virtually amount to a censure of the Government.

I feel on the whole that it would be a safer policy for us to allow conventions to develop, suited to our conditions, rather than to have written and rigid rules.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Revising the Note to PAC¹

... 2. As you were not here, I consulted the Home Minister in this matter. Both he and I were of opinion that, in view of what the Speaker has said, we should accept his advice and not insist on saying something in the note to the Public Accounts Committee or in the statement to Parliament, which he advises should be left out. We have made our position quite clear to the Speaker and, in fact, to the Chairman² of the Public Accounts Committee who has been informed of this also through the Chairman.³ You will notice that the Chairman has been given a copy of my previous long note on this subject. Since this has been done, even though informally, it is perhaps not necessary now to press this point again against the Speaker's advice. This would needlessly irritate the Speaker.

3. I suggest, therefore, that the Defence Ministry might get back the note sent to the Public Accounts Committee, and send a revised note to them. This revised note would contain paragraphs 1 and 2. of your last note.

4. Paragraph 3 might be as follows:

1. Note to Defence Minister. 25 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of the note was sent to the Home Minister.
2. V.B. Gandhi (1896-1969); member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.
3. Chairman of Rajya Sabha.

"The Public Accounts Committee have also commented that it had not been informed in 1953 about the investigation conducted by a Committee of the Cabinet in 1952. It is true that this matter was not specifically reported to the Public Accounts Committee; but the fact that these matters had formed the subject of an enquiry at a very high level was referred to by the late Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar in the statement made by him in the House of the People, to which reference has been made in paragraph 1 above."

5. Paragraph 4 might run as follows:

"There are other matters arising out of the transactions which have been commented upon in the Public Accounts Committee's fourteenth report. They relate to matters of procedure. The Government have referred these matters to the Speaker for his guidance."

6. The statement you are going to make in Parliament⁴ will, of course, also have to be revised so as to keep in line with the note.

7. I hope you agree with what I have suggested.

4. Katju stated in the Lok Sabha on 29 September 1955 that the Public Accounts Committee "have disclosed no new facts or figures nor have they given any reasons. They have merely reiterated their views as expressed in the ninth report. Government have already considered these views on the previous occasion with the utmost care... The matter is now seven years old and as no new facts have come to light... Government feel unable ... to alter their previous decision not to reopen this matter... any further independent enquiry will be of no use whatsoever. The matter should... on public interest, be now considered closed."

7. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
September 26, 1955

My dear Mr Chairman,

I have learnt this evening that a notice was circulated in Parliament, postponing a meeting of the Congress Party which was going to be held to consider the

1. JN Collection.

Hindu Succession Bill.² I have not seen this notice but I understand it was stated in it that this meeting is being postponed because the consideration of the Bill itself in the Rajya Sabha is going to be postponed.

I should like to express my regret that such a statement was made in the notice. I do not know whose error it was but I am sorry for it. It is true that, on being asked, I agreed that the Party meeting should be postponed today.

As you know, I have been anxious that the Hindu Succession Bill should be passed by the Rajya Sabha during this session. The Business Advisory Committee of the Rajya Sabha was good enough to provide for this and, indeed, to extend the session by a day or two for the purpose. It is only the Business Advisory Committee of the Rajya Sabha that can make any change in this procedure.

Yesterday I received a number of representations from members of the Rajya Sabha pointing out that the Hindu Succession Bill, as it had emerged from the Select Committee, contained numerous changes, and they wanted time to consider these. They said that they were anxious that the Bill should be passed as early as possible, but they did not wish it to appear that enough time was not given for its consideration and that it was rushed through. Thereupon, I consulted the Home Minister who is also the Leader of the House. The Home Minister felt that, in view of a number of members of the Rajya Sabha desiring more time to consider the Bill, it might not be desirable to ignore their wishes in this matter. He felt that a possible course might be that the Bill might be taken up for the first reading during this session and then adjourned till the next session. This would not involve any loss of time as the Rajya Sabha could meet somewhat earlier for the next session, and the Bill, if passed, would then go to the Lok Sabha during the same session. I agreed with the Home Minister and I informed the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs³ that this might be the course adopted if the Rajya Sabha agreed to it. The ultimate decision, of course, rests with the Rajya Sabha, and no one should presume beforehand what that decision is likely to be.

2. The Hindu Succession Bill, introduced in the Rajya Sabha in December 1954, aimed at evolving a uniform system of law with regard to the interstate succession among the Hindus and for determining the rightful heirs to their property. It provided for the first time a share of the father's property to a daughter and gave women absolute right to self-acquired property. The Bill became law in June 1956.
3. On 25 September 1955, Nehru wrote to Satya Narayan Sinha that "both the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha should be summoned to meet on 21st November. It is likely that the Hindu Succession Bill might have to be postponed after some discussion, as many members desire this postponement.... If so ... the Rajya Sabha need not sit during this session till 3rd October as previously intended."

I regret, therefore, that any announcement should have been made, which was not proper in the circumstances.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To G.V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
September 27, 1955

My dear Mr Speaker,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th September about the installation of electric machines for recording votes.

It is not clear to me how mischievous voting can be avoided. Presumably many members may be absent. Somebody else may press their buttons, or even if they are present, somebody next to them might do so and then they might protest. This kind of electric voting probably requires a somewhat greater degree of acquaintance with electric machines and the like than some of our members are likely to possess.

I am also wondering how big the board will be which contains all the names of the 500 members. It is likely to be fairly big and I rather doubt if it will add to the beauty or solemnity of the Chamber.

I suppose after some practice and trial and error, ultimately the machine will save time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

9. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
October 9, 1955

My dear Satya Narayan,²

Your namesake, Satyanarain Sinha,³ has not been behaving correctly. On some wrong assurance to the Swiss Legation, he managed to get a free visa from them for Switzerland. The Swiss Legation thought that the External Affairs Ministry was sponsoring him, which was not so. I think this is very objectionable. I suppose he has now left India. I think that you should take this matter up with him when he returns. It is very improper for an MP especially to behave in this manner and embarrass us with a foreign Legation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of the note was sent to MEA.
2. (1900-1983); Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, 1952-67.
3. (1910-); journalist and Congressman from Bihar; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

10. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
October 10, 1955

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of October 7th² regarding the grievances of Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha,³ MP. This letter gives a full account of various matters in

1. JN Collection.
2. Refuting the allegations that J.K. Sinha had been a victim of group and communal politics and the local executive and police officials had been let loose to insult and harass him. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister, Bihar, wrote that the case which had been under judicial scrutiny, related to the irregularities committed by the Sitamarhi Central Cooperative Union, of which J.K. Sinha was chairman, and the tussle was between him and others for control over it.
3. (1908-); participated in the freedom movement since 1921; member, Bihar PCC; President, Sitamarhi Sub-Divisional Cooperative Store and Cooperative Union; PSP member of Lok Sabha, 1953-56.

which Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha was concerned and in which he came in conflict with the police, etc. From this account it appears that he has been acting improperly and wrongly. I shall send your letter on to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, who made the enquiry from me.⁴

The Speaker was really concerned not with police cases and the like, but the alleged improper treatment of an MP by certain officials, quite apart from any judicial proceedings. I hope you have enquired into this also. The question raises something more than individual issue, that is, how an MP should be treated by officials. As probably the Speaker will ask me about this again, I shall be grateful if you could let me have the facts in this case as also what your general directions are to officials in regard to MPs.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Earlier on 24 September Nehru wrote to S.K. Sinha that "an MP must be treated as such, wherever he may be" and asked for facts about the treatment of Jugal Kishore Sinha, MP, from Bihar, by local officials. Nehru also wished to know "what steps have been taken to preserve the dignity of Parliament."

11. Status of Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen¹

I have had some correspondence with the Speaker of the Lok Sabha in regard to the status and emoluments of the Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen in the State Legislatures. This did not relate to the flying of the Flag. But, generally speaking, the Speaker was of opinion that these Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen should be equated with Deputy Ministers both in regard to emoluments and other amenities.

2. I sent the Speaker's letter to all the State Chief Ministers and received replies from many of them. Some were agreeable to the Speaker's proposals; others objected to the salary of the Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman being raised to the Deputy Minister's level because, they said, they had little work to do.

1. Note to the Home Secretary, 19 October 1955. JN Collection.

3. There was also the question of these Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen being permitted to carry on other work, such as the legal profession, etc. The Speaker was definitely of the opinion that they should not be permitted to do so. Some States, however, did not agree. I have sent all these replies to the Speaker. There is going to be a conference of Speakers and Chairmen, in Shillong I think, soon where these questions are going to be raised.

4. I have mentioned all these matters, although they are not strictly relevant to the present issue. Whatever the decision might be about salaries, free houses, etc., I think that so far as status is concerned, the Deputy Speakers and the Deputy Chairmen should be equated with Deputy Ministers. Therefore, if Deputy Ministers fly the National Flag, the Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen should also do so. This should apply to the Warrant of Precedence also.

12. Maintaining Upper Houses in States¹

...Now we will take up item No. 8. The question of retaining Upper Houses. Some eight States I think have got Upper Houses, Punjab, UP, Bombay, Bengal, Madras, etc.... I am not in favour of Upper Houses as a whole. I would say with all respect to everybody present here that the average sensitive person does not want this. Of course there may be very eminent and desirable persons and I think it is a good thing in our Constitution for the President to nominate, I think, 12 in the Council of States. It is a good idea....

1. Remarks at the Chief Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 23 October 1955. File No. 2/3/55-SR, MHA, NAI. Nehru presided over the conference called to discuss the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.

13. Making Democracy Tolerant¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: We shall take up the next item.²...

Morarji Desai: The Governor should be charged with the responsibility of drawing attention of his Ministers; if they do not carry out the thing properly, then he can write to the President....

Sampurnanand: There will be difficulties in this. It is the Ministerial responsibility and you have to deal with the problem as it will arise in its practical aspect. Why should the Governor be charged with this responsibility?... Why can't the States be trusted?

MD: Because some States cannot be trusted. This will create some confidence. We should not reject it now.... It is good if it can be done in a better way.

K. Hanumanthaiya: It is far better that the democratic process implements it.

JN: It has not done so. Although we talk great things and talk of tolerance in democracy and all that, democracy is intolerant. We have to make it tolerant. That is why we have to bring in all these things. Democracy does not mean that a fool becomes a wise man because a large number of people call him a wise man....

1. Remarks at the Chief Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 23 October 1955. File No. 2/3/55-SR, MHA, NAI. Extracts. Nehru presided over the conference called to discuss the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.
2. It related to the Commission's proposals regarding the agency for enforcing the safeguards provided for the minorities.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. Congress and Government¹

The subject of co-ordination between the Congress organisation and the administration covers a wide field and there is danger of speeches becoming philosophic and going astray. Today we meet after eight years experience in administration and I can say we have had considerable experience by now. We have made mistakes, and, as a Government, we are constantly condemned and made the object of ridicule and criticism by the opposition elements. Further, we have to bear in mind that no ruling party anywhere can fulfil all the expectations and hopes of all the people. When we came into the administration hopes in the country were no doubt very high. So much was expected, and it is also true that every achievement of the Government strengthens the party. Today, actually speaking, the prestige of the Congress, on the whole, has become dependent upon the prestige of the Government. It is true, of course, that both the organisation and the administration act and react upon each other. We are undertaking reform measures, specially in the social sphere, in the different parts of the country. Maybe that government in any part of India may be affected, but in India as a whole, the organisation is strong enough to survive a shock.

During the last few years, specially after the elections of 1951, we attracted a great deal of international attention. More specially our success on the food front has impressed people greatly. Among the general masses of India, there is a feeling that we have made good in the international sphere. Then we have launched the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Scheme on a big scale. These community programmes are the biggest single thing we are doing in India. It gives our people assurance of the constant attention of the Government, to their well-being and gives them confidence, and also vitalises them.

There are a few other things. We have Bhakra in Punjab. It is a tremendous thing. Vast masses of peasants go and see it, and get a feeling of something achieved.

There are many other achievements. But then there are two factors which go against us:

- (i) The mere fact that we are in the Government;
- (ii) Whether our speed of development is fast enough.

1. Speech at a Conference of the Presidents of the PCCs and the Leaders of Congress Legislature Parties in the States, New Delhi, 2 September 1955. From *Congress Bulletin*, August-September 1955.

I have always believed, and believe even more so today, that our people are eminently sensible. They appreciate difficulties if we take them into our confidence and place all the facts before them. The greatest mistake is to treat people as incapable of understanding our problems. The problems in their broad implications must be placed before them. They like the idea of your going to them and explaining to them all the pros and cons of the situation. We are well aware of the psychology of the child. He is happy when his parents treat him as one who understands things.

After all, democracy is much more than occasional selection of Government. It means, in practice, being near the people. Democracy goes wrong when this is not done.

There are two wings of the organisation. One is busy in the administration. The Congress side of it should always be moving and should have a grip over the problems and should be active. Other parties in the country shoulder no responsibility. They just criticise and agitate about anything. Our responsibility is greater. That is why it becomes all the more necessary to keep in touch with the people. It is equally important that those in the administration should have their ears to the ground.

We in India have virtues. They are considerable. I admire them. But our lack of virtues also is considerable. It is extraordinary how small incidents grow big and lead to trouble and dangerous potentialities. We have had instances of it recently in Patna, Bombay, etc. So we have to be constantly wide awake. We have got to be in the front line and face risks. Congress tends to become complacent. The slightest success makes us complacent. Complacency is an attitude of mind.

We should not think that we can solve world problems by writing in files. As I have been often saying, our problems are not one or two; there are 360 million problems. We have to be in touch with 360 millions who live in our land. These vast mass of people must always be before us.

The Congress today is in a peculiar position. Ever since 1936-37, when we first took over the Ministry, relations between the Ministries and the PCCs has been a perennial problem. All the problems that arise cannot be rigidly answered. We cannot get on by interfering with each other's activities. Of course, consultation and mutual understanding at each stage is essential.

When I went to the Soviet Union recently,² I was specially interested in this problem: how do they solve the troubles that might arise between the organisation and the Government? I wanted to find an answer in Russia. There is the Communist Party which is governing. It is dominant in the Government. It is difficult to compare with Russia. In Yugoslavia, it is slightly different. It

2. In June-July 1955.

is true that it is the Communist Party which completely controls the Government there, but the role of the Party is not so dominant in the administration as in Russia. The Party carries on a lot of propaganda amongst the people for the administrative policies, and the leaders of the Communist Party are the leaders of the Government. In the Legislature, I think about one-third are members of the Party and two-thirds are non-Party members. In Russia and Yugoslavia, however, there is no question of civil liberty as we know it. No person there can challenge the Government policy.

As against this, in India it is the Congress Session or the All India Congress Committee which gives broad directives. We have to act up to them. If the AICC asks us to resign, we will do it. Or we may resign if there is a fundamental policy laid down, and the Government may not agree with it. That is a hypothetical case. But then there are numerous types of policies. I remember a decision of the All India Congress Committee some years ago about putting a ban on vegetable ghee.³ I told them that I could not do it. If the AICC lays down a certain policy, either we will have to follow it, or if we cannot do so we will have to go and place our difficulties before the organisation. The AICC gives us a basic approach. Within that, the Government has a large measure of freedom.

We are building up a new type of organisation for development, the National Extension Blocks and the Community Projects. They are spread over the whole of India. We have to cover the entire country with them. In these we do social and other work. The question arises: what the Congress organisation and Congressmen do in these Extension Blocks and Projects? Actually, in a properly organised State and a developed people, social work is not required in the ordinary sense. Everybody there has the necessary education and knows his job and responsibilities.

The problem is how to make our organisation more and more alive and to guard against self-complacency, and make it fight against disruptive and fissiparous tendencies. People look to the Congress for getting election tickets and getting elected to legislatures. We are in the Government and we win the elections. This naturally has great inducement for numerous self-seekers to flock to the organisation. The problem is: how can we prevent such people from coming into the organisation? Along with these there is the problem of casteism in the Congress.

Then I would like to draw your attention to the danger of bossism, more specially at the lower levels. I may add that democracy usually produces some kind of bossism. Democracy has been criticised as it pushes up the second rate. There is some truth in it. In the United States of America, we see the

3. In January 1951.

good aspects of democracy. At the same time we see the bad aspects also. It is a tremendously rich country and it has got some very great virtues. What I say is that there is a tendency in democracy to sink to lower levels. It is said that the voice of the people is the voice of God. But I am convinced that mere numbers do not mean wisdom, and so if democracy is to succeed, it must build up certain standards. I may say we are the only party in India which gives constant attention to the maintenance of these standards. The very fact that we are always thinking of it is itself a big thing. It is the Congress alone which can set these public standards in India. To me, these standards are more important than some temporary successes. If our individual standards go down, then the standards of other parties will go down further.

I was referring to 'bossism'. It is difficult to define it. It is probably an inevitable feature of democracy. A boss is a man who clings to office and does all things so that he remains there. In the United States of America, this has been present in a bad form, and has been the cause of considerable corruption. Formerly, in the Congress, the leader of the organisation was not necessarily the party boss. Today the party boss becomes the leader of the organisation.

As for casteism, I am definite and believe that there can be no compromise with casteism. No socialism is possible so long as casteism is there. Even democracy is not possible with casteism, much less socialism. We have declared ourselves to be against it, but then we have seen it raising its head every now and then. I had experience of it in Patna. In a speech I spoke of casteism in Bihar.⁴ I referred to Rajputs, Kayasthas and Brahmins. Then somebody hinted that I had purposely ignored the Bhumihars.⁵

It is not open to us to function merely as political parties function today. We have a certain background and we carry forward a rich heritage of 75 to 80 years. That prevents us from becoming just a political party in the normal sense. An organisation like the Congress has to think more in terms of quality than quantity. Under no circumstances, we should give up quality. If our coming out against casteism means we may lose some elections, well, I do not care. We should not be afraid of it. Ultimately, what is the strength of the Congress? It is that we hold to certain ideals and certain truths. And if fighting for these ideals and truths, we lose an election here and there, I am confident we will emerge out stronger.

I am worried sometimes about representation of women and minorities in the organisation as also elsewhere. The Chief Ministers are here. I would like them to bear this aspect in mind.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 68-83.

5. See *ante*, p. 273.

2. To Atulya Ghosh¹

New Delhi
September 19, 1955

My dear Atulya Babu,²

I had a deputation today from a number of persons who call themselves displaced Congress workers of Bengal. Among them were Pramatha Nath Guha³ and Dutt-Majumdar.⁴ They gave me a paper which I enclose.

They also had a talk with me and pointed out how many of these people were getting frustrated and likely to drift in wrong directions. Some of them, they said, used to be members of the AICC or PCC or District Committees. Their contacts and influence on the large number of East Bengal refugees were not being utilised. They could be of great help in this matter. There was the continuing exodus from East Bengal and for this reason also their help would be useful.

If they were absorbed or utilised by the Congress organisation, this would remove the sense of frustration and give them some function and also utilise their capacity for Congress work not only among the refugees but among others, more especially the younger generation.

It is this younger generation that often creates trouble and demonstrates on the streets, usually against the Congress. Owing to the various developments like the success of our foreign policy and the improvement in the food situation, the opportunity to work intensively for the Congress is there and could be taken advantage of even more than it has been. Recently, we lost the by-election in Chandernagore in spite of this favourable atmosphere and the effect created by the success of my tour in the Soviet Union and other countries.

I have indicated above roughly what they told me. You know best what the position is in West Bengal. But I do feel that we should utilise all kinds of persons. The doors of the Congress should be open more especially for those who had functioned in it previously as well, of course, for the younger generation. A feeling of frustration among old Congress workers is not good and it spreads and leads to exploitation by others.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to B.C. Roy.
2. (1904-1980); President, West Bengal PCC since 1950; Member of Parliament, 1952-67.
3. (1921-); known by the pen name 'Samiran'.
4. Niharendu Dutt-Majumdar (1905-); freedom fighter and pioneer labour leader of West Bengal; Minister for Law and Justice, Government of West Bengal, 1948-52.

I feel, therefore, that it would be very much worthwhile for you and your colleagues in the Congress to give thought to this matter again in the new circumstances that have arisen and find some way of utilising these people and making them feel that there is room for them in the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Threat of Jihad¹

As you know, the Pakistan press has been full of cries for jihad, etc., against India in regard to Kashmir. Colonel Sher Mohammad of 'Azad Kashmir' has openly talked of war.² Our information is that big groups of so-called satyagrahis are being trained in various places with the intention of thrusting them across the ceasefire line. Some District Officials in Pakistan are actively aiding and abetting this. Of course this has nothing to do with satyagraha. But any such attempt may well develop into an incident.

I should like to know what our Military Intelligence³ has on this subject and would also like to be kept informed of developments.⁴

1. Note to K.N. Katju, Defence Minister, 5 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. On 31 August, *Dawn*, in fact, quoted Sher Ahmed Khan, President of 'Azad Kashmir', as saying that 10,000 Kashmiris planned a march across the ceasefire line with the aim of forcing India into holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. He further said that "when this war starts, we hope that Pakistan will come in on our side because it is out of consideration for Pakistan that we have waited so long."
3. Vishnu Sahay, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, noted on 6 September that P.N. Thapar, Corps Commander of the Kashmir area, had information of concentration of about 20,000 people in the Kotli area. He added that the Intelligence Bureau was unable to confirm this information.
4. On 6 September, Nehru wrote to S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, asking him to inform the Pakistan High Commissioner that any attempt to cross the ceasefire line would be an "infringement" and "might lead to serious incidents" and that this would seriously come in the way of furthering friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

2. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
September 5, 1955

My dear Rajendra Babu,
There was one matter I wanted to mention to you this morning but, unfortunately, I forgot.

I understand that you will be going to Kashmir towards the end of this month for a somewhat prolonged stay. I was glad to learn of this because Kashmir at the end of September is very pleasant, though perhaps slightly cold.

1. JN Collection.

But there is one aspect that rather troubles me, though it may not be very important.

The Pakistan press is full of talk of jihad, etc., again, and there are definite preparations for what they call satyagraha into Kashmir. Of course, this has nothing to do with satyagraha, and what is perhaps intended is to push a large number of people across the ceasefire line in one or more places. This Goa affair has given them this idea.² If a large crowd pushes itself in in this way, it is not clear what the consequences might be. Of course, they can be stopped. But the Pakistanis will no doubt want to create incidents. In fact, the crowd cannot go in at all without the active assistance or at least the connivance of the Pakistan Army which stands on the other side of the ceasefire line.

I do not suggest that you should postpone your visit to Kashmir because of this, but I wanted to draw your attention to this possible development which might prove a little troublesome.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The *Dawn* on 5 September quoted Mohammad Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, as saying, "It will be difficult to prevent satyagraha in Kashmir by Pakistan volunteers and the local population. There should be no objection against such a satyagraha, as the Bharati PM gave his blessings to the Goa movement."

3. Invasion by Volunteers from Pakistan¹

I have discussed this matter² with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad,³ Prime Minister, Jammu & Kashmir State, who, I understand, has also discussed it with our Home Minister.⁴

2. I am clearly of opinion that there should be no publicity about this at our end.⁵ Any such publicity would rather play into the hands of Pakistan.

3. So far as action in the diplomatic field is concerned, I think that we

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 7 September 1955. File No. KS-28/55, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See the previous item.
3. (1919-1971); Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1953-63.
4. G.B. Pant.
5. Vishnu Sahay in his note of 5 September suggested that foreign correspondents be refused permits and the Indian press be briefed to "play down" the issue.

should indicate to the Prime Minister of Pakistan⁶ through our High Commissioner in Karachi⁷ that we view these statements about satyagraha in Kashmir with some concern. This might well develop into a breach of the ceasefire line to which both countries are committed and possibly lead to some undesirable incident. I do not think it is necessary to raise this question with any other Mission or Government.

4. As regards the UN Observers, I think that the J & K Government should write to our Corps Commander in J & K State drawing his attention to these developments and pointing out that these might lead to undesirable incidents as well as a breach of the ceasefire line. The Corps Commander should forward that letter with his own covering letter to the Chief⁸ of the UN Observers. No request should be made to them to intervene or to help.

5. Obviously a ceasefire agreement does not and cannot contain any reference to the entry of large numbers of civilians in the name of satyagraha. The fact remains, however, that these people cannot cross the border without the connivance of the Pakistan Army which holds the other side of the border, and their crossing the border in such numbers would create a difficult and possibly dangerous situation. In theory, an odd individual or a few of them may not make much difference, but a crowd does. Then again, the use of "satyagraha" in this connection is a misnomer. For all we know, the people may have concealed arms, and they may come just to create trouble. They may, for instance, surround and overwhelm our military picket near the border. Anyhow, there is so much uncertainty about this matter that we can certainly say that there is a possibility of a breach of the ceasefire line and, therefore, of the ceasefire agreement.

6. As regard internal preparations, of course, we should be on the alert. We should try to have as full and as rapid information as possible of developments. We can keep the UP Armed Police ready to move at short notice. But I would much rather that they were not sent or utilised, unless circumstances compelled us.⁹

7. I do not think that Army should come into the picture, but the Army should be prepared to deal with any unfavourable development.¹⁰

8. The general approach should be to make this so-called satyagraha invasion appear rather ridiculous to the public, both in Kashmir and outside.

6. Mohammad Ali (1905-1980); Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1955-56.

7. C.C. Desai (1900-1972); High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1955-58.

8. Maj. Gen. R.H. Nimmo.

9. Sahay noted that a battalion of UP Armed Police was available at Moradabad and suggested that one battalion of MP Armed Police and two battalions of Kashmir Armed Guards might be deployed.

10. G.B. Pant in his note of 7 September advised against using the army. Sahay suggested putting the army on alert and to stand by.

Therefore, any violence, including shooting and beating, should be avoided if possible.¹¹ Probably the best course would be to allow these persons to come in within a mile or two of the border and then hold them there. They should not be allowed to go further forward. But the way for them to return across the border should be left open to them.¹² They should not be provided with any refreshments. This should create a situation which probably would induce them themselves to go back after some hours or so.

9. It is difficult to lay down any precise directions when the exact form of entry and numbers is not known. Much will have to be left to the discretion of the local authorities within the larger range of directions given by us. It would be desirable, however, for some responsible person to be roundabout there to deal with the situation as it arises.

11. Pant noted that "firing has to be ruled out and every possible effort should be made to deal with the trespassers with minimum force."
12. Sahay suggested that the "point of egress should be at a distance away from the point of ingress." He added that the egress point should be so chosen that it was likely to attract the least publicity and attention from the other side.

4. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi
September 24, 1955

My dear Vishnu Sahay,²

Will you see the attached papers?

I had from time to time given money from the PM's Fund to the Kashmir Government for relief work. Most of these cheques were sent to Shaikh Abdullah.³ One apparently was sent to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in 1948. This was for 15,000/.

Although the secret report does not tally with some of the facts, it is desirable for us to try to find out what happened to the money I sent. I suppose the best course would be to ask Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad himself. The matter is an old one and it might be difficult to trace it.

What do you think should be done?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1901-1989); Secretary, Kashmir Affairs and Labour, 1953-57.

3. Shaikh Mohammed Abdullah (1905-1982); Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1947-53.

5. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
30 October 1955

My dear Bakshi,

I am writing to you about rather a personal matter which I have had in mind for some time past. I wanted to refer to it when you were here last but I forgot.

I meet large numbers of people who go to Kashmir as tourists and in other capacity. Practically all of them bring good reports of your work and the conditions in Kashmir. But many say that there is considerable dissatisfaction at the fact that your brothers appear to get all the contracts and agencies and rather exploit their relationship with you. Your brothers might be acting without any evil intent in the ordinary course of business; but it is always bad for such a reputation to spread. It lowers the Government's prestige and is a handle to opponents. We are very careful of such matters here and a relative of a Minister will find it difficult to get contracts.

I hope you do not mind my writing to you on this subject. I have done so because I think it is important that the public should have no cause for grievance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copy of a handwritten letter.

THE DEFENCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

7
DEFENCE

The main object of the defence of the United Kingdom is to prevent the enemy from landing on the coast of the United Kingdom and to prevent the enemy from establishing a base of operations in the United Kingdom. The main object of the defence of the United Kingdom is to prevent the enemy from landing on the coast of the United Kingdom and to prevent the enemy from establishing a base of operations in the United Kingdom.

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1. Military Equipment from Czechoslovakia¹

The Czech Ambassador² came to see me this morning. He said that his Government would like to invite Shri Mahavir Tyagi³ and his delegation to visit Czechoslovakia in order to discuss problems of defence production and supply. His Government would gladly cooperate in this matter with the Government of India and were in a position to supply defence material of various kinds. They would welcome our experts to go to Prague or they could send their experts here. A visit by Shri Tyagi to Prague, even for a short time, would be helpful in bringing about fruitful discussions on the subject. Prague was only about two hours' flight from Switzerland....

4. Czechoslovakia is, of course, a highly industrialised country with great capacity for producing military and other equipment. The Skoda Works have been world-famous for over a hundred years. Therefore, it is, no doubt, possible for Czechoslovakia to be able to provide military equipment, etc., to us. It might be desirable to find out what we can get there in case of need. This will also be helpful in checking prices elsewhere.

5. I do not know if it is possible for Shri Tyagi to go to Prague for a day or two. I should imagine that it would be desirable for some member of the delegation, possibly the Defence Secretary himself, to go to Prague for this purpose on a brief visit.

6. However, this is for the Defence Minister to consider. If he will let us know his views we could communicate them to the Czech Ambassador. If it is necessary to communicate with Shri Tyagi on this subject, the Defence Minister will, no doubt, do so.

1. Note to K.N. Katju, Union Defence Minister, and M.K. Vellodi, Defence Secretary, 8 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Ladislav Durdil.
3. (1899-1980); Union Minister for Defence Organisation, 1953-57.

2. To K.N. Katju¹

Camp: Cuttuck
September 22, 1955

My dear Kailas Nath,²

Your letter of September 21 about Lord Mountbatten's³ letter to me. I think we should discuss this matter fully among ourselves and, perhaps, with some other Members of the Cabinet also.

The point that requires an answer to Lord Mountbatten is his suggestion that one or two British aircraft carriers should visit an Indian port. I have to say something in reply to him. As I mentioned previously in my note to you, I do not see how we can object to their coming when Lord Mountbatten offers to send them. The only question is whether we should invite them or give a tacit assent.

As regards the question of the aircraft carrier and the general problem of our defence, I have naturally given a good deal of thought to these matters. The whole subject of defence has to be viewed now and progressively from a new approach. This does not mean that the old approaches can be ignored. But they have to be seen in the context of the new conditions that have arisen.

The other day, the President⁴ wrote to me that in view of our general international policy, which had created a wide impression in other countries, we should think of reducing our Army. I pointed out to him that in present circumstances this did not seem to me very feasible. We could, of course, reduce it somewhat and indeed I believe we have decided to bring about some reductions at the rate of about ten thousand a year. I do not think they have been fully given effect to. But conditions being what they are, I confess that I do not feel like recommending that the Army should be substantially reduced. Apart from the defence aspect, there is a certain question of morale. The Army itself would dislike this reduction greatly and feel dissatisfied about it. Those who will be disbanded are likely to be a disgruntled lot. I need not go any further into these reasons.

Broadly speaking, we should concentrate on the development of defence industries. A defence industry may be to some extent specialised but it is not difficult to convert it for civil uses. The main point is that we must manufacture the arms and equipment we use. That gives us greater strength than a bigger Army or Navy or Air Force, apart from adding to our economic position.

1. JN Collection. Copy of this letter was sent to G.B. Pant.

2. Kailas Nath Katju (1887-1968); Union Minister for Defence, 1955-57.

3. Louis Mountbatten (1900-1979); First Sea Lord of Britain, 1955-59.

4. Rajendra Prasad.

The kind of equipment that we should have for our Defence Forces must be thought of in terms of defence, that is, short-range action. We should not try to ape other and bigger countries and use complicated equipment which we have to buy from abroad. Defence, in order to be on a firm basis, must be correlated to our industrial development.

I agree with you that, as between the Air Force and the Navy, the former is more important and has to be developed. Here again, the real development should be in the production of our own aircraft, though we will necessarily have to buy aircraft from abroad till we make our own. I am anxious, therefore, to expedite the manufacture of aircraft in India. It is for this reason that I have been in favour of the Gnat which seems to me the ideal aircraft for our use and for us to manufacture. It is light, small and relatively cheap and easy to manufacture. From all accounts that I have had of the British air display at Farnborough, the Gnat stole the show and created a bit of a sensation. Vijayalakshmi⁵ wrote about this to me and Vellodi⁶ was also much impressed.

Coming to the Navy, although it is less important in my view than the Air arm, it is still important for us. We have been brought up into thinking of our land frontier during British times and even subsequently and yet India, by virtue of her long coast line, is very much a maritime country. The whole history of India during the last few hundred years shows the importance of sea power. This is both practically important and perhaps even more so symbolically and psychologically. Panikkar has written an interesting little book recently called the *Geographical Factors in Indian History* (this has been published⁷ by K.M. Munshi's Vidya Bhawan). He has pointed out in this not only the vital significance of the sea to India but also the fact of the two different outlooks in India as between the North and the South. The North has thought in terms of the land frontier; the South in terms of the sea.

The sea, therefore, continues to be important for us and subject to future developments or changes in a big way will continue to be important to us. And not all the land forces can protect us from sea attacks. The Air Force can protect us to some extent but only to a very limited one just near our borders. The sea has no frontiers like the land which has. India, therefore, has to play an important role in the ocean surrounding her. I do not mean to say that we should presume to control these oceans. That is too big a task. But we should be strong enough to resist the control of any other power. Any such foreign

5. Vijayalakshmi Pandit (1900-1990); High Commissioner to the UK, 1954-61. She wrote on 7 September that "the air display was most impressive and the Gnat surpassed the other planes. It really put up an excellent performance and Dickie (Lord Mountbatten) was excited as a two-year old!"

6. M.K. Vellodi (1896-1987); Defence Secretary, Government of India, 1953-57.

7. In 1955.

control would always be a threat to India, however distant the foreign power might be. It may be that today there is no apparent reason to fear from any attack by sea. But we should not allow ourselves to base our long-distance policy on the present situation. I can quite conceive this situation changing within a very few years.

The defence of India and the development of our trade, etc., therefore, require a certain capacity for sea defence which at present neither the Army nor the Air Force can undertake satisfactorily. On the other hand, there is the obvious limitation upon us of our finances and resources and we have to balance our various needs and give priorities.

I think that from this broad approach it is desirable for us to have two kinds of ships in the Navy. In the main they should be of the Destroyer type, that is, small fast moving ships which can easily manoeuvre. Cruisers and big ships must be ruled out completely. These Destroyers or Frigates should be the main base of our Navy. It is far better to have two or three Destroyers than a Cruiser. An aircraft carrier also, normally speaking, is desirable. It is the link between the Air arm and the naval ship and it makes the Air arm effective at greater distances. It is really a moving airstrip which can be sent anywhere and stationed anywhere. Its mere presence gives strength to the Navy and to our defence position and raises our defence morale. The question is not of an aircraft carrier protecting all our coast line but rather being in a position to be sent to any part of the coast line or a little beyond that. No question arises of our requiring more than one aircraft carrier. That, indeed, would be waste of money. But there is a powerful argument for one aircraft carrier, however small it may be, because that enables us to stretch out Air arm and defence to any place within reasonable reach. It gives us certain command over the area where it can reach. It cannot be all over the place, of course. In effect, as things are today, we become an important sea power in the Indian Ocean, both from the actual defence and even more so from the point of defence potential.

Thus, I feel that an aircraft carrier is a desirable addition to our Navy. My only difficulty is as to whether we can afford it and what priority we should give to it. We have to balance these considerations.

An aircraft carrier can be, of course, of considerable use in emergencies other than war. It can immediately reach wherever need arises even for an emergency, relief work or the like.

My basic approach in all this derives from the fact that the sea is important for India as it was a thousand or more years ago when we spread out in the South-East Asia. Because we ignored the sea later we came to grief and were conquered. A relic of that conquest still remains in Goa.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. Buying the Gnat¹

I have received the note you have sent me and the other members of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet about our Fighter and Bomber strength. I am perfectly prepared to have a meeting as suggested by you. It is immaterial whether we call it a formal meeting of the Defence Committee or not, provided the persons mentioned by you are there. I think we should have, to begin with, an informal meeting consisting of: (i) the Prime Minister, (ii) the Home Minister, (iii) the Defence Minister, (iv) the Minister for Defence Organisation, (v) the Secretary-General, (iv) the Defence Secretary, (vii) the Chief of the Army Staff, and (viii) the Chief of the Air Staff.

This had better be held in my room. I am not for the present suggesting a date for it.

2. When I spoke to you last on this subject, it was understood that we should go ahead with the Gnat scheme and finalise the contract. It is possible, however, that, in the course of these final negotiations, we may be asked if we are getting any aircraft from the Soviet Union. I should not like to mislead anybody about our intentions. We would have to say then that if we consider necessary, we shall buy them, that is, we shall buy the best article in the cheapest market. I do not quite know where the Gnat negotiations have arrived at.

3. You mention the extremely stringent conditions which the British Government are seeking to impose on us in regard to the Gnat and the Orpheus. When some brief mention of these conditions was made by you to us, it did not strike me that they were very stringent. If, however, they are really stringent and likely to come in our way, then we shall have to reconsider this whole Gnat matter again. I do not think that we should tie ourselves up for the future in this way. I can understand normal security conditions being attached, but no more. This means that, if the conditions are very stringent, we just cannot accept them and the Gnat proposal falls through. If the conditions are not unacceptable and we discuss the matter further with the Gnat people and the British Government, and they raise the question of our buying armaments from the USSR, we shall have to give them the reply indicated above. If, as a consequence of that reply, they refuse to proceed with the Gnat proposal, there the matter would also end, and we shall have to make such fresh arrangements as we can not only about purchase of bombers, but about future manufacture, etc.

4. I quite appreciate what you say about the present Prime Minister of

1. Note to the Defence Secretary, 23 October 1955. JN Collection.

Pakistan. He is a much more difficult person to deal with than any previous Prime Minister. Nevertheless, I do not think that conditions in Pakistan are such at present and for some time to come, as to cause us serious anxiety. The One-Unit Scheme² may be a source of strength from one point of view, but it is also a source of weakness from another. Parts of the One-Unit are obviously sullen and resentful and might even give some trouble to the Pakistan Government. Apart from this, the economic conditions of Pakistan are bad. The recent floods have practically ruined their economy and created famine conditions.

5. This does not mean that we can be complacent. We cannot take risks.

2. Under an ordinance on 27 March 1955 the Governor General Ghulam Mohammed assumed powers to constitute Pakistan as one unit, renamed East Bengal as East Pakistan and took steps to frame a constitution and approve the budget in the absence of Parliament.

4. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi

October 24, 1955

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 21st October² about the Defence Academy at Khadakvasla.

I have no clear recollection of our talks about the statues there except that I did not like the idea of a statue of Dronacharya being put up. It was suggested that the statue might be that of Arjuna and I think I said that I had no objection. Subsequently, it was said that there might be three modern figures representing the three Services. To this also, I had no objection. Perhaps, I went a little further and approved of it, but the matter was left vague.

I have no objection to the statue of Arjuna. As a matter of fact, in a vast place like the Academy at Khadakvasla, there is surely room for a statue of Arjuna as well as statues of figures representing the three Services.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.N. Katju.

2. Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, favoured having a statue of the Pandava prince Arjuna at the National Defence Academy as it corresponded with the idea of putting up "something linking the Academy with the country's Golden Age" that was discussed during Nehru's last visit to Khadakvasla.

5. Purchase of Light Bombers¹

I am writing to you in connection with the discussion this morning at the meeting of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

2. The position is this: We are in some urgent need of light bombers. We have had some difficulty in the past in getting the right kind of thing. Ultimately we had almost decided to buy the Canberra from the UK. Meanwhile, we came to know that the Soviet had a light bomber which was very good and probably much cheaper. During the Air Marshal's² visit to the Soviet Union, some informal talk took place between him and the Minister of Defence, Marshal Zhukov³ about this Soviet light bomber. Our Air Marshal also saw this aircraft and was much impressed by it. It was superior in some ways to the Canberra or any other light bomber available to us elsewhere. It had some new gadgets which were helpful. It was a tough machine and relatively simple one. It had a wider range than the Canberra. Thus it was eminently suited to our requirements. In addition, it was very much cheaper than the Canberra and could be speedily delivered to us from stock.

3. Our requirements are 60 such light bombers. But, chiefly for financial reasons, we decided to buy them over a period of two to three years. The Canberra people, I think, had offered to supply us with two of their light bombers within ten months of the order and subsequently two per month. The price of the Canberra was about Rs 28 lakhs. In addition, some money had to be spent for some ground installations. Thus, the price worked out at Rs 30 lakhs per bomber. The Soviet light bomber was priced, I think, at Rs 18 lakhs. Thus, the difference in price is very considerable. Marshal Zhukov intimated to our Air Marshal that they could supply us with this Soviet light bomber immediately in any numbers required. Thus, everything points to our buying these Soviet bombers. There is one difficulty, however, and that is a political one. Thus far our purchases or arms equipment have been from the UK, USA, France and occasionally some other West European country. We have dealt principally with the UK. So far as our Navy is concerned, we deal entirely with the UK. The question is how far our purchasing aircraft from the Soviet Union would affect our relations with the West European countries as well as the supplies we get from them. There can be little doubt that these countries

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 10 November 1955. JN Collection. A copy of the note was sent to Defence Secretary.
2. Subroto Mukherjee (1911-1960); Chief of Air Staff, Indian Air Force, 1954-60.
3. G.K. Zhukov (1896-1974); Chief of General Staff, USSR Army, 1941; Deputy Minister for Defence, 1953-55, and Minister for Defence 1955-57.

will greatly dislike any such deal of ours with the Soviet. That dislike will not probably be of the same type as their reaction to the Egyptian purchase from Czechoslovakia, because this is intimately concerned with the conflict between Israel and Egypt. Nevertheless, there will be this dislike and a feeling that we are getting more and more tied up with the Soviet Union.

4. In view of our independent foreign policy and our repeated declarations that we shall deal with any country in making our purchases, we are entitled to purchase our requirements in the best market or from any country. Some time or other we shall no doubt have to break out of this ring of certain countries in regard to our purchases even of defence requirements. But we have to consider at present what we should do in this matter in view of all the circumstances and the possible consequences.

5. It was suggested in the Defence Committee, and generally approved of, that some kind of an informal approach should be made to the UK and they should be told of our position in this matter. It was further suggested that you might speak to the UK High Commissioner⁴ on this subject. The line of approach to him should be somewhat as follows:

We have been in considerable need of light bombers because our bombers such as we have are of little use now. For some time past, therefore, we have been thinking of purchasing a suitable light bomber. We have had some difficulties in obtaining these from our normal sources of supply which are the UK and one or two other West European countries and the market. We had been thinking of buying the Canberra. But we have been told that this can be supplied to us over a rather long period of time beginning with two at the end of ten months and two every successive months. It was our intention to buy 60 such bombers. This would spread out the period very much. Meanwhile we have been offered a Russian light bomber at a very much lower price and with immediate delivery. Our Air Marshal, when he was in the Soviet Union, saw this for himself and was much impressed. This was of course not the latest type which is considered secret as with other countries. But it appeared to be superior in performance to the other light bombers we had knowledge of.

As a purely commercial proposition as well as from the point of view of our requirements, this Soviet proposal was very attractive. We did not have any formal talk on this subject with the Soviet Government and the matter was only discussed rather casually and informally. We wanted to make no commitment of any kind.

This question has now to be considered by us and some decisions have to be taken. Naturally, we would prefer to have such deals with the UK Government wherever possible because of our association in such matters with

4. Malcolm Macdonald (1901-1981): UK High Commissioner to India, 1955-60.

them. So far as we are concerned, no politics are involved in our purchasing arms equipment from other countries. The question is, therefore, how far the Canberra or any light bomber available in the UK could approximate to the Soviet light bomber in price and in delivery as well as of course in performance. If there can be such approximation, we would prefer to buy it from the UK. If, however, there is a wide gap in regard to these matters, then it obviously becomes difficult for us to purchase this type of aircraft from the UK.

Because of our close relations with the UK Government, we are explaining our difficulty to them quite frankly so that they might understand our position and perhaps might be able to help us.

6. Something on these lines might be said by you. Of course you will know how to put it better.

6. British Conditions on the Gnat Deal¹

I have just dictated a note² to you about the light bomber project and your proposed talk with the UK High Commissioner. This is in addition.

2. I suggest that you begin your talk by referring to our desire to have the Gnat. Some time ago, we finally decided to purchase the Gnat as well as to arrange for its manufacture here. This, of course, will take some time. The matter is somewhat held up now because of the UK Government's insistence on security arrangements. We appreciate their wish in this matter and are agreeable to take all necessary security arrangements, but we could not like to mention specifically the names of any countries in any document. These small pending matters could be easily settled if a representative of the UK Ministry of Supply could come here.

3. You may confirm this matter with the Defence Secretary. I think I have stated the position correctly but it is desirable to ask the Defence Secretary also.

1. Note to Secretary General. MEA, 10 November 1955. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

ATOMIC ENERGY

1. India-US Nuclear Relations¹

Dr Homi Bhabha² has sent me a letter which he has written to Admiral Strauss,³ Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. This letter contains a draft agreement. I have glanced through this draft. I am not competent enough to offer any suggestions. I do not know if there is anyone in our Ministry who can make any worthwhile suggestions. Anyhow, this is a mere draft, and I think it should be sent to our Ambassador⁴ in Washington for delivery.

2. Dr Bhabha has also sent a letter for Mr Patterson of the US State Department. With this letter, he has sent a copy of his letter to Admiral Strauss. This should also be sent to our Ambassador for delivery.

3. Dr Bhabha has sent a note on the bilateral agreement, which he wants us to send to our Ambassador for his information. This is not to be given to the State Department but is for the Ambassador only.

4. Will you please have these papers forwarded to our Ambassador as indicated?

1. Note to R.K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary, 1 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India.
3. Lewis Lichtenstein Strauss (1896-); Chairman, US Atomic Energy Commission, 1953-58.
4. G.L. Mehta (1900-1974); Ambassador to USA, 1952-58.

2. To Louis S. St Laurent¹

New Delhi

2 September 1955

My dear Prime Minister,²

You were good enough to make an offer of a Reactor to India and I expressed my gratitude to you for this generous offer.³ I suggested then that it would be advantageous for some of our scientists to discuss this matter with Canadian

1. File No. 17(52)/56-66-PMS.
2. (1882-1972); Prime Minister of Canada, 1948-57.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, p. 142, for Nehru's message.

scientists at the Geneva Conference on Atomic Energy. I learn now from Dr Bhabha that he and his colleagues had some discussions with Mr Bennett,⁴ President, and Dr Lewis,⁵ Vice-President of the Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd, regarding the Canadian offer of an NRX Reactor. These talks resulted in a friendly agreement between them and I am now writing to you formally to accept your kind offer of an NRX Reactor for India. I am grateful to you and your Government for this and I am sure that this will not only bring about close cooperation between the scientists of our two countries but also be another link between us.

Some of our scientists, including Dr Bhabha, will be visiting Canada about the third week of September.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. W.J. Bennett.

5. W.B. Lewis.

3. International Atomic Energy Agency¹

Please communicate immediately to USA, USSR, French and UK Governments the following as our views about the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency:

(i) Proposed International Atomic Energy Agency may one day become one of the most important Agencies of United Nations, checking and controlling the production of fissile material in power reactors and processing plants so as to avoid diversion for military use. It could be an important instrument for ensuring security and peace in world having widespread atomic industry. For those functions proposed constitution

1. Cable to Heads of Indian Missions in Washington, Moscow, Paris and London, 7 October 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 4(2)-UN-II/55, MEA. The High Commissioner in Ottawa was also asked the same day to communicate to the Canadian Government the views contained in this message.

of Board of Governors of Agency unsuitable. Instead of the proposed Board we suggest that out of 16 Governors, 8 should be appointed by countries selected permanently for their advancement in field of atomic energy, geographical position, possession of atomic raw materials, size of population, and political importance. These eight might be USSR, UK, USA, Canada, France, India, Brazil and People's Republic of China when admitted to United Nations. Brazil could be included in view of size and population of country and her extensive monazite deposits. India could be included for same reasons but covering different geographical area. India has the largest known resources of thorium which at the Geneva Atomic Energy Conference was considered in many ways a better material than uranium. Other eight seats may be filled through election by general conference of Agency. These could cover smaller countries in Europe and South-East Asia.

(ii) Proposed Agency should have far closer and compulsory connection with United Nations than proposed at present in order to fulfil role envisaged above. If Board of Governors were to be constituted as mentioned above necessary liaison with United Nations can be secured by agency reporting to General Assembly through Secretary General.²

2. We have already instructed our Delegation to the General Assembly on these lines to make known our views when this item comes up for discussion. We are at this stage asking for support of USA, UK, USSR,³ France and Canada.

2. The above views were based on suggestions sent to Nehru by Homi Bhabha from Ottawa on 1 October 1955.
3. On 11 October, K.P.S. Menon reported that V.M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of USSR, to whom he had conveyed the above views of the Government of India, said that the Indian proposal had much in common with the Soviet proposal given to the US Government on 3 October. The Soviet proposal was that there should be five permanent members on the Board of Governors, namely, USSR, UK, USA, France and China, and though the number of non-permanent members was not fixed, it was proposed that India, Indonesia, Egypt and Romania should be constituent members of the Board.

4. Deliberations at the UN¹

I entirely agree with the approach made by Krishna Menon in regard to the Atomic Energy Agency referred to in the telegram attached.² Fortunately Dr Bhabha is there and can be consulted. If both he and Krishna Menon agree about the course to be adopted, we are likely to agree too.

You might send a brief reply to Krishna Menon.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 10 October 1955. File No. 4(2)-UN II/55, MEA.
2. Krishna Menon informed Pillai on 9 October that the Indian delegation had submitted a resolution in the UN General Assembly seeking a decision on the principles that should govern the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This became necessary, he stated, as US and UK had put in a resolution designed to enable them to pursue the Agency plan outside the UN and within their group, with attendant disadvantages to the "have-nots". Menon added that the Indian resolution laid stress on the "colonial aspect" of the Western plan, and expressed the hope that support to the Indian position might help to rectify the situation.

5. UN Resolution on Atomic Energy¹

Please see Krishna Menon's telegram attached.² The text of the resolution has already appeared in the press.

In view of what has happened, we have obviously to accept the invitation of the US Government. But, as suggested by Krishna Menon, we accept the

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 20 October 1955. File No. 4(2)-UN-II/55, MEA.
2. Krishna Menon stated that the resolution passed by the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly on 27 October approving the intention of governments sponsoring the IAEA to invite all members of the UN or of its specialized agencies to a conference on the final text of the Agency's statute, had far-reaching implications affecting world economies. He added that the resolution vindicated "the positions we had taken up... against very heavy pressure" and its passage became possible "after we had obtained much of the substance of our position."

US Government's request as modified by paragraph B 3 of the Assembly Resolution.³

3. On 22 October, the US invited India, Brazil, Czechoslovakia and USSR to join the sponsoring group of eight Western nations for considering the draft statute. The UN resolution welcomed the extension of these invitations with the effect, as Krishna Menon pointed out, that the original sponsoring group had disappeared and been merged into a new negotiating group of twelve.

6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Have just returned to Delhi after five days' tour and have seen your telegram No. 272² as well as other papers. In matters concerning atomic energy in UN or elsewhere it has been our practice to keep you and Homi Bhabha informed throughout and to consult you both on every step. It was because you had told us in your telegram 267 that Government of India should accept invitation of US Government in terms of their request and as modified by para B 3 of Assembly Resolution that message 24581 was sent to our Ambassador in Washington.³ Bhabha asked us to instruct Arthur Lall⁴ to attend preparatory meeting on 14th November.⁵ It was Bhabha's intention to associate suitable scientist with Arthur Lall at the December meeting. But before we decided about this we wanted to find out in what manner other nations were participating at this December meeting, whether they were scientists or diplomats and what the agenda would be.

2. Preparatory meeting on 14th November will be clearly at working level

1. New Delhi, 4 November 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon pointed out in his telegram of 3 November that the position in respect of the US invitation to India to attend a meeting of the original sponsors of the IAEA statute had changed after the UN resolution of 27 October and that if the invitation still held good India would be present "as one of the sponsors or negotiating groups as it is now called."
3. S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, informed G.L. Mehta to this effect on 1 November.
4. Arthur Samuel Lall (1911-); Permanent Representative of India to the UN, 1954-59.
5. A preparatory meeting of twelve nations was called at Washington on 14 November to agree upon agenda and other procedural matters for the main meeting in December.

and our attitude must naturally flow from the attitude taken up by our Delegation in this matter.⁶

3. Your paragraph five of telegram 272. It is clear that existing draft statute can only be treated as a basis of discussion and no agreements can be made that go contrary to our foreign policy. Further there should be no resiling on the position that the World Conference should be to establish a statute and not to rubber-stamp.

4. As regards question of widening committee to include Middle East we tried to do this in the UN. Ultimately UN Resolution was passed unanimously with our consent.⁷ It seems difficult for us now to go beyond scope of that Resolution at this stage since we have already accepted it.

5. It is perfectly clear that our acceptance of US invitation is, as you had advised, subject to new resolution.

6. In all subsequent matters affecting Atomic Energy Conference or Authority, you and Bhabha have to be kept in intimate touch.

7. Bhabha has come here today and I shall be discussing various matters with him and shall let you have any further information if necessary.⁸

6. Krishna Menon cautioned that the Western monopoly on the atomic issue having been broken, making it possible to consider the statute practically de novo, the procedures to be followed in the subsequent stages "should not result in throwing away the gains made or contradict the positions that we have strenuously taken up.... We found that the other side understands only toughness in negotiations and they admitted as much at the end and when they gave in on substantial matters."
7. The resolution was passed by 53 votes to none with six abstentions. The six Arab countries declined to vote on the ground that Israel was one of sponsors of the resolution.
8. In his reply cabled on 13 November, Krishna Menon suggested that the meeting scheduled for December should not take place before February 1956 as governments required adequate time to formulate their positions on various matters on the basis of principles and suggestions made in the UN Assembly and taking into account issues not covered by the Anglo-American draft statute. He added, "It is not improbable that Russia may submit a draft statute in which case pre-commitment by us would align us on one side."

7. Cable to G.L. Mehta¹

Please refer to our telegram No. 24581 of 1st November in which we asked you to inform State Department that Government of India accept invitation to attend preparatory meeting in Washington on 14th November in terms of their request and as modified by para B 3 of Assembly Resolution. We should like to point out that this modification of Assembly Resolution is important and must be emphasised. If this modification had not taken place we would have been unable to accept invitation. This matter therefore should always be kept in mind.

2. All these matters concerning atomic energy involve highly technical as well as political considerations. Also, they have to be coordinated with our activities in UN. Therefore, both you and A.S. Lall should keep fully in touch with Krishna Menon and with us here in regard to every development. No commitment should be made without reference to us.

3. As we have informed you, Arthur Lall has been asked to attend preparatory meeting on 14th November. Decision about further arrangements will be made subsequently after we receive information about nations participating and as to whether scientists or diplomats or both are attending, also after we know agenda for December meeting.

4. It will not be possible for Bhabha to attend December meeting but if necessity arises, he will arrange for a suitable scientist to attend with Arthur Lall.

1. New Delhi, 9 November 1955. JN Collection. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Apparently the message was dictated on 8 November and despatched on 9 November.

8. Cable to Arthur S. Lall¹

You will have seen my telegram² sent to Ambassador at Washington yesterday about matters relating to atomic energy and more especially meeting on 14th November. Please note that we wish to be kept in intimate touch with every development and to consult Doctor Bhabha about it. We are dealing with US Government as well as Canada directly on various subjects pertaining to the development of our atomic energy plants and have obtained very favourable terms from them, more especially in regard to the purchase of heavy water which is essential for us. We have adhered firmly to our principles and our general policy and have nevertheless succeeded. It is therefore necessary that there should be fullest coordination in our various activities relating to atomic energy. You should therefore inform us daily from Washington of proceedings of meeting beginning 14th November with text of proposals, amendments, etc., so that we can consult Doctor Bhabha immediately and let you have our reactions.

2. So far as matters of principle are concerned you are to adhere to them firmly. It is not necessary however for us to come into conflict over petty matters of detail.

3. Please show this to Krishna Menon.

1. New Delhi, 9 November 1955. JN Collection. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. See the preceding item.

THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

1. Pakistan's Attitude to Goa¹

You will have seen in today's newspapers the Pakistani statement that we have not protested to them about their attitude to Goa, etc.² Some reference is made to your seeing the Pak HC, etc.³

I think you should send for the Pak HC and tell him that we are surprised to see this kind of special pleading. The Goa issue is a crystal clear colonial issue and if Pakistan believes in the Bandung decisions⁴ then it can take up only one attitude. As an independent country it can of course adopt any line in its relations to Portugal. But we want to make it clear that we consider Pakistan's present attitude in regard to Goa⁵ as a violation of the Bandung decisions.

1. Handwritten note to S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 1 September 1955. File No. 18-93/55-GP. MEA.
2. A spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Office stated in Karachi on 31 August that Dutt had recently expressed to Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi, the Indian Government's hope that Pakistan would not go out of its way to assist Portugal to hold out against India, but no protest, formal or informal, was made on Pakistan's relations with Portugal with particular reference to Goa.
3. On 22 August, Dutt had drawn the attention of Ghazanfar Ali to, inter alia, the feeling in India over the reported despatch of Pakistan troops to Goa and the anti-Indian propaganda generally in Pakistan newspapers over Goa.
4. The Bandung Conference, in its final communique adopted on 24 April 1955, declared that "colonialism in all its manifestations" was an evil and should be brought to an end.
5. The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman also said that Pakistan was "not committed" on the issue of Portugal's claims over Goa. When asked if Pakistan would give transit facilities to Portuguese ships carrying arms and ammunition, he said, "I do not know if any have been given but I suppose it could be."

2. Message to Prime Minister of Indonesia¹

Thank you for your message about Goa which your Ambassador² has handed to me. I appreciate greatly the sympathy of your Government and people in this matter. It is natural that your people and Government should sympathise with elimination of colonialism from any part of Asia or Africa. Goa, as you know, is a very small area but it is symbolic of European colonialism and hence its importance. We have, in spite of provocation, made it clear that we shall proceed on peaceful lines only and not employ any kind of police or military force. Our attempts to negotiate with the Portuguese Government have been repeatedly repulsed by that Government. Nevertheless, we shall continue these peaceful attempts. With all good wishes to you.

1. New Delhi, 2 September 1955. JN Collection. The message was sent through B.F.H.B. Tyabji, Ambassador to Indonesia.
Burhanuddin Harahap of the Moslem Party (Masjumi) was the Prime Minister of Indonesia from 11 August 1955 to 3 March 1956.
2. L.N. Palar.

3. Congress Stand on Goa¹

During the last nine years, the Congress has repeatedly expressed its views on the Portuguese possessions in India and pointed out the incongruity of a very small corner of India being under foreign colonial domination when India herself had achieved freedom. As recently as July 1955, the Working Committee passed a resolution² on this subject affirming the right of the people of Goa to freedom and the ending of foreign rule in any part of India. The Committee reiterated that the struggle for the freedom of Goa must be carried on through peaceful methods. Further, the Committee declared that it was not in favour of any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering satyagraha.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru and adopted by the All India Congress Committee at New Delhi, 4 September 1955. File No. G-23(c)/1955, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. For the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on 23 July 1955, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 389-393.

2. Since this resolution was passed, various developments have taken place in these areas, which have naturally moved the Indian people deeply, and the All India Congress Committee has given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India.

3. In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, many have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resistance to colonialism. The Committee deplores and condemns the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government in their attempts to suppress the Goan people and to retain their colonial rule on this part of the Indian mainland.

4. More recently, on the 15th of August of this year, the Portuguese authorities have fired upon unarmed people and killed numbers of them and inflicted serious injuries on many more.³ To those who have thus suffered, the Committee pays its tribute and, to the families of the dead, it extends its sympathy in their sad, though noble, bereavement.

5. The AICC places on record and proclaims its considered view that the shooting and killing of unarmed men and women by the Portuguese authorities is a violation of international law and a crime and is contrary to the well established practice of civilised governments.

6. The Committee has noted with appreciation and sympathy the continued endeavours of the Goan people, in spite of the fierce repression by the Portuguese authorities, to secure their freedom and this liberation of their territories from foreign rule, and conveys to them the goodwill and sympathy of their fellow countrymen in free India.

7. The AICC recalls the unanimous decision of the nations assembled in the first Asian-African Conference at Bandung last April, against colonialism,⁴ and expresses the confident hope that all the participants in that Conference will support the cause of the liberation of Goa and the other Portuguese possessions and the people therein and condemn the suppression of their freedom movement and the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government.

8. The AICC warmly supports the decision of the Government of India to withdraw and withhold cooperation in respect of the Portuguese

3. On 15 August 1955, fifteen persons were killed and 225 injured, 38 of them seriously, when the Portuguese police opened fire on unarmed satyagrahis who entered Goa at various places. For Nehru's statement of 16 August 1955 in the Lok Sabha on the incident, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 410-414.

4. The Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung, Indonesia, from 18 to 24 April 1955, and attended by 29 countries, affirmed that subjection of peoples to alien domination and exploitation was a denial of fundamental human rights, and called upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to all such peoples.

Government⁵ and the other peaceful steps taken by the Government of India in this connection. In particular, the AICC appreciates the policy of the Government of India in adhering to and stating without reservation that they will seek a solution of this problem in accordance with their well known and established principles and approach in regard to all international problems and disputes, namely, those of peace and non-violence. This policy is not only in keeping with the national and international approach of India but, the AICC is convinced, is in the best interests of the Goan people themselves and their liberation.

9. The AICC fully appreciates and is in sympathy with the strong feelings that have been aroused all over India in favour of the liberation of these Portuguese possessions in India and against the brutal suppression by the Portuguese authorities of the freedom movement there. The Committee would, however, appeal to the people of India to view this problem in its national and international context and not on any party basis, and to support the Government of India's policy in this matter. Any differing and conflicting policies will weaken the national resolve and also the efforts to secure the liberation of Goa.

10. In their last resolution on Goa, the Working Committee issued a warning against any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside. This warning was unfortunately not fully headed. The AICC is strongly of opinion that any mass entry into Goa, in the name of satyagraha or otherwise, is undesirable. The Government of India, after the withdrawal of cooperation from the Portuguese Government, have closed and sealed the borders of Portuguese possessions in India and, in these circumstances, any entry into Goan territory by Indian nationals will be inappropriate. The AICC is, therefore, of opinion that, in the present context, even individual satyagraha by Indian nationals should be avoided.

11. The AICC is confident that the people of Goa and Daman and Diu will regain their freedom and Portugal will be compelled to relinquish her authoritarian rule of possessions in India. The Committee sends its greetings to the Goan people and expresses its full sympathy with them in their legitimate and laudable aspirations and their efforts for freedom.

12. The Committee hopes that even at this stage the Portuguese Government will realise that their methods are contrary to the ideas and trends of the modern

5. On 18 August 1955, the Government of India communicated to the Government of Portugal their decision to withdraw their Consulate General from the Portuguese possessions in India with effect from 1 September. The Portuguese Government was also asked to close their Consulate General in Mumbai and Honorary Consulates in Kolkata and Chennai on or before 1 September. India had broken off its diplomatic relations with Portugal on 25 July 1955.

world and to civilised procedures, and are strongly resented by Asian and all freedom loving peoples, and that they will refrain from further repression and violence, and will agree to a peaceful settlement of the problem.

13. The Committee trusts that the Government of India will take every legitimate step, consistent with their policy of peace, to further the cause of the liberation of Goa, and appeals to the people to give full support to this national policy.

4. Need for National Consensus¹

I have no doubt that the resolution² that we have adopted today is the only correct course under the circumstances. The problem is undoubtedly a complex and difficult one. We had experience of satyagraha inside the country, but we have no experience of satyagraha in international spheres. There is now no ambiguity or vagueness in the Congress stand in regard to Goa. In view of the excitement that prevails in the country on this issue, it is an act of boldness on our part to have adopted this resolution.

It is always good to say the correct thing with courage and try to explain the position clearly to the people and take them into confidence. So far we were very clear that there was no question of police or military action and that mass satyagraha was not proper. But we had left the door open for individual satyagraha. We have now made the decision clear beyond any doubt in the resolution adopted by the AICC. By this resolution, the responsibility of India has undoubtedly increased. I cannot say how long it will take to solve the Goa problem, but this I know, that in the end we will succeed.

But it will not be proper to depart from our basic principles in regard to international matters. We should clearly understand that although Goa is geographically a part of India, it is not a part of the Indian Union, and we have to deal with a foreign power. We should also make it clear that our main objective is to end the colonial rule in Goa. Once this is achieved, it is for the Goans to decide about their merger with India. There has been criticism in the

1. Speech at a meeting of the AICC, New Delhi, 4 September 1955. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 5 September 1955.
2. See the preceding item.

foreign press that India wants to annex Goa for its territorial ambitions. It is a very unfair criticism and we have absolutely no such ambition.

It is true that in international affairs our policy should be supported by the whole nation. But the national policy in international matters should not mean that it could be a mixed or confused one. If there are certain fundamental differences in the basic approach of certain political parties it is not possible to make a compromise. Our policy has to be integrated and consistent. Of course we should try to convince other parties about the foreign policy and try to bring them together as far as possible. It is now the duty of Congressmen to explain the Congress viewpoint in regard to Goa to the people and tell them why we have adopted this particular policy. We must always keep close contacts with the people and take them into our confidence. It is not proper for us to condemn other parties in this matter, although they have been criticising the Congress in an unfair manner.

There is no doubt that those people who have suffered with courage and have made sacrifices in the struggle against the colonial rule in Goa should be shown respect and admiration. It is our duty to make adequate arrangements for the families of those who have suffered. The AICC has already taken certain steps in the matter and greater efforts will now be made. It is the duty of the Pradesh Congress Committees to get into touch with such families and help them to the utmost.³

3. Commenting on a Resolution sent to the Lok Sabha Secretariat regarding financial help to destitute families of Goan satyagrahis, Nehru noted on 2 September, "There is no provision for such help from the Central Government funds, nor is this matter a responsibility of the Central Government. But financial help to the families of persons who have been injured or have lost their lives in the Goa satyagraha, has been arranged through various non-official agencies and, so far as the Government is aware, there is no difficulty about giving this help."

5. Attitude of the Bandung Conference Countries¹

Frequent references have been made in Parliament and in the press about the attitude of the Bandung Conference countries towards Goa. Oddly enough, we have not taken any step thus far to get into touch with these countries in this matter. I think we should at least formally approach them and tell them that we expect their full sympathy. We need not ask for anything else.

2. Thus far, so far as I know, we have only protested informally to the Pakistan Government.² Some Governments have openly declared themselves in our favour over Goa.³ China has done this.⁴ I think that Indonesia sent us a message of sympathy.⁵

3. I suggest, therefore, that we should approach the Bandung Conference countries with the exception of China and the Indo-China States.

4. The message we send should be in brief and should, naturally, refer to the Bandung Conference decision against colonialism and point out that Goa is a flagrant example of foreign colonial domination. It should state that, in spite of the grave provocation that we have received, we have pursued peaceful methods only and intend to continue doing so. Goa has, thus, become one of the symbols of intransigent and oppressive colonialism, completely out of keeping with the spirit of Asia and Africa and, indeed, all freedom loving people all over the world....

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 8 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, p. 367 and *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, p. 417.

3. Prime Minister U Nu of Myanmar declared on 20 August 1955 that the Portuguese had no right to be in India. On 26 August 1955, the lower House of the Parliament of Myanmar unanimously adopted a motion condemning suppression of nationalist movements by the imperialist systems in Goa, Algeria and Morocco. On 19 August 1955, Sri Lanka had turned down Portugal's request for permission to establish a Legation in Colombo after the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi was closed.

4. On 18 August 1955, the official Chinese newspaper, *People's Daily*, reported that the Portuguese massacre of the Indian volunteers in Goa had aroused the indignation of the Chinese people who unreservedly supported the just stand and struggle of the Indian Government and people.

5. For Nehru's reply to the message sent by the Indonesian Prime Minister, see *ante*, p. 368.

6. Sealing of the Land Route¹

In effect, and subject to the exceptions noted below, the route between Goa and India should be closed or sealed.² The exceptions are:

- (i) Any Indian nationals still remaining in Goa seeking to come out.
- (ii) Any Goans in India wanting to go to Goa.
- (iii) Any Goans in other countries who come to India and wish to go to Goa will also be treated on the same level as Goans in India for the purpose of going to Goa.
- (iv) Special cases like those of Shrimati Limaye, Shrimati Goray and Shri Phadke, who are allowed to go to Goa to visit Indian prisoners or as lawyers to defend them.³

2. The same principles should be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to Daman and Diu.

3. Thus any Goans living outside India who want transit visas through India should be enabled to obtain them. The present practice may continue, but it should be made clear to them that it might be difficult for them to come out into India after they have entered Goa. They will thus have to remain in Goa or perhaps take the sea route from Goa.

4. The land route should be completely controlled by us, and only those coming in the above mentioned categories will be allowed to pass through. We cannot control the sea route or the air route.

5. The question arises as to which route should be used for the purpose of these exceptional movements. It appears from the noting that the only possible route for this purpose is the Majali route, as the Castlerock route cannot be used because of the stoppage of the train service.

6. In this matter, the Bombay Government should be consulted. A copy of this note may be sent to them for their comments.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary. 9 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. Notes identifying the points of entry into or exit from Goa, Daman and Diu, and the considerations necessitating permission to certain categories of persons to cross the borders, were put up before Nehru. On 5 September, he directed that full measures be taken to close the borders of the Portuguese possessions in India "so as not to permit any egress or ingress except in specified cases with our permission."

3. The Socialist leaders, Madhu Limaye and N.G. Goray, were at the time under arrest in Goa for leading satyagrahis into Goa earlier in 1955. Their wives, Champa Limaye and Sumatibai Goray respectively, and Madhav Narayanrao Phadke, the lawyer engaged to defend the Socialist leaders, had been allowed to enter Goa on the special authority of the Bombay Government.

7. We have already taken a number of measures on the economic, financial and other planes to stop contacts between India and Goa. A full examination should take place about all these measures so as to intensify them and to find out what else remains to be done in this respect. There should be as complete stoppage of cooperation between the two territories as possible.

8. This entire question should be considered afresh and a note prepared.

7. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 1993 of September 13.² Middleton can certainly help in any way he thinks suitable but you or our Government should not be brought into the picture as if it was at our instance that he was doing so. It is difficult to see how any mediation as such of a third country can help. At present the only basis which we would be prepared to accept is Portuguese Government de facto agreeing to leave Goa. De jure settlement could follow later. There is no half way house to Portuguese staying on in some measure in Goa.

Owing to recent happenings in Goa feeling in India is greatly excited and passionate on this issue. It has been no easy matter for us to stop satyagraha and I doubt if any other Government anywhere in the world could have had the courage and strength to take such an unpopular step.

British press comments on Goa have been deeply resented in India more than the press comments anywhere else in the world. Ever since independence this issue has affected relations between India and United Kingdom more than anything else. We do not wish to say much about this to UK Government or even to the public here, but it is desirable that they should realise what all this has led up to. Any idea that we are likely to accept present position in Goa even as continuing for some time is mistaken.

1. New Delhi, 14 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit stated that Drew Middleton, the European correspondent for the *New York Times*, was anxious to help regarding Goa, and "would like to make a suggestion as a sort of trial balloon that a friendly nation should offer to mediate between India and Portugal to pave way towards a solution." He was also willing to bring out any ideas suggested by the Government of India in the best possible way, Mrs Pandit pointed out. She added that Middleton's despatches were fair and objective and that he was on friendly terms with Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister.

Large numbers of Roman Catholics in India have expressed themselves strongly against Portuguese authorities in Goa. Head of one Syrian Church³ in South India has come out with strong denunciation of Portuguese and stated that they have injured and are injuring cause of Christianity in India.

We have no objection to Middleton acting on his own behalf, but it must be clearly understood that we are not involved in this in any way.

3. Mar Baselios Catholicos.

8. To T.B. Cunha¹

New Delhi

September 15, 1955

Dear Shri Cunha,²

Your letter of September 14, for which I thank you.³

The Goa Action Committee, to which you refer, was constituted with the purpose of bringing about some uniformity among Goans and leading to united action. Unfortunately, this Committee seldom functioned with any effectiveness. I do not know how I am to bring about that effectiveness in this or any other body by a governmental order. We cannot create "an autonomous and official single body" as you suggest. Owing to recent developments, Government have to apply their policy more strictly and naturally they cannot encourage any activity opposed to that policy.

So far as economic and financial issues are concerned, we shall gladly welcome any further ideas from you. We have already gone far in applying such measures.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary.
2. T.B. Cunha (1891-1958): organised the Goa Action Committee in Mumbai.
3. Cunha wrote that the Goa Action Committee was responsible for much of the active work done for the cause of liberation but was ignored and boycotted by the officials in charge of Goan affairs, who accused the Committee of inactivity. At the same time the authorities were favouring other opportunistic sections, specially the Catholic Action people, who were pro-Portuguese till the previous year. There were some influential interests as well that worked for the postponement of the solution of the Goan problem because they could prosper only so long as the situation remained unsettled. To overcome these difficulties there was a need for the creation of a single autonomous and official body exclusively dedicated to the work of the liberation and responsible to a single authority of the Central Government, Cunha added.

In this matter of Goa, the Central Government, as you know, functions necessarily through the Bombay Government. We cannot bypass that Government, as they have to deal with the local situation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
September 16, 1955

My dear Morarji,

I had a talk with Peter Alvares² today. In the course of this talk, he mentioned two matters.

The first was that control on the Goa border was not yet strict enough and that liquor, gold, etc., were coming through. If this is so, we should obviously make it as strict as possible.

The other point he raised was about the small number of Goans who have been going in and out of Goa with our permission. Presumably they do some work there. These are not satyagrahis. He asked me if they would have the same facilities as heretofore. I told him that I did not quite know what was happening now about them and that we would consider the matter.

What do you suggest about this? As they are not satyagrahis, I suppose we can allow them to go. Naturally they do not go by the normal routes.

Our resolution by the AICC³ does not say anything about Goan satyagrahis not going; that is to say, it is open to Goans to perform satyagraha. I told Peter Alvares, however, that it would be unwise, for some time at least, even for Goans to try to do satyagraha. Apart from the fact that there are not many Goans who are prepared to do this—and this is likely to be a complete flop—it is better we hold our hand and watch developments. You will have noticed that the Portuguese have begun calling a small terrorist group⁴ in Goa as violent

1. JN Collection.

2. (1908-1975): President, National Congress, Goa, 1953-61; participated in the Goa freedom movement from 1952 until Goa's liberation in 1961.

3. See *ante*. pp. 368-371.

4. Azad Gomantak Dal (Free Goa Army) was an underground nationalist group that had pledged to fight the Portuguese regime by smuggling arms, attacking army troops, blowing ammunition dumps and police stations, etc. V. Lawande was its leader.

satyagrahis. They will, of course, mix these people up and treat all of them alike.

The question has arisen about the entry of Goan students into India for the forthcoming SSC Examination which is due to be held on the 17th October. I understand that about a hundred students are likely to appear for this examination. Our Liaison Officer, Coelho,⁵ has recommended that for various reasons, political and other, it would not be desirable to discontinue these facilities to the students from Goa.

I should like to know what your views are in this matter. I am rather inclined to agree with the Liaison Officer and to permit these students to come as a special category.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Vincent Herbert Coelho (1917-); joined IA&AS, 1942; Private Secretary to PM, 1947-48; Consul General in Goa, 1951-54; OSD and later Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1954-57; Counsellor and Charge d'Affaires, Indian Embassy in Ankara, 1957-59; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1959-63, 1967-68; Ambassador to Brazil, 1963-65; Political Officer, Sikkim, 1966-67; Secretary, MEA, 1968-70; Ambassador to Japan, 1971-72.

10. To Rasiklal U. Parikh¹

New Delhi
September 17, 1955

My dear Rasiklalji,²

Thank you for your letter of the 14th September.

I quite agree with you that we should not do anything to increase the harassment of the poor people.³ It is, I think, quite absurd for us to prosecute poor women for collecting sea-weed on our sea shore. The whole object of our measures is to put pressure on the Portuguese Government and not on the people. It is true that, incidentally and inevitably, the burden falls on the people,

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary.
2. Rasiklal Umedchand Parikh (1910-); Secretary, Kathiawar Political Conference, 1943-47; Minister in Saurashtra, 1948-54; and Chief Minister, Saurashtra, 1954-56; Minister for Revenue, Bombay, 1957-60; Minister for Home and Revenue, and later Industry, Gujarat, 1960-63; Member, Lok Sabha, 1971-77.
3. Nehru also received letters from Mumbai describing the sufferings of the poor folk of Diu who were arrested and reportedly driven to starvation by the police when they entered Indian territory to collect sea-weed.

but it is not our purpose to make them suffer. More especially, poor women who are coming to collect sea-weed have nothing to do with our struggle against Portugal, and it is a complete lack of wisdom to apply the letter of the law rigidly to them.

In effect, the rules we have made apply far more to Goa proper than to Daman and Diu, though broadly they apply to Daman and Diu also. Therefore, please see to it that these are applied with good sense and so as to avoid unnecessary hardship to the common people there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
September 20, 1955

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a letter from Cunha.² There are various suggestions in this, chiefly financial, which I am having examined again.³ I hope you at your end are also considering what further steps we can take in regard to Goa.

I am told that there are about seventy Goanese Clubs in Bombay and that these have, in the past, been centres of Portuguese propaganda. Can we not do something to them? I feel that we should concentrate on the Goanese in Bombay now.

1. JN Collection.

2. T.B. Cunha wrote in his letter of 19 September that measures must be taken to cut the flow of Indian currency to Goa as Goa depended entirely on Indian currency. He added that the restrictions put in India on remittances were inadequate and only partly effective and suggested that the denial of foreign exchange to the Portuguese bank, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, could paralyse the economic life in Goa.

3. C.D. Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister, who was also sent a copy of Cunha's letter, replied to Nehru on 1 November that he had issued instruction for taking the following two extra measures to strengthen the financial sanctions which were in force for a year against Goa: (i) travellers to be prohibited from taking any Indian currency to Goa except with the special permission of RBI; (ii) all debits and credits to Goan non-resident accounts (including the accounts of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino) to require the previous permission of RBI.

I am told that money continues to be sent to Goa through various devices.

The old Catholic Union which had practically ceased to exist has now, I understand, been re-started by Cardinal Gracias.³ I think this requires a little watching. The Cardinal said nothing at all about the events of August 15 in Goa.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Valerian Gracias (1900-1978); President, Catholic Bishops Conference of India, 1954-71.

12. Portuguese Representation in Mumbai¹

I am quite clear that we cannot accept the proposal of the Brazilian Government.² I think that, in our answer to the Ambassador, whether in writing or oral, we should give the reasons quite rightly. We should state that there is no question of our having any but the friendliest feelings for Brazil and the Brazilians but the Brazilian Ambassador must know all about recent developments in regard to Goa, which have resulted in our closing our Consulate-General in Goa and our asking the Portuguese Government to close their Consulate-General in Bombay. There is a strong feeling in India over this question and we cannot agree to the opening of any Consulate in Bombay whose chief function will be to look after the interests of Portugal and the Portuguese there. We have agreed to the Brazilian Embassy in Delhi representing Portuguese interests in India. We are unable to agree to the extension of this representation in other parts of India.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 21 September 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Ildefonso Falcao, the Ambassador for Brazil in India, in a note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, on 21 September, made a plea to the Government of India to reconsider their decision of not agreeing to the Brazilian Government's request for opening a Consulate 'de carriere' in Mumbai, and said that the decision could only be received as an unfriendly gesture to Brazil. Without naming Portugal, he stated that "a Consulate 'de carriere' in Bombay will act... for protection of interests of a third country." The Ambassador also assured Pillai that the Consulate would not contribute to exasperate the public opinion in India and asserted Brazil's wish that "the situation... should be settled according to the pacifist principles of the Prime Minister."

2. We might point out also the fact that the Brazilian Embassy informed us in May 1954 that "the jurisdiction of the Brazilian Consulate in Calcutta will cover the whole territory in India". On the 28th June, 1955, they further said that "the closure of the Brazilian Consulate "de Carriere" at Calcutta is being studied by the Ministry of External Relations at Rio de Janeiro". It is clear, therefore, that Brazil does not require a Consulate in Bombay or, perhaps, even in Calcutta for their own requirements, and the present proposal can only be on behalf of the Portuguese....

13. Suspension of Through Train Services¹

It is clear that we cannot renew this contract beyond the 31st December, 1955, when it appears it ends.² Also, it is clear that, in the circumstances existing in Goa, we cannot undertake to run through train services between Goa and India.

2. The question of providing engines, rolling stock, etc., therefore, does not arise. Another question arises as to whether we should continue to run the internal railway services in Goa which I believe we are still doing. I am inclined to think that we should get out of this too, if possible.

3. Our broad reason for not resuming the through services, etc., as well as the contract is that the conditions in Goa are such that we cannot possibly do so. In spite of worsening conditions, we had continued to run these services, but the events of the 15th August have made it impossible for us to render this service in Goa, when no Indian is safe there.

4. While our decisions are clear as well as the major reason for them, it is desirable to have the legal position fully examined and have a note on that subject.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 24 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. The Railway Board had apprised the MEA of the likelihood of an enquiry from the Western India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway, which ran the train services between Goa and India, about the reasons for the continued suspension of the services.

14. The Responsibility of Goans Outside Goa¹

I send my good wishes to the mass rally of Goans in Bombay. I stated recently in Parliament that the question of Goa had become an acid test for other countries.² Goa is as clear a symbol of the old type of colonialism as one can find anywhere in the world. It is a symbol of the political, economic and social degradation brought about by a foreign distant colonial authority. During all these past years it subsisted under the Portuguese Government because India was itself a colonial territory under the British. It was, therefore, because of British protection that the Portuguese remained in Goa. It is obvious that they could not have done so otherwise and the balance of forces would have adjusted itself in some other way.

Just as Goa is an acid test for nations it is also a test for individuals.

There was little enough justification for the Portuguese to continue in Goa during the last one hundred years or so. But after India has become free and independent, the continuance of Portuguese domination in Goa is a monstrous anomaly and an absurdity.

We are naturally opposed to colonial domination anywhere in the world. Much more so must we object to and oppose this imposition on a small part of India. But, quite apart from this basic and general objection, it is patent that the Portuguese authorities there continue not because of their strength or any other justification but simply because they have been tolerated. Everyone knows that if we adopted the normal methods of other countries, that is, the method of force, the Portuguese Government cannot withstand it in Goa. But we have deliberately abstained from doing so because of our national and international principles and policies. I am convinced that we have adopted the right course. The fact that we do not use force does not give any justification or indeed real strength to the Portuguese authorities. They know well that they will have to

1. Message written on 25 September 1955 and sent to the mass rally of Goans held in Mumbai on 2 October 1955. JN Collection. Morarji Desai presided over the rally.
2. Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha on 17 September 1955. "Goa...has become...a symbol of decadent colonialism trying to hold on.... It has become an acid test by which we can judge of the policies of other countries. Does any country actively support or encourage Portuguese intransigence in Goa? If so, we know, broadly speaking, where that country stands in world affairs. Or, are there any countries that...passively support or acquiesce in this position?... Or, lastly do these other countries realise that Portuguese domination in Goa cannot and must not continue, not only for normal reasons and causes, but because it has become an affront to civilized humanity, more especially after the brutal and uncivilized behaviour of the Portuguese authorities there." Full speech not reprinted in this volume.

quit. Everyone knows that. It is inconceivable that the current of history and the new vitality of independent India should be or can be ignored and bypassed. The sooner this is recognised and given effect to, the better.

We do not use force, but we tolerate Portuguese rule in Goa no longer, and our peaceful methods will undoubtedly bear results.

I am sorry that the people of Goa should suffer meanwhile. That becomes inevitable in the circumstances because they are unhappily yoked to the chariot of Portuguese colonialism.

It is undoubtedly the duty of every Indian and indeed every lover of freedom in the world to interest himself in this struggle for the liberation of Goa. But this is more especially the responsibility of Goans themselves. If the Goans in Goa are tied hand and foot by the Portuguese Government, the Goans outside certainly have freedom to function to express their views and to take such action as may be open to them.

I welcome, therefore, this mass rally of Goans in Bombay.

15. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

As I have informed you the Brazilian Government is proving troublesome on Goa. Some months ago they dismissed their Honorary Consul² in Bombay because he had expressed his views in favour of India in regard to Goa. Since then they had no consulate there. Now they insist on opening a regular consulate in order to look after Portuguese interests there. We have told them that we cannot agree to this. The Bombay Government are also strongly opposed. Any such Brazilian Consulate there now would become a centre of Portuguese intrigue and there would be great public resentment. So, in spite of Brazil's repeated insistence, we are unable to agree.

It is important we should decide soon as to who should represent our interests in Portugal. The only possible countries appear to be Egypt, Canada and Indonesia. Canada would normally be suitable, but it is exceedingly difficult for us to choose a NATO power. As between Egypt and Indonesia, the latter appears preferable.

1. New Delhi, 28 September 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. J.N. Heredia.

16. Support to Goans¹

I do not think it is feasible or desirable to reconstitute the Committee of Action. Also, I do not think that we can expect much from it. It is hardly necessary for us formally to dissolve it. The only question is about our continuing to finance its activities.

2. I think we shall have to stop this financing in so far as the monthly payment is concerned. But it might be considered whether we should rather suddenly stop this subvention or take a little time in doing so, that is, say two months or so. Meanwhile, we might reduce it gradually.

3. The Goan Information Bureau should continue but under proper direction.

4. In the circumstances, the only course appears to be, for the present at least, to support individual groups which we consider more or less desirable. How this is to be done is a matter to be considered by the Bombay Government. It will be better for the Government not to come into the picture directly.

5. On the 2nd of October, there is going to be a mass rally of Goans in Bombay.² It is possible that this might lead to some new developments among the Goans in Bombay. I am told that the Goans have become a little more wide awake now and feel that they should do something. It is possible, therefore, that something new might emerge from the mass rally, and we might help it.

6. Thus, we should review the situation a little later, say, after two weeks or so. Meanwhile, we might indicate to Dr Cunha that it will not be possible to continue the subvention to him for long.

7. It would be desirable to get the reactions of Dr Gaitonde³ to future work.⁴ These papers need not be shown to him. He admits that he knows little of politics and he has not been much in touch with Goans in Bombay. His advice, therefore, might not be very helpful. Nevertheless, it seems to me desirable that this matter should be talked over informally with him and his reactions obtained. He should be made to feel that we are consulting him and

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 29 September, 1955. JN Collection.

2. For Nehru's message to the rally, see *ante*, pp. 381-383.

3. Pundalik D. Gaitonde (1913-); eminent surgeon and advocate of Goa's freedom; for his belief that Goa was not part of Portugal, he was arrested and deported to Lisbon along with his Portuguese wife in February 1954, and was released in May 1955; President, National Congress, Goa, 1960-61; Member, Lok Sabha, 1962-66.

4. During the course of the proceedings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet held on 22 July 1955, Gaitonde was called and views were exchanged with him. At the meeting, Nehru asked Gaitonde to assist MEA for a few months in the field of publicity among Goans in India and in foreign countries.

attach importance to his part. Also, his suggestions might prove somewhat helpful.

8. Broadly speaking, we should follow the advice of the Chief Minister of Bombay who will be able to judge of the local situation better than we can do from here.

17. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 239 September 29th.² I met Brazilian Ambassador myself this morning and had an hour's talk with him. Unfortunately he has been unwell and this has not improved his temper. I explained to him all that you have said and indeed went much further. I even told him that we had at one time thought of asking Brazil to look after our interests in Portugal. But because they were already representing Portugal we thought this might not be feasible. I suggested therefore having a Consulate somewhere else in India. I added that even the question of Bombay Consulate might be considered later. But all this had little effect on him. Probably he has put himself in an embarrassing position vis-a-vis his Government and given them some assurance which he cannot fulfil now.

I quite agree about Brazil's importance³ and have done everything short of accepting his proposal for a Consulate in Bombay at present. I told him that he could send any officer of his Embassy to Bombay for any length of time.

1. New Delhi, 30 September 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon thought that prohibiting Brazil from opening a consulate in Mumbai would be presented as disregard of international procedures and courtesies and that the matter could be smoothed over by explaining to the Brazilian Ambassador that the objection was not due to any lack of regard to his Government but because India did not want that the Goan question should become a centre of agitation in India as might be the case by large-scale operations on behalf of the Portuguese Government through consular activity so near Goa. It might also be suggested to him. Krishna Menon added, that their functions might be carried on from New Delhi as all decisions concerning Goa had to be taken there. He also suggested that Brazil might be permitted to open a consulate in some other and less sensitive locale.
3. Krishna Menon requested Nehru to take into consideration the position of Brazil in regard to the Latin American countries and to the US. and added that Brazil "has improved her diplomatic position considerably in the last few years and the recent offer... of taking the Korean prisoners is presented as a generous gesture to India in addition to being a generous discharge of an international obligation."

3. Regarding our representation in Portugal it is not a question of our getting assurances from Canada but having to deal with public opinion in this country which will be needlessly irritated by this action and will misunderstand it.⁴ As it is our policy in regard to Goa has come as a shock to most people here though they are gradually adapting themselves to it.

4. I agree about Indonesia.⁵ But in view of what Pillai telegraphed to you⁶ this morning I propose to make brief statement in Parliament tomorrow saying that we have invited Egypt to represent us in Portugal.⁷

4. Krishna Menon stated, "It is most unlikely that Canada will act in a manner hostile to us. Her being a Western Power would have some advantage in regard not only to Portugal but with the US and UK and other Europeans and be some corrective as against adverse propaganda." He also suggested that India might frankly seek an assurance from Canada that "she accepts our request that the Portuguese issue vis-a-vis Goa has no relation to her NATO position."
5. Krishna Menon observed that eventually the Goa crisis would have to be resolved diplomatically and in this matter neither Egypt nor Indonesia could make a contribution and might well hinder such development. He gave the instance of the Indonesian delegation in New York working on the West Irian question through the Australians and others although their attitude was hostile to Indonesia's position.
6. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, conveyed to Krishna Menon that Egypt would be a more suitable representative for India in Portugal than Indonesia.
7. Nehru informed the Lok Sabha to this effect on 1 October as the House was adjourning the same day. He added, "We have not had their reply yet but I have every hope that they will agree."

18. Message for Abdel Gamal Nasser¹

Please convey at a suitable opportunity to Colonel Nasser² my thanks for Egypt agreeing to look after our interests in regard to Portugal. I am grateful to him for this and I am particularly happy that this demonstration of close cooperation between Egypt and India should take place at a moment when some Powers are trying to bring considerable pressure on Egypt to resile from her policy. Tell him also that we appreciate very much the firm line he has adopted in regard to these pressure tactics. He has all our good wishes.

1. Cable sent to the Indian Embassy, Cairo, 8 October 1955. JN Collection.
 2. Abdel Gamal Nasser (1918-1970); Prime Minister of Egypt, 1954-56.



WITH DURGABAI DESHMUKH AND A.K. AZAD AT A CONFERENCE OF STATE
SOCIAL WELFARE ADVISORY BOARDS, NEW DELHI, 5 NOVEMBER 1955



WITH CHILDREN, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1955

19. Suhrawardy's Visit to Goa¹

Suhrawardy's² visit to Goa³ and what he is reported to have said⁴ are, of course, highly objectionable. But he is a member of the Opposition and we can hardly protest against it to the Pakistan Government. Nevertheless, I think that our High Commissioner⁵ should informally draw the attention of the Pakistan Government to Suhrawardy's extraordinary behaviour, which naturally has some effect on Indo-Pakistan relations.

2. I think that our Deputy High Commissioner⁶ in Dacca might also convey this sentiment informally, directly or indirectly, to Bhashani.⁷ Bhashani belongs to the same party as Suhrawardy and, I am sure, must have strongly disapproved of Suhrawardy's visit to Goa.

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 12 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (1893-1963); a prominent Muslim Leaguer in undivided Bengal, and founder of the Awami League in Pakistan, 1949; leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly; Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1956-57.
3. Suhrawardy was in Goa from 6 to 10 October 1955. He was accorded a warm reception in Goa and was seen off at the airport by the Governor General and other high officials of the Goa Government.
4. Before leaving Goa, Suhrawardy was reported to have said: "After direct observation I have not found the slightest colonialism in Goa and injustices in the political, social and economic field."
5. C.C. Desai.
6. B.K. Acharya.
7. Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (1886-1976); East Bengal politician, religious leader and an outspoken advocate of militant methods to make East Bengal an independent nation; headed the pro-Beijing faction of the National Awami Party.

20. Indian Prisoners in Goa¹

A large procession organised by the Revolutionary Socialist Party of West Bengal came to Raj Bhavan, Calcutta, today. I decided to meet four or five of their leaders. They gave me the attached letter.

1. Note to Secretary General, and Foreign Secretary, MEA, Kolkata, 16 October 1955. JN Collection.

2. I told them that we were naturally anxious to do what we could about Indian prisoners in the Goa jails,² but our capacity to do much was obviously limited, more especially at the present moment when we have no diplomatic or consular relations with Portugal. We had asked two well known citizens of Goa to look after the interests of Indian prisoners and it might be possible for us to ask the Egyptian Government, when it is finally decided that they represent us vis-a-vis Portugal, to enquire into this matter.

3. Have we any means of communication with the two Goanese nationals who were good enough to agree to look after our prisoners, and have we any news of these prisoners?

4. As soon as it is finally settled that Egypt does represent us, we might ask the Egyptian Ambassador³ to find out from the Portuguese Government about Indian prisoners there. I gathered that an application for an interview has been sent to the Governor General⁴ of Goa.

2. Tridib Choudhuri, founder member and General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, was among the nine Indians sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by a military tribunal in Goa for leading large numbers of satyagrahis into Goa in different groups since May 1955 as part of the movement of the Goa Liberation Aid Committee.
3. Ismail Kamel Beg.
4. Paulo Benard Guedes.

21. Impropriety of Indians Serving Portugal¹

I do not know why our advice to Shri Dinshaw² was couched in such mild language and he was told that it was entirely for him to decide and no pressure

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 22 October 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Dinshaw H.C. Dinshaw; President of the Indian Association in Aden and Honorary Portuguese Consul; Messrs Cowasjee Dinshaw & Bros, a prominent firm of Aden which he headed, were Agents in India for the Government of Aden and had also been holding the Portuguese Consulate in Aden for 80 years. Dinshaw, an Indian citizen and under pressure from a section of the Indian Association to give up the consulship in view of the Goa situation, wrote to A.S. Dhawan, Indian Commissioner in Aden, on 17 August. "I have nothing whatever to do with Goa, but all my concern is with Portugal through Nairobi Consul General, and trust that there will be no objection to same."

should be exercised.³ I had no objection to exercising pressure on him in so far as the expression of Government's displeasure is concerned.⁴

Mr Dinshaw should, therefore, be informed that we have considered all that he has said. Nevertheless, Government is clearly of opinion that it is not proper for an Indian national to retain an official position under Portugal, even though it may be honorary and long-standing, in view of the present relations between India and Portugal and the Portuguese behaviour in Goa. Government have clear views on this subject and they have no doubt that public opinion in India would condemn the continuance of an Indian citizen as an Honorary Consul for Portugal. In fact, a Member of Parliament has already drawn our attention to this. There should be no hesitation in pointing all this out clearly and forcibly....

3. On 25 August 1955, Nehru directed that Dhawan should tell Dinshaw that "It is not appropriate for an Indian citizen to continue to serve the Portuguese, even in an honorary capacity, after all that has happened. But it is entirely for Shri Dinshaw to decide, and no pressure should be exercised."
4. Dhawan, who personally held that it was not necessary for Dinshaw to resign the consulship as it did not conflict with Indian interests, reported after speaking to Dinshaw that the latter was not willing to resign on grounds of prestige.

22. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
October 25, 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for writing to me about Sumatibai Goray whom I am seeing tomorrow morning. I shall of course give every consideration to what she says and give her as much time as she likes.

I wish I could do something for Narayan Gora'y,² but I feel rather helpless about it. We have asked a man in Goa (a Portuguese national) to look after the interests of our prisoners there. He is a good man and has been helpful. We are now trying to get the Egyptian Government to represent our interests, but the Portuguese Government is putting some difficulties in the way. As soon as we

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Narayan Ganesh Goray (1907-1993): was Acting General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party before being appointed as Secretary of the Goa Liberation Aid Committee in 1954; arrested by the Portuguese authorities on 18 May 1955 for leading the first batch of satyagrahis into Goa under the auspices of the Committee, and sentenced to twelve years of imprisonment.

get over these difficulties, we shall be in more direct contact. I am not worried about the long sentence because I can hardly conceive that this kind of thing will go on for very long. For the present I am more interested in amenities in prison. I do not know if you have any particular suggestion to make as to what we might do.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Deshmukh recorded on 27 October that he had spoken to Nehru and "suggested putting the idea of a less ruthless attitude to Portugal by a friendly power, now that India has banned satyagraha."

23. Meeting with Sumatibai Goray¹

Mrs Sumatibai Goray, wife of Narayan Goray who is in prison in Goa, came to see me this morning. She is naturally much concerned about her husband. She has been twice to see him in Goa prison. She told me that Goray and Limaye² are kept together in one room. Generally speaking, the treatment is not bad and the Portuguese authorities were courteous to Mrs Goray when she went. But one thing which she complained about was that they were locked up in the small room for all the twenty-four hours. Four times a day they were just taken to the lavatories. They did not get any chance of taking exercises or being in the open.

I told her that we could do nothing at present about the imprisonment, but I do not think she need bother about the term of imprisonment because I could not conceive Narayan Goray staying there for very long.³ I was concerned,

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 26 October 1955. File No. 18-128/55-GP, MEA. A copy of this note was sent to Anil Kumar Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs.
2. Madhu Limaye (1922-1995); Joint Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, 1953-55; arrested by the Portuguese authorities on 26 July 1955 and later sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment for leading a batch of satyagrahis into Goa.
3. Limaye recorded in his prison diary on 11 November, after being told about Mrs Goray's meeting with Nehru, "Why should she go abegging at Mr Nehru's door? If my wife should do such a thing—which I think she won't do—I would hang my head in shame! Any way what he told her about early release, must have been by way of consolation!" The Indian prisoners were, in fact, released in 1957 by the Portuguese authorities on grounds of amnesty.

however, with amenities and proper treatment so that his health should not suffer. I have suggested to her to address a letter to the Governor General of Goa and send it to us. In this letter she should point out that Goray and others were kept locked up all the twenty-four hours and their health was suffering because of this. She might suggest that he might be given some exercise in the open air. We might forward this letter to the Brazilian Embassy.

I should like to send some books to Narayan Goray on behalf of his wife. He is a writer of some distinction in Marathi. He was interested in writing a history of America in Marathi. I suggest that Deputy Minister might make a list of a number of books on literary, historical and general topics. I should like to see this list and then select some from it. We could send these books, on behalf of Mrs Goray, to the Brazilian Embassy for them to be forwarded.

Mrs Goray gave me a paper containing some points for consideration. The only points worthy of note in it are 2, 3, 4 and 5.⁴ I attach this paper.

4. It was suggested that the Indian prisoners should be permitted to take exercises and walks in the open both in the morning and in the evening; as the prisoners were losing weight, their weight should be recorded every month and the Indian Government informed about it; and the wooden doors behind the iron bars should be opened to let in fresh air.

24. To Bhagavan Das¹

New Delhi
November 9, 1955

My dear Dr Bhagavan Dasji,²

Thank you for your letter of 7th November.

I am afraid it is not possible to buy Goa³ at any price, much less the price you have suggested. I do not think ten times what you have suggested can buy it. Portugal wants Goa not for money, but for other purposes. In fact, Goa is a losing concern for Portugal. Apart from this, Portugal makes a lot of money from her African territories which contain uranium.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1869-1959): eminent educationist; was awarded Bharat Ratna in 1955.
3. Bhagavan Das suggested that as the economic pressure brought to bear on the Goa Government was proving increasingly effective, Government might offer to buy Goa, for fifty-five lakh rupees, just as Kashmir was brought by Gulab Singh from the British and Louisiana by USA from France.

25. To Shanta Rameshwar Rao¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1955

Dear Shanta,²

I have today received your letter of November 2nd as well as the copy of your previous letter of August 29th.³ I did not receive that previous letter when you originally sent it. Otherwise, of course, I would have answered it.

I have read your letter with interest. As you know, we have stopped satyagraha in regard to Goa. We have taken many other steps, economic and the like, which are producing some considerable effect. Also, the general action we have taken has helped us internationally in this matter.

Your suggestion that I should leave the Prime Ministership and perform individual satyagraha in Goa seems attractive from one point of view, but I am sure that it is not the right thing to do. One must see every question in proper perspective. The Goa question, important in many ways, is relatively small in the context of the major questions we are dealing with in the world and in India. It would not be right to overemphasize that question and upset everything else in order to make an attempt to solve the Goa question in this way. Apart from this, I do not think it will solve the Goa question. It will raise enormous passions in India and make it difficult for any Government to control the people. It will direct the people's minds when they are engaged in the tremendous task of construction, into these rather negative channels. People must be made to realise that in international matters, one has to be patient. There is a Portuguese settlement named Macao near Hong Kong, but the great and powerful Chinese Government refrains from any active steps in regard to it. They are right in doing so. They know Macao will come to them just as we know Goa will come to us. Are we going to upset all our plans and policies in order to try to put Portugal in the wrong over Goa?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Wife of Raja J. Rameshwar Rao. Commissioner for India in Gold Coast (Ghana).

3. Mrs Rao wrote that since the option of taking military action in Goa was inadvisable, India having staked too highly on the principle of peaceful solution of international problems, and as mass satyagraha was not proving very effective, the only solution of the Goa problem was for Nehru to offer satyagraha in Goa, representing the will of the people of Goa and India and in the tradition of his role as a satyagrahi in the freedom movement. She asked Nehru to go walking alone and unaccompanied and to court arrest and imprisonment, going again and again if brought back. This strategy, Mrs Rao felt, would alter the whole situation: it would lift the morale and spirit of the Goan people, completely disarm Portugal, and vindicate, in the eyes of a critical world, the honour of the country and the principles cherished by her.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. PAKISTAN

1. Technical Cooperation for Flood Control¹

I have read this note for a brief for the Technical Delegation which is going to Karachi in regard to flood control. I would like to add that our approach should not appear to be unfriendly or uncooperative. We have nothing to hide about this matter. Naturally any proposals made will have to be considered later at Ministers' level.

We should definitely propose that the best course would be for Pakistan to have a River Commission for the Eastern Region just like we have and, secondly, that there should be arrangements for the two Commissions to cooperate fully. For this purpose each Commission can nominate its representatives who can meet from time to time.²

We should give them full information about flood control measures. If they wish to visit Dibrugarh or any other place, I see no reason why they should not be invited to do so.

The suggestion to survey the upper regions of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra is not a feasible one. The Ganga belongs to a different region. So far as the Brahmaputra is concerned, the upper reaches are in Tibet or in the NEFA, which is difficult of access. If, however, as I have said above, any of their engineers wish to see what work we have done in Assam proper, there should be no objection. This does not mean a survey but rather an inspection.

There can be no question of either India or Pakistan saying that they should be consulted before anything is done in the other country, but we should tell them that we shall keep them informed of important developments which may even be discussed when there is a joint meeting.

I do not like the idea of an impression being given that we are parrying questions or being evasive. We should be quite straight forward about this matter and if any complicated question or any question relating to political issues arises, our engineers should say frankly that the matter should be referred to their Government.

1. Note, 7 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. For Nehru's views on this subject, also see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 29, p. 326.

2. Politics of One-Unit Scheme¹

Probably you have seen the attached paper from our Intelligence.² I have had it for some time but have only read it now. It makes fascinating reading because it shows the working of Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali's mind and some of the realities of Pakistan politics.

2. This document was referred to in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly early this month by Sardar Abdul Rashid Khan.³ There was a hubbub then. I do not know whether it was fully read out or not. I have been wondering if it would be possible or desirable to have some publicity given to it in India. This, of course, will not be on behalf of our Ministry. Some newspaper may publish it, though certainly not in Delhi and preferably in the South. I should like to discuss this matter with you.

3. I am particularly referring to the note recorded by Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali, without its appendices.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, written at Cuttuck, 22 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. This was a note from the Intelligence Bureau on the 'One-Unit' Scheme, based on a document given by Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister, Pakistan, to Abdul Rashid Khan, former Chief Minister of the Frontier Province.
3. Mention was made of this document during a discussion on the 'One-Unit' bill in Pakistan's Constituent Assembly on 6 September 1955. The Bill was passed by the Constituent Assembly on 30 September by 43 to 13 votes and received the Governor General's assent on 3 October 1955.

3. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
September 30, 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

Please refer to your letter of the 12th September, 1955, in regard to the Nekowal incident. Your letter is in reply to my letter² of July 18, 1955. In my letter I had dealt fully with the various aspects of this incident, and had quoted from the report of the UN Observers after an enquiry they had made. I had hoped

1. JN Collection.
2. For Nehru's letter see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 189-192.

that the established facts that I had brought to your notice, would put an end to any argument on this subject. Hence, my great surprise at reading your letter of the 12th September, 1955. In your letter, you have not even referred to the major points I had mentioned and which were established beyond doubt. I can only conclude that you have not paid full attention to what I wrote on the 18th July as well as to the UN Observers' report on the Nekowal incident. May I beg of you to read these two papers again?

2. I had not said in my previous letter, as you indicate, that the agreement between the Commanders dated the 26th December, 1950, had been superseded by subsequent agreements. It is obvious that you have misunderstood what I said in my letter. What was said by me was that the previous agreements were reviewed and revised subsequently, and that the working arrangements, as finally revised on the 30th April 1954, were operative in May, 1955.

3. You refer to what Nekowal village was supposed to mean. May I again draw your attention to the fact that the UN Observers had defined the village of Nekowal in the earlier agreements of June 1951 as the village plus the tilled area belonging to the village. The April 1954 agreement³ clearly states that Indians could patrol this area right up to the border to points within approximately three hundred yards of Nekowal but that this patrol will not enter Nekowal village. The UN Observers, who were associated with these three agreements, again gave their interpretation of the village Nekowal for the purposes of the April 1954 agreement. They said as follows:

"Inform Commander with my compliments and regards that my interpretation of meaning of Nekowal in this context is village itself, that is to say, the built-up area. My decision based on understanding of Observer present at meeting on 30th April 1954 and common military parlance and customs when briefing patrols using one inch ordnance maps. Have never regarded it in any other way."

4. This is, therefore, no matter of argument between your Government and ours. We have to accept the interpretation of the UN Observers who, I might again point out, were associated with all the three agreements. These agreements, as finally revised and interpreted by the UN Observers, have been scrupulously observed on our side throughout. In any matter of controversy of this kind, both Pakistan and Indian Governments must necessarily accept the interpretation given by the UN Observers.

3. This was a revised version of the working agreements between the Area Commanders of India and Pakistan, on the definition of Nekowal village. For further details see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 29. pp. 190-191.

5. You have given some extracts from the UN Observers' enquiry report. May I suggest to you that the extracts you have given out of their context, do not fairly represent that report and, indeed, give a completely distorted version of it. Thus, you say as follows:

"These facts are in the main borne out by the UN Observers' report: the fact that the girl might have been shot accidentally by the Indian soldiers, as is suggested in the report, would not render the killing any the less provocative."

Actually, what the UN Observers have written is as follows:

"She could have been accidentally shot by the firing from the Pak patrol when she was running towards Jindar. It is hardly likely that the Indian soldiers would have cause to shoot her, although it could have been accidental."

Thus, what the UN Observers have said, in guarded language, is almost the opposite of what you have suggested in your letter.

6. You have given further quotations from the Observers' report but you appear to have ignored the clear finding of the UN Observers. I quote this again:

"The state of the killing area, as subsequently observed, in which the Indians were caught; its tactical disadvantage to them; and the damage to the tractors, indicates preconceived design in which preparation by the Pakistan Border Police was an essential preliminary to a plan".

This is a clear verdict by the UN Observers that the incident was a border violation committed by the Pakistan Border Police. This incident resulted in twelve dead (including an officer) and one wounded on the Indian side and three dead and three wounded on the Pakistan side. I need not point out to you the other circumstances and the fact that tractors were peacefully ploughing when they were attacked.

7. I would also draw your attention to the fact that the UN Observers have stated in their report that the statements made by the Pakistan witnesses were found to be unreliable and unreasonable.

8. If you wish to state that you reject the UN Observers' report and to ignore all the facts, then I have little further to say. I would, however remind you again of what your predecessor⁴ and General Iskandar Mirza,⁵ now your

4. Mohammad Ali Bogra.

5. (1899-1969); Governor General of Pakistan, 1955-56.

Governor General, told us when they were here. They gave us clearly to understand, both privately and publicly, that they would abide by the UN Observers' report. I have no doubt that you can verify what I say by reference to the present Governor General of Pakistan. You will appreciate that it is no small matter for the word of a Prime Minister and a distinguished Minister who is now Governor General, to be set aside casually in this way. It will be difficult for any two governments to deal with each other if assurances and undertakings were ignored.

9. In paragraph 4 of your letter, there are some quotations⁶ which are completely new to me and I do not know where they come from.

10. In regard to the question of compensation, surely there are certain international conventions which every Government should follow. The fact that this was not mentioned in the Ceasefire Agreement, has no relevance. Further, it is important to note that this incident did not take place on the ceasefire boundary which cuts across the State of Jammu and Kashmir but on the pre-partition Jammu-Punjab boundary.

11. I would also remind you that, on previous occasions, the Government of Pakistan itself have asked for compensation and the Government of India have formally informed the Government of Pakistan that they on their part would be prepared to pay compensation in respect of established incidents on the border involving any death. In this present Nekowal case, it is clearly established by the UN Observers that there was a violation of the border on the part of Pakistan and that an official agency of Pakistan was responsible for this wanton attack on and killing of Indian nationals. There can be no doubt that under International Law, the Government of Pakistan is liable to pay compensation.

12. You refer to our decision to exercise authority over Nekowal after this incident. I have already explained to you how this became inevitable after the Nekowal incident. This was not only the sovereign right of India to exercise control over her territory but the wanton attack by the Pakistan Border Police had made it incumbent on us to protect our territory and our nationals.

13. This Nekowal incident has, I am sure you will appreciate, a vital significance because it involves the honour of two countries and the faith they are to attach to each other's professions and assurances. It is because of this that I have ventured to write to you again at some length. If even such a flagrant case is sought to be bypassed and explained away, then it will not be

6. In this para, Mohammed Ali noted that working agreements of 26 June 1951 and 30 April 1954, 'merely amplify, not supersede', the agreements of December 1950. Mohammad Ali cites paras 4(d) and 5 of the agreement of June 1951 to show the Indian troops should be instructed to avoid going into Nekowal and the land belonging to the village.

easy for any respect to be attached to any decision which ignores assurances, facts, and impartial reports by third parties.

14. You say in paragraph 9 of your letter that you "have taken such action as was appropriate in this case in the light of what has been stated above to ensure, as far as possible, that incidents of this nature do not occur again". It does not appear from this what action you have taken in punishing those who were guilty of this wanton aggression. I shall be grateful if you will let me know what has been done in this respect.

15. I still hope that your Government will reconsider this matter and give effect to the assurances that were given to us and punish those who were guilty. I hope also that you will appreciate the correctness of our asking for compensation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Pathans and the One-Unit Scheme¹

I agree with you² any kind of propaganda by us will not help. I am much distressed about Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.³ I know that he feels strongly that we have not been true to him. But I really do not know what we can do.

The resolutions that C.C. Desai has sent, can certainly be given publicity here, though not officially by us. Some brief summaries have already appeared in the press.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 17 October 1955. File No. 3-1/55-Pak-I, MEA.
2. Dutt noted on 15 October that India had thus far not indulged in any propaganda against the One-Unit Scheme in West Pakistan. He added that such a step might have the contrary effect of embarrassing genuine agitation by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and leaders in Pakistan of his way of thinking. Desai, India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, had written that the Pathans wanted India to carry out active propaganda through Kabul Radio and from the Afghan side. The Pathans wanted India to line up with Afghanistan and advise and help them in directing the fury of propaganda against Pakistan.
3. (1890-1988); detained by the Government of Pakistan for demanding Pakhtoonistan, 1947-55.

5. Cable to Mohammad Ali¹

I am deeply grateful to you for your message of sympathy.² These unprecedented and disastrous floods have descended equally upon India and Pakistan causing enormous damage and great misery. Both countries having suffered by the same calamity must necessarily feel the deepest sympathy with each other and with all the people who have suffered. Although each country has enough burden to carry on this occasion wherever it is possible, I hope we shall be able to cooperate in facing this calamity and helping each other. I shall be grateful if you will convey my thanks as well as our sympathy to the Government and people of Pakistan in their trials on account of the floods.

1. New Delhi, 18 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. Mohammad Ali wrote on 14 October that Pakistan was "specially conscious of the hardship and misery which follow in the wake of such disasters" as they themselves were faced with a similar calamity.

6. Export of Groundnut Seeds to Pakistan¹

I agree with you.² Please explain the situation to our High Commissioner. Tell him that this matter has nothing to do with relief owing to the flood disaster.³ It is a question generally governing our economic policy. It was discussed fully with the Food Minister previously and he held strong views on this subject. He is now in Rome and we cannot override his deliberate decision in his absence. The Pakistan Government has been trying to get groundnut seeds from us for some time past. This is a demand wholly unconnected with the present

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA. 8 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. Dutt noted that Food Ministry was against the supply of groundnut seeds to Pakistan. He added that he was "in sympathy with the Food Ministry's views." This view held that supplying groundnut seeds had nothing to do with flood relief. C.C. Desai, India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, opined that not supplying the seeds to Pakistan would leave a trail of bitterness in relations, an opinion Dutt differed with.
3. Desai had cabled Nehru on 6 November that Pakistan was demanding seeds and not food. He added that the Food Ministry "has been narrow-minded and wrong" in refusing this urgent humanitarian demand from Pakistan.

calamity. We see no reason why it should be so connected, or why it should cause any particular bitterness. We are prepared to help them in other ways because of the calamity.⁴

4. On 7 November, Desai cabled New Delhi seeking rice for East Bengal. To this Nehru had no objection, as long as payment was received for the same.

II. CHINA

1. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
6 September 1955

My dear U Nu,

Your Ambassador² has conveyed to me your message seeking information about the present talks in Geneva between the Ambassadors of the United States and China.³ The two sides, at one of their early meetings, came to an agreed decision that their proceedings were private and only joint communiques were to be released to the press, so that press reports must be speculation as well as piecing together of any information that might be leaking. We have heard from time to time from our Consulate General in Geneva about the state of the talks as from Chinese sources....

5. With regard to India's participation, this was a proposal originally put forward by the Chinese and indeed was discussed with us in the talks in Peking. While we had not been formally approached, it has always been known that this was the Chinese intention and we had acquiesced in it. Whatever might have been the previous position vis-a-vis United States on this question, we have now had a request from both sides to assist in this regard and we have agreed to do so. In the communique proposed to be issued as originally drafted, it had been mentioned that the Indian Ambassador in Washington would be

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Sithu U Aung Soe.

3. It was announced that beginning 1 August 1955, the Ambassadors of US and China would meet at Geneva to discuss the question of repatriation of nationals and "certain other practical matters now at issue between both sides." The US State Department acknowledged that India and Myanmar (Burma) had arranged for the meeting in back-stage discussions.

authorised, etc. To conform to our constitutional procedures, we advised both sides that while our Ambassadors and Consuls-General would normally do such work, any responsibility or authorisation would only rest with the Government of India and therefore the wording of the communique should be suitably altered. Both sides agreed to do this and what in fact our duties would amount to will depend on the terms of reference or such other agreement that the parties come to. This we have not yet seen. However there is no hitch in respect of this matter. The latest position as we know it is that Ambassador Johnson⁴ asked a number of questions to which Chinese have given answers. The Chinese have not agreed to set dates, but have agreed to speedy procedures. There has been a long adjournment of the talks. This may or may not be a deadlock.

6. It does not appear to us that while Geneva negotiations are pending and in view of their character being that of direct talks for which all of us have in our own ways worked, we can do very much. Like you we are also watching the situation.

7. This is a personal message from me to you, conveying such information as we have been able to gather from various sources. Not being directly concerned with these conversations in Geneva, we cannot state exactly what has taken place there. I would request you therefore not to make any reference to this in any communication to either party.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Alexis Johnson, US Representative at the Sino-American talks in Geneva.

2. Report of the Cultural Delegation¹

I have read this interesting report.²

2. I am somewhat surprised to read, in paragraph 13 of this report, that

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary. MEA, 19 September 1955, JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs.
2. This was a report from A.K. Chanda dated 22 August 1955 on his impressions of a visit with a cultural delegation to China in June-July 1955.

our Consul-General³ in Shanghai does not know even today where our party stayed on their visit to Shanghai.⁴ Even Paranjpe⁵ does not know. It was actually suggested that we might decide that the headquarters of the party might be in Shanghai. All this is very remarkable. We stayed in Shanghai at a very fine palatial building completely fitted up in the European and rather English style. We were told that it was the house of one of the English merchant princes of Shanghai who had left the place. Our Ambassador⁶ stayed there with us; so did Paranjpe. Our Consul-General naturally came there repeatedly. If after all this neither Paranjpe nor our Consul-General knows where it is, it does not speak well for their awareness.

3. The Deputy Minister has referred to the theatre building there and has specially commended the Chungking Theatre. It might be worth while to ask our Embassy in Peking to get some particulars about this Theatre, such as blueprints and photographs.

4. The Deputy Minister refers to our own Consulate building at Kashgar. He suggests that it should be disposed of as it is no longer used and, in any event, we cannot use it in future. Why has it been kept on and who looks after it? Probably it is desirable to dispose of it. It is conceivable that we might need it in the future for a Consulate there. Even so it is suggested that this building is no good. We might look into this matter and take it up in Peking later.

5. I am a little surprised to read of the surprise of our Deputy Minister to find a Russian Consulate-General at Kashgar. In other words, I see nothing to be surprised at about it. I have been for long years under the impression that the Russians had a Consulate there. This was certainly so in the Czarist days and the presumption was that they would continue it. I do not remember seeing anything to the effect that they had closed it. It is quite natural for them to have such a Consulate there.

6. About the disappearance of the old Chinese dress,⁷ I might mention that this process of change started long ago. When I went to Chungking in 1939, the official dress of the Kuomintang people and of the officials was in fact the same as it is today with one big difference. The women, so far as I remember,

3. D. Murugesan.

4. Nehru visited Shanghai during his visit to China in October 1954. Chanda wrote, "As a matter of fact we felt that our Chinese friends do suffer from an excess of security mania. I heard stories of the arrangements they had made for PM's safety and security during his China tour."

5. V.V. Paranjpe (1923-): Chinese language interpreter.

6. N. Raghavan.

7. Anil Chanda noted that one of the recent developments was the patterning of everything in China on the Russian model. He opined that it was an unpleasant trend and predicted that if this trend continued, "very little of national cultural life would be discernible." It was in this context that he said the old Chinese dress had completely disappeared.

did not put on this dress. The average man or woman went about in something like a kurta and a pyjama. The upper classes of women had their own gowns.

3. Appointing a PRO in Beijing¹

The various duties suggested by the Joint Secretary for the PRO are rather different from those normally performed by PROs. I understand that press work as such is very limited in Peking, as in Moscow and other Communist controlled countries. What is required, therefore, is a different type of man. Joint Secretary suggests that the person sent should go round with delegations. He also suggests that somebody should gather information about developments and happenings in China. Apart from political happenings, with which the whole Embassy deals, the real development in which we are interested is on the economic, industrial and planning side. The average PRO, whether he is called a Counsellor or anything else, is hardly the right person for this. We would have to choose somebody specially qualified for this type of work. I am agreeable to having a special man for this who is qualified, but we would have to choose him very carefully, and I do not think it will be good enough to pick out a normal PRO for this type of work. I think it will be better if the new Ambassador² studies the situation and then suggests what type of man should be sent. We should also consider this matter here from the point of view I have mentioned. It should not be difficult later to get the sanction of Finance. It is much more difficult to find the man.

2. The Joint Secretary says that the Chinese are rank conscious. That is so everywhere to some extent, but I imagine that the Chinese attach more importance to the special ability of a person in these specialised positions. The way they treated Dr Raghuvira and gave him quite extraordinary facilities, was very unexpected. They did so because they recognised Raghuvira's special ability.

3. I suggest, therefore, that our Ministry should try to find a suitable man and our Ambassador should write to us after he gets there, more on this subject.

1. Note, 8 October 1955. JN Collection.

2. The Government of India appointed R.K. Nehru as its Ambassador on 26 September 1955. Nehru took charge in early October.

4. Eisenhower's Illness¹

I have read in two or three places—reports to us from China—that Premier Chou En-lai² has expressed his great regret at President Eisenhower's³ illness. He has stated that President Eisenhower is a great force for peace and he hoped very much that the President would recover soon. He wanted this message to be conveyed to me.

2. I think the idea was that we should convey it to others and, perhaps, more especially, the Americans. It would be a good thing if we did so. We can casually mention this to the American Ambassador⁴ here. It might be worth while also sending a brief telegram to our Ambassador⁵ in Washington, informing him of this and suggesting that he might mention Chou En-lai's concern to people in Washington.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 27 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. (1898-1976): Prime Minister of China, 1949-76.
3. Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969): President of the USA, 1953-61.
4. John Sherman Cooper.
5. G.L. Mehta.

5. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

28th October, 1955

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of the 28th October about the International Red Cross Conference in India.

I think that the best course for you is to allow matters now to take their course. It would not be desirable for you to write to the Formosa people. That will lead to a continuing argument between you and them and might entangle us further.

You have already spoken to Madame Li and Poncet has written to her. I doubt personally if Poncet's reply will satisfy her. But we can do little else.

1. JN Collection.

The position is that, in so far as we are concerned, as the host country, we only recognise the People's Government of China. If the responsibility for inviting countries had been ours, we would certainly not have invited Formosa. But, since the International Red Cross invites according to their own regulations, we cannot come in the way and prevent a country being invited which fulfils their rules and statutes.

Therefore, it is better for you not to do anything now and await developments.

I agree that October will be more suitable than January for the Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Sino-American Talks¹

I am sorry for the delay in dealing with these papers.

2. I think that it would be desirable for us to talk to Malcolm MacDonald and Cooper² on the general lines indicated in Krishna Menon's telegram No. 270 of October 31st.³ I am afraid I just cannot find the time for this at least for many days and then Mr Bulganin will descend upon us. I suggest, therefore, that either SG or FS might have this talk. I could, perhaps, follow it up a little later. In talking to them, you might mention that I would myself have discussed this matter but for my heavy engagements. I hope, however, to meet them later.

3. In discussing this matter with the UK and US representatives, what we have to stress is that the approach of the Chinese Government is an advance, and certainly indicates a desire for peace. It is not a question of our supporting the Chinese memorandum in toto but, rather, to point out that such an approach has to be considered with care and not rejected out of hand. As regards the

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 9 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. John Sherman Cooper (1901-1991); US Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1955-56.
3. Krishna Menon suggested that Nehru as an 'elder statesman' speak to the Ambassadors of both the USA and UK, to point out that the Chinese position on the Sino-US talks in Geneva was in fact a 'peaceful one' even though it was not in the language the US approved. Menon concluded that the Chinese approach virtually acceded to Dulles' demand of ruling out the use of force against Taiwan.

proposal for the Foreign Ministers to meet, we have supported this in the past and we can certainly support it now.

4. You might inform our Ambassador⁴ in Peking of the step we are taking. You might also tell him that, in your view and in Krishna Menon's, progress would be much more rapid if the remaining American prisoners in China were released. This is a ticklish matter and I do not think it would be safe to deal with it formally or abruptly with the Chinese Government, but if a suitable occasion arises, informal references might be made to the effect that our information is from the United Nations as well as from Washington and elsewhere that the release of more prisoners would be very helpful.

5. If you wish to discuss this matter with me, you can certainly do so.

5. R.K. Nehru.

III. MYANMAR

1. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi

9 September, 1955

My dear Deshmukh,

I sent you two or three days ago copy of a letter that U Nu had written to me. I have today received a letter from Raschid² with which are attached some papers giving estimates of Foreign exchange receipts and expenditure, etc.³ I am sending this letter and the statements in original to you.

2. I have also received a very long letter from our Ambassador⁴ in Rangoon dealing with this subject. I am not sending this to you. Presumably you will

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. M.A. Raschid (1912-); Minister for Trade Development and Labour, Government of Myanmar.

3. In his letter of 3 September, Raschid asked Nehru to favourably consider Myanmar's request for a loan of Rs 25 crores (see also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 343-344). Enclosing a statement giving annual estimates of foreign exchange receipts and expenditures for Myanmar upto 1961-62, he admitted that 1955-56 would be a difficult year, but assured Nehru that things would begin to improve thereafter making full repayment of the loan possible by 1961. Raschid also affirmed that repayment would not affect Myanmar's development programmes adversely.

4. Ramji Ram Saksena (1897-); Ambassador to Myanmar, 1955-56.

give these papers to B.K. Nehru⁵ to study and advise, as he has studied the previous requests from Raschid. I suggest that B.K. Nehru might have a talk with Dutt, our Commonwealth Secretary. He can then see the letter from our Ambassador also.

3. You will, of course, have all these papers carefully examined. There is no doubt that the Burmese Government is in a tight corner on account of lack of foreign exchange and, to some extent, their improvidence in the past. They are now pulling themselves up. Apart from this immediate crisis, Burma's potential appears to be high and, barring some extraordinary occurrences, I think she can be considered creditworthy. Her resources are great and are likely to be available much more in the future than in the present. For instance, their petroleum wells, which had been damaged during the war, are now coming into production. Also, a large area, which was under various rebels and hostile elements, is now under the Government.

4. On the whole, it seems to me that one can trust Burma's capacity to repay. From the political point of view, Burma is certainly deserving of all the help that we can possibly give her. It would be most unfortunate if this economic crisis led to the fall of U Nu's Government now or in next year's elections. U Nu is a man of his word and I have no doubt that he will do his utmost to honour any undertaking given by him or on his behalf.

5. I feel, therefore, that we should try our utmost to help his Government in this crisis. Positively that will have good results for us. Not to do so will, of course, swing the pendulum in some other direction and be harmful for us. The Communists and other hostile elements in Burma are making much of the present position.

6. Raschid mentioned when he was here⁶ that, apart from the help to Burma in cash, he would like to have consumer goods from us on deferred payment terms. He has mentioned this again in his letter. He has suggested his old figure of Rs 25 crores of foreign exchange. Presumably this is to be split up, according to him, into cash and consumer goods. We told him, when he came here, that we could give him a loan of Rs 5 crores in cash and that we would consider the possibility of another five crores later in the year, after he had tried the World Bank, etc.

7. I imagine that Burma's difficulties might be largely met if we could undertake to provide Rs 10 crores as the loan and Rs 10 crores worth of

5. (1909-2001): served in the Department of Economic Affairs. Government of India, 1954-58.

6. Raschid visited New Delhi in the second week of August to discuss with Nehru the economic crisis faced by the Myanmar Government. He also held discussions with Deshmukh.

consumer goods during the next year on deferred payment terms, that is, 20 crores in all.

8. Though our supplying our goods on deferred payment terms would be a burden on us to some extent, I suppose that from the point of view of our trade this will be helpful also. It will keep the Burma market for us which is being invaded by Japan and other countries. I take it that it would not affect our exports of these commodities elsewhere and so would not make any appreciable difference to our foreign exchange from that point of view.⁷

9. I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Vindhya Pradesh. I shall return on the 13th September forenoon.

10. Perhaps you will be good enough to have all these papers examined meanwhile. As I have suggested above, it might be worthwhile for B.K. Nehru to see Dutt and see our Ambassador's long letter which gives a number of facts and figures.

11. The Burmese Government have succeeded in keeping this matter secret from their own press. There have of course been some vague speculations about a loan from India. We should also keep this completely secret.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Nehru also wrote to T.T. Krishnamachari on 9 September, asking him especially to examine Myanmar's proposal about India supplying them with consumer goods on deferred payment basis. He stated, "Prima facie, it would be a good thing for us to supply our goods to them and retain their market. Of course, if we have to supply them at the cost of some other country, then we lose that much foreign exchange. If, however, we can supply them out of extra production or with such goods as are not otherwise exported, then it is undoubtedly a good thing for us."

2. Cable to R.R. Saksena¹

We have given careful consideration to Raschid's letter of 3rd September. In view of our difficulties in regard to foreign exchange, which are likely to increase considerably later, there would be no question of our giving loan on financial considerations. We have, therefore, considered this matter largely on

1. New Delhi, 15 September 1955. JN Collection.

grounds of our friendship with Burma and our desire to help. Because of this, we are prepared to make rupees ten crores available in cash as loan. As regards opening credit for purchases in India, we are also prepared to consider this favourably up to rupees ten crores.²

2. I might point out to you, however, that items proposed to be purchased out of the line of credit such as coal, jute, cheap textiles and groundnut oil are of importance to Burma's economic life and we are in the most favourable position to supply being the cheapest and nearest source. These are also important export commodities for us and to the extent that we supply them to Burma on deferred payment terms, we are losing foreign exchange which we would otherwise earn. Therefore, there is no special long-term or short-term commercial advantage to us in giving Burma export credit to enable her to buy these essential items. If, however, Burma would buy some other articles in addition to those essential purchases, there would be some advantage to our people.

3. Details of proposed loan of rupees ten crores in cash and line of credit to the extent of rupees ten crores will have to be worked out fully in discussions with an official delegation from Burma. I might mention that for present our Finance Ministry have suggested that line of credit should be for twelve months. Loan would, of course, be for a longer period. All this can, however, be discussed fully with Burmese official delegation. This is for your personal information.

4. Please give following message to Raschid on my behalf.³

2. Deshmukh stated in his letter of 13 September to Nehru that he had no objection in principle to export credit but the Commerce and Industry Ministry had advised that no commercial advantage could be expected to be reaped from the proposals put forward by Raschid. Nevertheless, having regard to the financial difficulties faced by Myanmar, he added, Krishnamachari had agreed that a line of credit to the extent of Rs ten crores might be provided to Myanmar over the next twelve months, in addition to the proposed loan of Rs ten crores in cash. Deshmukh, however wondered whether all the assumptions, both in regard to increased export earnings and reduced imports, made by Raschid while estimating Myanmar's balance of payments position could work out alright in practice.
3. See the next item.

3. Message to M.A. Raschid¹

We have given full and careful consideration to your letter of 3rd September. Our own foreign exchange position is likely to become difficult and we would not be justified in considering any loan on purely financial grounds. But we have considered this matter entirely on other grounds and because of our earnest desire to be of help to Burma in her present difficulty. We are prepared to give you a loan in cash to the extent of rupees ten crores and, in addition, to open a line of credit to the extent of rupees ten crores to enable Burma to finance her purchases in India. The period of this line of credit may be considered later and might to some extent depend on nature of goods desired by Burma. You will appreciate that this also affects our foreign exchange position since export credit is likely to be utilised for the purchase of items in regard to which India is competitive in the world market and which are important export commodities for us.

We suggest that details of both these proposals should be worked in discussions here in Delhi with an official delegation from Burma.

I trust that you will be able to send this official delegation here soon so that we can finalise those matters.² Please convey my regards to U Nu and tell him that I am happy that we can be of some service to Burma at this moment of her difficulty.

1. New Delhi, 15 September 1955. JN Collection. The message was communicated to Raschid by R.R. Saxena on 17 September.
2. Under an agreement signed in New Delhi on 17 October 1955 by Deshmukh and Sithu U Aung Soe, the Ambassador of Myanmar, India agreed to make available to Myanmar Rs 20 crores as loan and Rs 10 crores as credit for purchases in India. The rate of interest was fixed at 4 per cent, the loan being repayable in half-yearly instalments of Rs two and a half crores beginning in March 1959.

4. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
October 27, 1955

My dear Ajit,

I am anxious to know definitely from you about the food position in this country

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, and C.S. Jha, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.

in the immediate future. I know that you have made statements to the effect that the position is completely in hand and you have adequate stocks. Nevertheless, the fact remains that vast damage has been caused by the floods in Orissa, Bihar, Eastern UP, Punjab, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh and partly in West Bengal and possibly in Assam. Surely, this will affect the situation and we may have to face some difficulty in the future.

We may assume that after this terrible calamity we are likely to have a good harvest next year. Nevertheless, we should be prepared.

The Foreign Secretary mentioned to me today that there is a small matter still pending with the Burma Government. Apparently, ten thousand tons of rice which we had purchased from them as part of the big transaction were not delivered within the stipulated period. We are entitled, therefore, to refuse to take delivery. The question is what we should do in this matter. If there is the least chance of our requiring any rice, it would obviously be desirable to take delivery. We may, however, state that we shall take delivery of this quantity at a later period, say, six months from now or something like that.

As you know, Raschid, the Burmese minister, has repeatedly raised the question of some arrangement for us to buy a limited quantity of rice from Burma for a few years. His point is that in order to trade with any country they have to pay in rice. They are anxious to trade with India and if we give them this opening, they would progressively divert their trade to India. Otherwise, they would be compelled gradually to shift elsewhere. He points out that we produce a vast quantity of rice in this country, apparently two hundred million tons or thereabouts, and two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand tons of rice is a very small proportion of it.

There is some substance in Raschid's argument. At the same time, obviously, we cannot purchase something if we do not require and are not likely to require it. In a vast production two or three hundred thousand is not very much and everything really depends upon the kind of harvest we get and the rise in consumption. It may be profitable for us, if we are on sure grounds in regard to rice, to grow a little more jute or something else.

I should like you to consider all these aspects.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. A.P. Jain, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, told Nehru on 28 October that taking delivery of the quantity of rice remaining over from the old arrangement would mean a heavy loss to India because of the tremendous difference in the price fixed with Myanmar and the existing price in India. It might, however, be possible, he added, for India to take ten thousand tons or a little more of rice at a new rate comparable to existing conditions, though he doubted Myanmar could reduce the price to that extent. Jain also pointed out that the loss from the floods had been largely of wheat crops and that the next harvest of rice was expected to be fairly good.

IV. NEPAL

1. Aid for Road-building¹

I agree generally with FS.² I think, however, that road-building is probably the most important developmental activity in Nepal.

2. Our Ambassadors abroad, especially in the neighbouring countries, do not appear to realise the difficulties we are having in making both ends meet in India.³ In fact, they do not meet, and we just do not know how we shall deal with our own economy. Big sums are suggested for help to other countries. I quite realise the necessity for such help, and we should give it, but we cannot quite ignore our own capacity. Every State in India is almost up in arms against the Planning Commission and the Central Government because all their plans have been rigorously cut down. Even the road-making plan has been cut down very much.

3. Apart from this, five crores of rupees for 500 miles of road is much too high a rate.⁴ There appears to be no adequate reason why we should have

1. Note to R.K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary. 7 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary. noted on 6 September that if the aid offered by US for road building in Nepal were to be channelled through India, the Chinese were likely to suspect India's motives and the Nepalese themselves might not like it. He, therefore, suggested, and R.K. Nehru agreed with him in his note of 7 September, that it would be more appropriate for India to reach an understanding with both the US and the Nepalese Governments that the carrying out of any approved project should be the responsibility of Nepal, with US providing equipment and necessary funds and India providing technical experts and other personnel. John Sherman Cooper, US Ambassador, had earlier spoken to R.K. Nehru about some of the Advisers of the Nepal King having asked for US aid for road-building.
3. Bhagwan Sahay, India's Ambassador in Nepal, suggested, in his telegram of 5 September to Kaul, that India should substantially contribute towards the cost of the road building programme in Nepal for which funds were being made available through US aid. He held the view that India, consistent with her special interest in Nepal, could not escape responsibilities for further assistance to Nepal for its development and leave the field open for the Chinese, the Americans and others. Sahay further said that "the Nepalese look to India and Prime Minister Nehru for inspiration and support" and that their concerns could not be ignored.
4. These figures were quoted by Bhagwan Sahay from Nepal's draft five year plan for building of roads which was on the pattern of road construction in Himachal Pradesh. Kaul pointed out that the cost of jeepable roads constructed in Himachal Pradesh and NEFA with the cooperation of the local people actually worked out to about Rs 10 to 20 thousand per mile.

bituminized or metalled roads all over. The first step is, as suggested by JS, jeepable roads. It is far better to build these rapidly over a relatively large area than to build better quality roads over a small area.

2. To Bhagwan Sahay¹

New Delhi
September 28, 1955

My dear Bhagwan Sahay,

I enclose a cheque for twenty thousand rupees from the PM's National Relief Fund. I want you to use this for giving relief to the sufferers from the floods in Nepal. In doing so, of course, you will consult the King.²

I had a letter today from Shibbanlal Saksena³ who is an old chum of Dr K.I. Singh.⁴ He sent me a letter he had received from K.I. Singh in which a reference was made to friendship for India. At the same time, some doubt was expressed as to the attitude of the Indian Government towards him. He hinted that he would like to come to India.

Shibbanlal apparently is going to Nepal to see K.I. Singh, and he enquired from me if he could invite K.I. Singh to come here. I have told him that as K.I. Singh has just returned from China to Nepal, it would be inadvisable for him to come to India in the near future. This might create some misunderstanding in Nepal itself.⁵

I suppose you know Shibbanlal. He is not endowed with much brains and is very irresponsible and rather crude. Subject to all this, he is not basically a bad man and has some kind of rough honesty. If he goes to Nepal, probably you will see him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah, (1920-1971); King of Nepal, 1955-71.
3. (1907-1985); prominent trade union leader and Member of Lok Sabha, 1954-62.
4. (1906-1982); medical practitioner from western terai; attempted an unsuccessful coup in Nepal in January 1952; escaped to China and took political asylum there, 1952-55; returned to Kathmandu on 13 September 1955 after the King granted him amnesty.
5. In his letter of 28 September to Saksena, Nehru also wrote, "You refer to aid to Nepal. We have given it far more aid than to any other country. So far as the floods are concerned, we have given it free rice. We shall continue to help it."

3. Discussion with Bhagwan Sahay¹

PM discussed with me today the question of foreign aid to Nepal and, after I had explained to him the gist of our discussions held yesterday,² his reactions were:

(a) It is neither justifiable nor possible to stop aid to Nepal by USA³ or any other country.

(b) We may consider assistance on broad subjects on the basis of USA providing equipment and some financial aid and we providing technical personnel and some financial aid.

(c) Regarding working arrangements there may be a committee with a Nepalese Chairman and India and America providing a representative each, the aids being provided to Nepal Government.

(d) USA preferably may put this proposal to Nepal Government on some such basis.

(e) Chinese may be informed informally, at some suitable opportunity, as to our approach in this matter.⁴

(f) Our leader of the delegation to Singapore⁵ should be apprised of the approach. PM asked me to inform SG and FS and suggested that they might work out their ideas and send him a note.

2. The subject of an assistance in organising community projects was also briefly discussed. PM did not think there was any objection to undertaking the

1. Note by Bhagwan Sahay. New Delhi. 14 October 1955. File No. 11(28)-Nepal/57, MEA.
2. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary and T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, had discussions with Bhagwan Sahay on 13 October.
3. John Sherman Cooper was seeking to divert a part of the US President's 100 million dollar regional fund for Asia to Nepal for specific purposes, especially communications.
4. Bhagwan Sahay stated in his telegram of 5 September to Kaul that instead of a system of channelling aid whereby India just passed on aid from US to Nepal, a programme of joint aid by India and US, for the execution of which India accepted primary responsibility, was the surest method of avoiding international rivalries in Nepal. If later on the Chinese came forward with offers of aid they could be dealt with in a similar manner, he added. Kaul, in his note of 6 September, however, doubted whether the Chinese would agree to channel their aid through India.
5. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power, was attending the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting in Singapore at this time.

training of Nepalese staff or assisting Nepal Government with advisors. The question of financial or equipment assistance was neither raised nor discussed.

3. I mentioned to him the question of presents to the King of Nepal on behalf of the Government of India. He does not at all like the idea of presenting umbrellas and the like. India is manufacturing excellent rifles, and binoculars. PM suggested that we might present best possible specimen of these, say, two rifles and two binoculars. He also approved the idea of presenting a Hindustan Fourteen with nice fittings.

4. US Aid to Nepal¹

I suppose you and FS had a talk with Bhagwan Sahay regarding American aid to Nepal. In the circumstances, I agreed that we should not and we cannot come in the way of Nepal wanting aid or accepting it. It is, therefore, better for this to be done in as unobjectionable a way as possible. The proposal is that American aid should be for specific objects, such as road-making. We should also give some aid. A small Committee, consisting of three persons—a Nepalese Chairman, an Indian representative and an American representative—might deal with this aid problem. The main point is that we should avoid having a crowd of American personnel there. Apart from political reasons, they are very expensive and they swallow up much of the aid. Bhagwan Sahay told me that nearly half the American aid thus far had been consumed in salaries and amenities for the American personnel in Kathmandu.

This matter is bound to come up at the Colombo Plan Conference at Singapore. I think we should inform the leader of our delegation, Shri Nanda, about our general approach to this problem, so that he may know how to deal with it.

I suggest that, after verifying facts from FS and Bhagwan Sahay, you might draft a telegram to Shri Nanda in my name and send it to Singapore.²

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 14 October 1955. File No. 11(28)-Nepal/57. MEA.
2. Nehru's views contained in the first para of this note were telegraphed to Gulzarilal Nanda on 15 October. He was also advised not to make any commitments; but, if necessary, he might express sympathy with Nepal's need for development in general terms and India's willingness to help as far as possible.

V. SOVIET UNION

1. Cable to Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

Your telegram 364 of September 10.² Joint investigation, preparation of Project Report by Soviet experts and, thirdly, drawing up of details of agreement by Joint Commission appear reasonable proposals. Also supply of equipment, installation and operation of plant and training of personnel. But priority right to Soviet Union to purchase commercial diamonds of our mines at current world price raises difficulties. It is by no means clear what this means. We have no idea at present about quantity and quality of production. We can hardly enter into vague agreement about entire production. Acceptance of condition stipulated by Soviet would make it impossible for us to enter into short-term or long-term purchase agreements with other countries, or to frame the forward export programme because presumably we shall have to wait until Soviet told us how much of our output they wished to purchase each year.

We would naturally consider favourably requests by Soviet Government for purchasing some part of our output but any vague commitment about future would be onerous and difficult to justify. We should, therefore, like further elucidation of this proposal as it raises important issues.

1. New Delhi, 13 September 1955. JN Collection.
K.D. Malaviya (1903-1981); Union Minister of State for Natural Resources, was on a visit to the Soviet Union at this time.
2. Malaviya reported that the Soviet officials insisted on settlement of the terms of the agreement for working on the diamond mines in Panna before sending a team of geologists to undertake joint investigation of the mines. They especially wanted the priority right to purchase commercial diamonds of the mines at the current world price.

2. Arrangements for Bulganin's Visit¹

As Marshal Bulganin is now due to come to India in the second half of November,² there is not too much time at our disposal to make arrangements. We cannot do much till we have further particulars about dates, length of stay, strength of party, etc. Nevertheless, we ought to try to begin thinking about this visit. I think a Committee should be formed for the purpose. For the present, it might be an official committee, but it would be desirable to add two or three non-officials to it later.

1. Note to M.R.A. Baig, Chief of Protocol, MEA, 17 September 1955. File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA.
2. On 16 September, N.A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of USSR, conveyed to K.P.S. Menon, India's Ambassador in Moscow, his desire to visit India in the second half of November. Nehru had extended an invitation to Bulganin during his visit to the Soviet Union in June 1955.

3. Cable to Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

Your telegram 399 of September 19.² I have considered your proposal carefully and have consulted Maulana and Commerce Minister also. It seems to me that approach you suggest is not correct. It is not for us to take such proposals of sale and purchase mentioning percentage distribution between ourselves, Soviet Union and other countries. This places us tactically in a disadvantageous position, committing us but not committing the other party. We do not yet know precisely what Soviet proposal is.

2. Further, the mines are not yet in effective production and estimate of

1. New Delhi, 21 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. Malaviya doubted if the Soviets would be agreeable to an "assurance of a mere favourable consideration for sale to them", and gave an alternative proposal: "Out of all commercial diamonds produced 25 to 30% should be retained for our own use.... We can agree to sell 50% of the remaining to Russian Government for a number of years to be negotiated...the rest, i.e., 35% will be available to whomsoever needs.... If out of 30% any portion not needed by us...a portion of this also may go to Russians if they need."

future production is partly guess work. Unless we have more material to judge quantity and quality of production, talk of percentages is meaningless.

3. Again there can be no question of our entering into agreement with any other country about our right to reserve for our own use the quantity we need. It is open to other countries to indicate in advance their requirements and we could then consider how far we could accomodate them.

4. The real difficulty in Soviet proposal however is a much more fundamental one. On no occasion and with no country have we agreed to any such proposal giving a priority or preemptive right to purchase. To tie this up with a provision for technical assistance would be particularly bad. Indeed it would rather savour of the way colonial powers functioned in the past. We would be bitterly criticised for making such a vague commitment and I am sure Soviet Government will appreciate this point. Such commitment will bring credit to neither party. It would be a bad precedent with repercussions affecting our economic arrangements with other countries. Thus far we have consistently refused to accept any such provision in an agreement both in the case of the public and private sectors.

5. It is possible later, when facts of production are better known, for us to come to an agreement to supply a stated quantity for a period of years. But any such agreement must be kept quite separate from and independent of an agreement for technical assistance. The most we can do at present is to give a promise, by means of exchange of letters, to supply Soviet Union industrial or commercial diamonds from out of our supply to the extent possible to us.

6. As I have told you, we have every intention of considering favourably Soviet needs in this respect. But in existing circumstances we cannot make vague commitments which are not only against our consistent policy but savour of old colonial relationship. I am sure that you can explain this adequately to Soviet Ministers and they will appreciate our position. I suggest therefore that you should proceed with the technical and like arrangements and, if it is considered necessary, exchange letters as indicated above. No further commitment at this stage is possible.³

3. Malaviya informed Nehru from London on 30 September that he had "concluded arrangements in Moscow to bring a geologist and a mining engineer to help us in the investigations for our Panna diamonds. I... have carried out the instructions indicated in your telegrams. Mr Kowel, the Minister of the Soviet Government, finally withdrew his request for the purchase of diamonds and said they were trying hard to discover their own diamonds. He, however, suggested that if we wanted we could take up this question again in Delhi after the investigations of Panna diamonds were concluded successfully. I think they were disappointed."

4. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

Your telegram 406 of September 21.²

We would indeed especially welcome Khrushchev's³ visit to India and have hoped he would come. We did not previously mention his name separately as we were not quite sure if this would be diplomatically correct but I think I did mention his name orally to Bulganin in Moscow. Please inform Bulganin of this.

Also please convey my and our Government's cordial invitation to Khrushchev to visit India.

1. New Delhi, 22 September 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA.
2. K.P.S. Menon (1898-1982); Ambassador to Soviet Union, 1952-61.
3. Menon reported that Bulganin desired Khrushchev, First Secretary of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to be included in the delegation to visit India as he was anxious that the mission should be at the highest possible level and should not be less weighty than the delegation that would visit UK early next year. The UK Government had invited both Bulganin and Khrushchev. Khrushchev also accompanied Bulganin to Beijing in 1954 and to Geneva in 1955.

5. Programme for the Soviet Leaders¹

In view of the fact that Marshal Bulganin's date of arrival in Delhi has now been fixed for the 18th November, we should proceed to frame his programme accordingly. He will presumably arrive about noon or in the afternoon that day. He should stay in Delhi till the 21st night. The next session of Parliament is likely to begin on the 21st November. That afternoon at about 5 p.m. we might have a Tea Party in Parliament House and following that, at about 5.30 p.m., Marshal Bulganin could address Members of Parliament.

I suppose it will be easy to fill these three and a half days in Delhi. The chief functions should be:

1. Note to Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 25 September 1955. JN Collection.

- (1) Banquet in Rashtrapati Bhavan.
- (2) Afternoon Reception in Rashtrapati Bhavan.
- (3) Municipal Address, etc., in Ramlila Grounds in the afternoon.
- (4) A music and dance recital.
- (5) Possibly Honorary Doctorates by the Delhi University. The Doctorates should be given to Marshal Bulganin, and to Mr Khrushchev. (The Delhi University should be approached immediately with this suggestion).
- (6) Lunch or dinner at the PM's House.
- (7) Some time should be kept for talks and formal visits.
- (8) It is not necessary to take him to nearby Community Project area. It would probably be better for him to see a Community Project in some other place he visits, like the Bhakra-Nangal. This would save time.
- (9) They should visit the National Physical Laboratory and Agricultural Institute.
- (10) It is to be considered whether we can have any function at the Stadium.
- (11) The other day when the Crown Prince of Laos² came here, a choir sang the Laos National Anthem rather well as well as our own National Anthem. It would be a good thing if we could ask this choir to learn the Soviet National Anthem which can be sung on some occasion, possibly before the dance recital.
- (12) If there is time during the Delhi visit, Agra could be taken up in the course of a morning. There is not much point in spending too much time in Agra.

Among the other places to be visited could, I think, be Bhakra-Nangal, Chandigarh, and possibly Simla, Jaipur, Calcutta, Sindri, Chittaranjan, DVC, Madras, Bangalore, Poona (National Defence Academy, etc.), Bombay.

2. Tiao Savang Vatthana (1907-); Prime Minister, 1946-51; King of Laos, 1959-75.

6. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

We are arranging for Bulganin and party to stay in Delhi from 18th November to 21st night. After that they go on tour returning to Delhi for two final days.

1. New Delhi, 26 September 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 1(39)-Pt-1/55, MEA.

2. Next session of Parliament begins on 21st November. We should like Bulganin and Khrushchev to address Members of both Houses on 21st afternoon.

3. We would greatly welcome Marshal Zhukov's visit here with Bulganin. We are grateful to him for courtesy shown to our Air Marshal² and party. You can consider whether you should formally or informally suggest Zhukov's name.

4. Is Kuznetsov³ likely to come? He would be helpful in many ways, more specially in regard to steel plant. Also because he knows English.

2. Subroto Mukerjee.

3. V.V. Kuznetsov (1901-); Soviet diplomat; trained as an engineer; Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to China, 1953-55; First Deputy Foreign Minister and head of Soviet delegation to UN, 1955.

7. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi

September 26, 1955

My dear Sachar,

I understand that you do not favour Marshal Bulganin or any other of our eminent visitors to visit Bhakra-Nangal in November or afterwards because of your apprehension that there might be a big Akali agitation about that time. You are in a better position to judge of the state of affairs in the Punjab than I am. But I do not myself see why we should allow ourselves to be diverted from our normal programmes because of possible consequences. I should like you to consider this matter and let me know. It would be an odd thing that none of our distinguished visitors can go to Bhakra-Nangal during the next two or three months. That would be a confession of weakness.

Marshal Bulganin is due to arrive in Delhi on the 18th November and remain here till the 21st night. We have been vaguely thinking of his going to Bhakra-Nangal on the 21st night. Possibly he might visit Chandigarh and Simla also, but nothing is settled.

I should like to have your views.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

8. Display of Soviet and Indian Flags¹

Regarding the visits of eminent persons from abroad, please remember that we shall have to produce a sufficient number of flags of those countries, apart from our own.

2. In particular, we should have a large number of Soviet flags—mostly small paper flags and some, of course, bigger ones. We should have an adequate number of our own paper flags as well as bigger ones.

3. These can be made, I suppose, locally wherever Marshal Bulganin goes, that is, in important places and important cities. We need take charge directly of only Delhi. The other States will have to be informed.

1. Note to Chief of Protocol, MEA, 11 October 1955. File No. I(39)-Pt-I/55. MEA.

9. A Tentative Itinerary¹

In the attached telegram, K.P.S. Menon makes a number of new suggestions.² The whole approach of this telegram is different from the Soviet Ambassador's here, who was particularly anxious that we should concentrate on new India.³

2. K.P.S. Menon says that we might add a day to Bulganin's stay. He has done so on his own account. Until we know definitely that this is agreeable to Bulganin, we cannot fix this up. The reason K.P.S. Menon gives about the day

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 13 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. In his telegram of 12 October to M.R.A. Baig, Chief of Protocol, Menon stated that the tentative programme for the Soviet leaders' visit sent by MEA to him on 10 October "seems quite comprehensive in respect of present day things. Unfortunately it almost entirely omits ancient monuments of art and architecture. Bulganin had expressed a desire to see something of this also."
3. In the course of a talk with Nehru on 1 October, Mikhail Menshikov, the Soviet Ambassador, told him that Bulganin "would of course like to see our big industrial plants, but he would also like to see something of our agriculture. In this connection, the idea of going to the UP Terai appealed to him." Nehru recorded this in a note to Baig and added. "Apparently the Marshal is keen on seeing tea and coffee plantations.... They also want to see rice fields."

of departure being Sunday has no force either in Delhi or in Kabul or Rangoon.⁴ But, of course, if they can stay another day, we shall make arrangements accordingly.

3. The Elephant Keddah operation requires a great deal of organisation and I would hesitate to ask the Mysore Government to arrange this. Normally they have it to suit their own requirements for elephants. Just to show off will hardly be worthwhile. Also I think it takes about three weeks or more to organise it. This will take a full day of Mr Bulganin if he goes to see it.

4. A visit to the Sanctuary in Periyar Lake will, I think, take two full days. I do not think it is possible to take him down to Travancore just for this purpose. If Bulganin would like to see an Indian forest, probably with wild animals, Bhopal is a suitable place and the forest is easy of approach.

5. A visit to Ajanta Caves is possible. It would take one full day from Aurangabad. It will be a tiring day involving a motor journey of 60 miles and back, that is 120 miles, I think, though I am not sure of the distance. He will probably want to go to Ellora which will probably involve another journey. It is entirely for Bulganin to say if he wants to take all this trouble and if he can afford the time.

6. Mahabalipuram is not difficult to reach, but again it means at least three hours from Madras going and coming and seeing. I doubt if it can be fitted in with the time at our disposal in Madras.

7. I should myself think that a visit to Jaipur was more appropriate than going to Ajanta Caves, etc. That gives more of an idea of old India, more especially the Amer. It might even be possible, though I am not sure, to have Jaipur and Bhopal in a day.

8. K.P.S. Menon suggests dropping out Bareilly and curtailing Bombay stay. I do not see how the Bombay stay can be curtailed and made less than a day. As for Bareilly, Bulganin was supposed to go there to see our new farms on reclaimed land from the Terai marshes. That again is entirely for Bulganin to decide, if he prefers something to that.

9. The suggestion that our visitors should spend a night at Brindavan involves going to Mysore from Bangalore. That means practically another day. Mysore is an attractive city, but I do not share K.P.S.'s enthusiasm for Brindavan. I dislike the place. It is much too garish.

10. The advice given in paragraph 6 of K.P.S. telegram should naturally

4. Menon stated that Sunday was not very convenient for formal send-off when all heads of missions and others would have to be present. It might also be inconvenient for the visitors to arrive in a new place which might be Rangoon or Kabul, he pointed out.

be accepted.⁵ I suggest however that the formal banquet should be given by the Vice-President.⁶ The President should give a lunch.

11. Simla can be written off now.

5. Menon suggested that since Bulganin was not Head of State, it would be better for the President to give a lunch and for the Prime Minister to give the formal banquet instead of the opposite as planned.
6. N.R. Pillai spoke about this matter to Nehru the next day when Nehru agreed that the banquet should be by him, not the Vice-President.

10. The Delhi Reception Committee¹

You have formed some kind of a committee to arrange Marshal Bulganin's programme and reception. I think there is a little confusion about that committee. The All-India Committee has to think in terms of the all-India programme. There should be purely a Delhi Committee which deals with his stay here. It is with this Delhi Committee that the Chairman of the municipalities, etc., are concerned. The All-India Programme Committee probably cannot meet often. The Delhi Committee may have to meet daily after a while. It is in this Delhi Committee, I think, that you might put Feroze Gandhi² and possibly some others.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 14 October 1955. File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA.
2. (1912-1960); married Indira Nehru, 1942; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-60.

11. Distribution of Soviet Flags to Children¹

Please see the letter from the Chief Minister of Madras.² I think there is something in what he says. Let us concentrate on buntings and other display of the Soviet flags and put up a number of these flags. But we need not encourage too much the distribution of these flags to young children. We might adopt this policy generally. If somewhere these flags are distributed, we need not object to that.

1. Note to Chief of Protocol, MEA, 19 October 1955. File No. 1 (39)-Pt-I/55, MEA.
2. Referring to the suggestion made by Nehru to Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, during his visit to the state in the first week of October, for making arrangements for the supply of a large number of Soviet flags to school children and others for being waved along the roads while Bulganin passed along, K. Kamaraj wrote to Nehru on 18 October saying that it might not be desirable to associate school children with the waving of the Soviet flags as they would not easily distinguish between a Communist flag and a Soviet flag and a wrong impression was likely to be created in their minds which might be exploited later on by interested parties.

12. To Kamalnayan Bajaj¹

New Delhi,
October 20, 1955

My dear Kamalnayan,²

Your two letters of October 19.

As for Bulganin and party visiting Wardha and Sevagram. I do not think this would be appropriate. It might even be criticised by our own people. The Russians did not take kindly to Bapu during his life and to take Bulganin to Sevagram now would obviously look a little forced....

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. (1912-1974); son of Jamnalal Bajaj and a leading industrialist.

13. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

New Delhi
October 23, 1955

My dear Keshava,

There is a danger of our appearing too eager with the Russians.² Naturally we want to get the things we want from them and to cultivate friendly relations, but, whether with the Russians or any other country, a little reticence and lack of eagerness is always desirable in business deals. Also, business matters should normally not be discussed informally round dinner tables.

I am writing this to you as there is a tendency of the Soviet Ambassador and other ambassadors to get hold of our Ministers at social functions and take advantage of them.³ You wrote to me that you went to dinner with the Soviet Ambassador the very day after you came here and practically before you had met your colleagues here. This might well give a wrong impression to the Soviet Embassy about our excessive keenness and they might take advantage of that.

Even to our officers of the External Affairs Ministry, who meet the Ambassadors frequently, we have suggested not to carry on business on social occasions. Normally the Ambassador has to come to the Ministry to discuss matters.

I realise your eagerness, and that is quite right, but the point is that the other party should not be in a position to utilise it to their advantage.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Malaviya informed Nehru on 21 October that at a lunch hosted by M.A. Menshikov, the Soviet Ambassador, that day, he and the Ambassador discussed several matters concerning the detailed arrangements to be made by his Ministry in connection with the agreement recently arrived at in Moscow. Malaviya wrote that Menshikov informally suggested to him that before the visit of the Soviet leaders, a general outline of the scheme of important technical, scientific and economic matters might be formulated to facilitate decisions by the two Governments.

3. Reacting unfavourably to "Menshikov's technique" of inviting ministers and officials, one at a time, to discuss official matters, N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, wrote to Nehru on 22 October that it was not the first time that Malaviya or his Joint Secretary had discussed official matters over a meal with Menshikov at the Soviet embassy. Pillai added, "If K.P.S. were to start the same practice as Mr Menshikov, I know what the reaction would be in the Kremlin", and suggested, from his own personal experience, a golden rule "not to discuss official matters, except on special occasions, anywhere else than in our own Ministry."

14. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

New Delhi

25 October, 1955

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of October 23rd with the notes attached. I have read the notes. I think that it is better to use the full note rather than the extracts that you have sent.

There can be no doubt about the importance and urgency of the questions you have touched upon, more particularly, of course, oil exploration. Broadly speaking, I agree with your approach. We have to proceed, however, in a methodical manner so as to achieve results. Bypassing normal procedures usually means greater delay in the end. This means that we have to convince the Ministries concerned and ultimately the Cabinet. You must remember that all this has to be seen in a certain larger context. That is the whole object of planning. Therefore, the Planning Commission comes into the picture.

Also, there are certain political and like implications which have to be kept in view. There is a growing realisation here that the Soviet Union can give us much help and that it is technically as advanced, if not more, as other countries. The recent Steel Delegation that was sent there consisted of hard-boiled experts, some of them with full knowledge of American and English conditions.² They have come back very much impressed by what they saw in the Soviet Union.

We are thinking of getting some Soviet experts to come to India to advise about the establishment of a big drug industry. You will thus see that we are getting more and more associated with the Soviet Union in regard to the development of our industries. That is all right. But we have to take care that we do not get too tied up with any country or give an impression that we are becoming rather dependent on the help from that country, whichever that might be. Also, we cannot afford to make ourselves appear cheap. I think the Russians can give us a great deal of help and we should take it. But the Russians, like many others, tend to go further than they are intended to. I am not referring to communism and the like, but their general attitude to countries. Even in China the Russian experts and technicians there tend to take up a superior attitude to the Chinese and expect special favours, even special status. That is so in the

1. JN Collection. Also available in K.D. Malaviya Papers. NMML.

2. A delegation led by S.S. Khera, Secretary, Ministry of Production, toured the Soviet Union for over a month to study the operation of steel works and works producing metallurgical equipment in that country. The delegation presented its report to T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Iron and Steel, on 23 October.

East European countries also. Our prestige in the world today is largely because we maintain our self-respect and independence, at the same time being friendly. Therefore, we must proceed with a certain restraint in all these matters. Restraint does not necessarily mean delay. Indeed, if an eager step is taken, the reactions may well be delay.

You will have noticed a rather mischievous note in the *Hindustan Times* about your statement to the press.³ Well, that is the kind of reaction⁴ that one should avoid. If I had seen your statement earlier, I would have advised you to word it somewhat differently.

Apart from all this, there is the question of our adjusting our own finances to the various needs of the situation. So far as I am concerned, oil exploration should be given high priority and I think most of our colleagues will agree if we put it to them in the right way. We must not give an impression of bypassing as this is irritating.

It appears that you have invited some Russian experts here. That is all right. The question now apparently is, firstly, of having a programme to drill in a number of places, in the hope of meeting with success in at least one such place and at the same time getting important information about the internal structure; and, secondly, the question is of getting a number of drills. Both these points should be considered. I think that it would be a good thing if you discussed these matters fully with the Planning Commission, notably Dr Ghosh. Later, we can consider it in Cabinet. Meanwhile, you should send your long note to the Planning Commission and to the Cabinet Secretary⁵ for distribution among Members of the Cabinet.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Malaviya announced at a press conference in New Delhi on 21 October that seven experts from the Soviet Union would visit India shortly to study the various circumstances and situations attending the oil exploration work in the country and to assess India's requirements and the assistance that they could provide for the full development of India's mineral oil industry.
4. The political correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* commented on 25 October that Malaviya's statement "should not be taken as a high-policy declaration. Indeed its flamboyance has upset top leaders, for it is likely to be misinterpreted as a shift towards the Eastern bloc. It is expected that before long the significance of the proposed employment of Russian experts will be put in proper perspective by a more authoritative pronouncement."
5. Y.N. Sukthankar.

15. Aircraft for the Soviet Leaders¹

Dakotas are certainly not modern, but they are equally certainly safe.² Normally, therefore, the Soviet leaders should travel by our Dakotas.

2. If they travel by Soviet planes, this will involve us in difficulties. They will probably require navigators and may be other help, and then our men and their men will not understand each other and interpreters will be required. Also, Soviet pilots will not be acquainted with our airfields.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 28 October 1955. File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA.
2. S. Dutt told the Soviet Ambassador on 28 October that Government had made all arrangements for air travel within India of the Soviet leaders in Indian planes, but if the visitors wished to travel by Soviet planes, Government would be agreeable. He added that Indian planes had an advantage since the Soviet crew was not used to flying in India. The Soviet Ambassador, speaking personally, however, said that the Soviet experts did not consider Dakota planes modern enough.

16. Translation of Speeches¹

I spoke to you last night about the arrangements to be made for the translation of Marshal Bulganin's and Mr Khrushchev's speeches here from Russian to Hindi. Also our speeches from Hindi or English to Russian. I am anxious that adequate arrangements should be made for this. It is therefore necessary for some really competent person, who knows Russian, English and Hindi, to be with us all the time. We should take no risks in this matter.

It must be remembered that sometimes translations have to be done on the spot and extempore.

1. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, 28 October 1955. File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA.

17. Elements of Protocol¹

- (1) Bulganin should be referred to as Mr and not Marshal.²
 - (2) Equal treatment should be accorded to Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev.
 - (3) The designation of Mr Khrushchev should be shown as member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and not General Secretary of the Communist Party.
1. Instructions for M.R.A. Baig, Chief of Protocol, dictated to Private Secretary before leaving for Amritsar, 11 November 1955. File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA. The points were meant to be communicated to all concerned, including State Governments.
 2. K.P.S. Menon had cabled from Moscow on 12 October that on becoming Prime Minister, Bulganin had discarded the Marshal's uniform and preferred to be called Mr.

18. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1955

My dear T.T.,

In a few days' time the Soviet party headed by Bulganin and Khrushchev will be coming to Delhi. They are bringing a strong team with them. We shall naturally be having some discussions with them. These will be, to begin with, on the political level in regard to the international situation. But it is quite likely that the talks may extend to economic matters.

When I was in Moscow, I talked a good deal with them about planning. As for our relations on the economic level, our talks were rather general. Since then, many developments have taken place and I think that we should be a little clear in our minds as to what we should discuss with them and what we should aim at.

I am not thinking in terms of the steel project or any other particular project but rather the broader approach of getting our people trained or any other kind of technical assistance. For instance, if we have in mind, as I hope we have, a heavy machine building programme, then we might well discuss this with them.

1. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.

As you know, I am anxious that we should take this matter in hand as early as possible. There is no economic independence for us till we go in for this heavy machine building, which appears to me crucial from the point of view of rapid future development. The question might well be for us to send people for training there before the next step is taken.

Then there is the question of drug manufacture about which I think you had made some reference to the Soviet Government for experts to come here to advise.² Dr J.C. Ghosh saw me today and drew my attention to a recommendation of the Health Panel of the Planning Commission for the appointment of a sub-committee to "consider ways and means for providing poor patients in public hospitals and dispensaries essential drugs at a price much cheaper than that prevailing in the retail drug market." At present the situation is a bad one and most poor patients cannot get these drugs. I do not think this can be remedied till large scale manufacture of drugs takes place under the State auspices. Even as a matter of principle, this particular industry should be largely State owned. There is a big margin usually in drugs and the question of adulteration comes in.

There is at present in the Russian Embassy in New Delhi a very competent technical man. He is of the deputy minister level and is an engineer administrator. In any dealings with the Soviet, this man would be helpful as he knows his subject well.

The Soviet leaders will spend a few days in Delhi to begin with and then come back after their tour in the rest of India. We might have a preliminary talk with them first and then later a more detailed talk. For this purpose, our minds should be clear as to what we wish to say to them. These people have long distance planning outlooks and if we want any type of technical assistance from them in the future, it is desirable to tell them so.

I think it will be worthwhile for some of us to meet and discuss this matter before the Soviet leaders come. The next few days are busy enough, but still we might find a little time for it.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pantji, Deshmukh and V.T. Krishnamachari.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Krishnamachari stated in his reply of 15 November, "So far as the question of drugs and dye stuffs is concerned, we have had discussions with Sergeev, the Economic Adviser of the Soviet Embassy in Delhi. He has suggested that a delegation of nine people may be sent to India with three interpreters."

19. To K. Kamaraj Nadar¹

Camp: Nangal township
17th November, 1955

My dear Kamaraj,

There is some misunderstanding about the addresses of welcome to be given to Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev.² Some people think that they must be either in Hindi or Russian. This is not correct. They can certainly be, in the case of Madras, in Tamil. It would be desirable, however, to attach an English translation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 1(39)-Pt-I/55, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A resident of Rajapalaiyam in Tamil Nadu had telegraphically requested Nehru to stop the order that the welcome address to the Soviet leaders should be given either in Hindi or Russian. On 17 November, Nehru directed the Chief of Protocol that this should not be insisted on, and that the address could be in the provincial language.

VI. INDO-CHINA

1. Aide-Memoire to UK Government¹

The Government of India desire to bring to your notice and request your early attention to the present and very unsatisfactory situation in Vietnam. This situation is one which has adversely affected the conditions under which the International Supervisory Commission has to work² and has rendered the future

1. New Delhi, 5 September 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. A similar message was sent to V.M. Molotov. Harold Macmillan, Foreign Secretary of UK, and V.M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of USSR, were Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.
2. The South Vietnamese Government continuously denied and flouted the Geneva Agreement. Its supporters staged in Saigon on 20 July 1955 a mass demonstration on the first anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreement. Observing the day as a 'day of mourning', the demonstrators stormed two hotels occupied by the members of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indo-China and looted their belongings. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, pp. 369-371.

of the Commission and the Geneva Agreement itself a matter of grave concern.

2. The Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh-Diem,³ has repeatedly declared his non-acceptance of the Geneva Agreement. You will readily agree that the International Commission owes its origin to the Geneva Agreement and therefore, if the Agreement is repudiated or denounced, the position of the Commission is seriously affected.

3. The Commission has taken no precipitate action and is continuing to function in respect of South Vietnam without accepting the repudiation by the Prime Minister of South Vietnam. The denouncement of the Geneva Agreement has not come from any of the signatories to the Agreement, but only as proclamations or statements by the South Vietnam authorities. The Commission is faced with a situation in which a reference must necessarily be made to the Chairmen of the Geneva Conference as neither the Commission as a whole, nor India as its Chairman has any competence to make new agreements with any of the parties concerned, to alter the terms of the Geneva Agreement or to accept changes or repudiations of that Agreement.

4. The attitude of the South Vietnam Government is imposing great strains on the Commission and on its resources and personnel, and more particularly on India. The main task under the Ceasefire Agreement has been completed and it has been acquiesced in or agreed to by all parties concerned. Both parts of Vietnam have accepted the benefits of the Geneva Agreement and continue to do so. The Commission can, however, continue only on the basis of the Geneva Agreement, and, such being the case, the whole Agreement, including the Ceasefire enforcement provisions, the declarations made by parties as well as the final declaration must be implemented.

5. The Government of India are aware of the steps taken by the Co-Chairmen and they understand that simultaneous communications have been made to Prime Minister Ngo Dinh-Diem by the United Kingdom, France and the United States of America in regard to the implementation of the Geneva Agreement. Mr Molotov⁴ has also informed us that he had agreed with you about such steps and that if difficulties still remained unresolved, then the problem would be considered again by the two Chairmen.

6. It appears to the Government of India from the facts before them that the approach made as aforesaid has produced no results. The authorities in South Vietnam have, as late as the 10th August, reaffirmed their position which they have repeatedly stated during the last few months.

7. While the Commission continues its day-to-day work under much strain and hostility, including the violence and disorder of 20th July, which was the

3. (1901-1963); Prime Minister, South Vietnam, 1954-55, and its President till 1963.

4. V.M. Molotov (1890-1986); Foreign Minister of USSR, 1953-56.

direct consequences of the attitude of the South Vietnam authorities, it is obvious that the present position should be reviewed and the impasse sought to be resolved.

8. The Government of India, in its anxiety and earnest desire to refrain from precipitating any situation and in order to assist every possible step in persuasion, is making this communication to you, at this stage informally, to suggest that a meeting between the two Chairmen may take place without delay, at which this matter can be examined and our position, as well as the views of other members of the Commission who may wish to be represented, may be examined.

9. The Government of India would welcome an early communication of your views so that they may consider making the necessary formal approach to the two Chairmen.

10. It is suggested that the meeting of the Co-Chairmen might take place at New York when, we anticipate, both the Chairmen will be there for the General Assembly of the United Nations, say, late in September or early in October.

11. The two Chairmen will also have an opportunity of reviewing the position in Laos where negotiations have been going on for some time. The Laos situation is no doubt partly affected by the general position in Indo-China. I am making a similar request to your Co-Chairman and would add that in view of the grave implications of the present circumstances I hope that the matter will receive your early and earnest attention.⁵

5. Harold Macmillan, in his reply of 14 September, stated that continued efforts were being made by the Western powers to secure adequate assurances from the Vietnamese Government in regard to proper facilities to be given to the International Commission. Macmillan also said that the Vietnamese Government was likely to accept at least part of French responsibilities under the Geneva Agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam at the Franco-Vietnamese negotiations being held in Paris at the time. He further said that a communication from the Vietminh protesting against the failure of the Vietnamese Government to respond to their invitation to take part in consultations for holding election was also under the consideration of the Co-Chairmen. Macmillan concluded that it would be premature for the Co-Chairmen to meet to consider the Indian proposal till the Franco-Vietnamese negotiations were over and till the reactions of the members of the Geneva Conference to the Vietminh communication were known.

2. Aid to Laos¹

I am rather doubtful about these matters, more especially about technical or

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 16 September 1955. JN Collection.

like assistance.² We are not in a position to spread ourselves out all over the place. To say that we have got rice in stock does not mean that this is not a very valuable gift. You may, if you like, enquire if our Food Ministry wants to get rid of rice. Otherwise, I would hesitate to give any rice in view of our tremendous demands in the flood-affected areas. I would not also make any commitments about help except, to some extent, some technical assistance. We cannot compete with the Americans and the others in this way.

2. As for recognition, the matter is not free from difficulty.³ We shall see how our talks progress with them.

2. In the context of the forthcoming visit of the Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Laos to New Delhi. Subimal Dutt, agreeing with the views of Joint Secretary C.S. Jha, noted on 16 September that "we cannot give the impression as if we are trying by an offer of aid to counter American influence in Laos. If we offer anything it will be entirely from a feeling of sympathy with the young State struggling to find its feet."
3. Dutt noted that arguments for and against immediate recognition of Laos were equally balanced. He said that since India had not formally recognised the Government of Laos, New Delhi's capacity to influence their policy was restricted.

3. Contacts with Laos¹

Your Royal Highnesses, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,
 Nearly a year ago, I had the good fortune of paying a visit to Laos² and the privilege of meeting Their Royal Highnesses who are in our midst today. That visit of mine was much too brief and yet, during that brief stay, I had a sense of kinship and affinity with the people of Laos and long forgotten memories of the distant past came to my mind when there were close contacts, cultural and other, between our countries, and many people travelled to and from one country to another. Even now there are numerous relics and remains of that commerce, that cultural commerce of old, and so I did not feel as if I was wholly a stranger in that attractive country. And now we have the privilege of having as our guest His Royal Highness the Crown Prince and Her Royal Highness Princess Savang. We are happy to welcome them here and to show them a

1. Speech at a State Banquet in honour of Prince Savang Vatthana of Laos, and Princess Savang, New Delhi, 20 September 1955. From Press Information Bureau. Also printed in the *National Herald*, 22 September 1955.
2. Nehru visited Vientiane, the capital of Laos, on 17 October 1954 on his way to China.

little of this country of ours and I am sure that they will also feel as if they were not wholly strangers here. They will also find many things here which will remind them of that past contact of ours. That is the past but now is the present. But the present is full of difficulties and the country of Laos has had more than its share of difficulties in the past years, the years of great war, occupation by a foreign power; previous to that colonial administration for a long time and then other difficulties have supervened—wars in Indo-China which have brought so much suffering to the people there.

At present, chance has brought us again near to each other and the responsibility was cast upon India to be of some service to Laos. I hope that we have endeavoured to discharge that responsibility to the best of our ability and attempted to bring about a peaceful solution of the many problems that confront Laos and the other States of Indo-China. It seems to me obvious that in Laos, as indeed in the rest of the world, if there has to be a solution, a stable solution, a solution which does not leave trails of bitterness and conflict behind, it has to be through methods of peaceful negotiation. Even though sometimes we may not bring immediate results, yet, one has to try and go on trying because the alternative is undoubtedly bad. So we have endeavoured and we shall continue to endeavour to do so but we know very well that we can help only a little. Ultimately it is for the people of Laos to solve their problems and not for others to interfere too much whoever they might be. Indeed I have often felt that the best way to solve any of these problems is for others not to interfere. Sometimes that interference comes from the best of motives. But I am convinced that external interference, whatever the motive, does little good to a country. It is best for that country to find its own soul through its own efforts, certainly with the goodwill of others, certainly with such help that they might be able to give but basically and fundamentally by its own efforts.

We in this country achieved our independence after a long struggle. It was a peaceful struggle, as His Royal Highness knows, and when freedom came and settlement came, it came with goodwill leaving no trace of ill will. That was an unusual occurrence at the end of a long struggle which had brought much unhappiness to us. And that struggle itself strengthened us, disciplined us and made us worthier to shoulder the burden of freedom and independence, and to face the great problems that confront us as they confront every country in the world. So we look upon this country, the country of Laos, not only as an old friend, but a friend of today and I hope that our contacts which have been renewed in recent times will continue and grow closer to the advantage of both countries. And we wish Your Royal Highness and your people and your country success in your attempts to solve these problems peacefully, happiness and progress in the future. I ask Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the health of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Laos and Her Royal Highness Princess Savang.

4. Talks with the Laotian Delegation¹

Famine in Laos and gift of rice by the Government of India

The Prime Minister² of Laos stated that there had been famine conditions in his country for the last three years: this was one of the consequences of the war which had been aggravated by a very severe drought last year. This year, however, they expected a good crop. His Royal Highness further explained that since 1939, Laos had been living under war conditions and normal cultivation had been impossible hitherto. In answer to a query by PM, the Prime Minister of Laos further explained that their main need was for rice which was the staple diet.

PM said that as His Royal Highness was probably aware, vast areas in India had been devastated by floods and our own food position would be a difficult one. However, he felt that we should help as far as it was possible for us to do so and we would be prepared to make an offer of some rice to the Laotian Government.

It was then explained that the rice harvest in Laos began on the 15th of September and would end by the 15th of October. As this year's harvest was expected to a good one, there was no immediate need for rice from India. His Royal Highness pointed out that the supplies coming from the present harvest would be adequate up to the months of May or June next year. Nevertheless, rice from abroad would be welcome in as much as they had no reserves.

PM said that the Government of India would explore the possibility of sending some rice within the next months or two and either this or supplies made available by the new harvest in Laos could be used to build up a reserve to be used after May or June next year. His Royal Highness expressed gratitude for this offer, which he accepted and said that it would be greatly appreciated by his people particularly in view of the difficulties in India itself....

Political

PM, putting forward the point of view of the Government of India, said that India was not in a position to solve the tremendous problems created in Indo-China which had been so graphically described by His Royal

1. Summary of the points that arose during the discussions between Nehru and the Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Laos. New Delhi, 20 and 21 September 1955. JN Collection and File No. 2(15)-IC/55. MEA. Extracts. S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary. MEA, was also present during the discussions.
2. Katay Don Sasorith (1904-1955): Prime Minister of Laos, 1954-55.

Highness.³ India could only offer her help and her sympathy. India's interest lay in seeing that Laos should be free and independent and should progress; problems existing there should be solved by amicable and peaceful methods. The longer the solutions were postponed, the more difficult became the problems.

Illustrating India's own policy, the Prime Minister said that India had come to an amicable agreement with France over Pondicherry and although it could easily settle the Goa issue by resort to armed force, the Government of India had declared that this issue too would be solved in a peaceful way. India was opposed to war, even to small conflicts, as these led to grave international consequences. It was important to realise that today there were no local problems, as such; they all had international implications. He referred to the German problem which could not be solved because of conflicting views amongst the Great Powers. He did not know when this problem would be solved, though he supposed it would be solved someday.

As regards Indo-China generally and, therefore, also Laos, if the French had not carried on a war for nearly seven years, the problems might have been more easily settled. He realised that the problem in Laos was difficult. On the one hand, there was France—she, however, was now going out. There still remained the Vietminh and China giving sympathy as HRH had said. The truth of the matter was that China on the one hand, and the USA and other Powers on the other, were afraid that Indo-China, including Laos, might become the base of hostile powers. When he met Ho Chi Minh last year,⁴ PM said that he told him that he should withdraw all support from the Pathet Lao, otherwise this would give a reason to the United States or France for intervening. Similarly, he had told representatives of the United States and other powers that they should in no way interfere in Laos in order not to provoke the other side.

In fact the essence of the Geneva Agreement was that Indo-China should not be used either by China, the USA or any other power as a base in their own rivalry and hostility to each other.

The Geneva Agreement had made two points:

3. Describing the problems faced by Laos in the last 16 years, His Royal Highness said that the invasion of Laos by the Vietminh had compelled his government to defend itself, while the French, more or less, forced the hands of his government by insisting on fighting the Vietminh on all fronts and declaring that they were waging a war of liberation. He felt that the decision of the Geneva Conference to recognise the de facto control of the two northern provinces of Laos by the Pathet Lao was not based on a correct appreciation of facts and had created many difficulties. He added that the objects for which the Pathet Lao ostensibly stood, namely, independence, end of colonialism and a democratic form of Government, had all been achieved. Emphasising the urgency of an early solution, His Royal Highness felt that there was great danger in a situation where the Pathet Lao, materially assisted by the Vietminh and morally supported by the Chinese, maintained armed forces.
4. On 17 October 1954 in Hanoi.

- 1) that there was one Laos and only one Government in Laos, namely, the Royal Laotian Government;
- 2) that there should be a political settlement regarding the two Northern Provinces.

While the first was generally admitted, the difficulty was with regard to how and when the second issue was to be settled.

While the Government of India naturally examined the whole question on its merits, it felt that mere legal arguments and considerations would not lead to a solution and, they were concerned with what practical steps could be taken to bring about a settlement. Such a settlement could not come from outside, but must necessarily come from within. That is why he had suggested to the Prime Minister of Laos at Bandung that he might have talks with the Pathet Lao.

The Laotian Prime Minister said that so far as the Pathet Lao was concerned, it did not admit the first point, namely, the suzerainty of the Royal Laos Government over the two Northern Provinces. In fact, it considered itself as a Government of this area and even in letters to the Commission, it maintained this position.

PM said that, of course, the Laos Prime Minister would know better than he did what pretensions the Pathet Lao had, but it was his impression that, while recognising the *de jure* sovereignty of the Royal Laotian Government, they maintained that until a political settlement had been arrived at, practical steps to translate this *de jure* sovereignty into *de facto* control should be delayed.

These were the arguments and it was for the Royal Laotian Government to deal with them. He was anxious to know how India could help to disentangle the knot.

The Prime Minister of Laos said that the answer was very simple: the International Commission should tell the Pathet Lao that their pretensions to being a Government were wrong and they could not and they should not maintain this position.

PM, while appreciating the point of view of the Laos Government, said that, whatever the theoretical arguments might be, the Pathet Lao were in military occupation of the two Northern Provinces. Nobody had at any stage held that the two Northern Provinces belonged to the Pathet Lao: certainly the Geneva Agreement did not say so. It seemed to him that there were only three possible courses of action: (a) a political settlement; (b) war; and (c) a continuation of the present situation which might continue until developments made some solution possible.

Naturally, he was not advising either the second or the third course: he himself was in favour of the first, but mentioned the other two as consequences which might follow if the first was not achieved...

PM continued his discussion with the Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Laos at Rashtrapati Bhavan on the 21st of September. CS was also present.

The major part of the discussion centred on the text of the joint declaration by the two Prime Ministers. Two amendments were made to the original draft following points raised by the Prime Minister and the Crown Prince of Laos. The first amendment related to a reference to difficulties that had arisen in implementing the Geneva Agreement, and the second to a minor verbal change in the statement on the Panchsheela. The joint statement was signed by the two Prime Ministers and one signed copy was taken by the Prime Minister of Laos.

The Prime Minister of Laos appealed to PM to use his influence to effect the withdrawal of Vietminh support from the Pathet Lao after which, he said, a political settlement would be easy.

PM in reply said that as he had pointed out on the previous day, the Government of India had repeatedly impressed upon the parties concerned and upon the Vietminh that they should not interfere in the affairs of other countries. The real difficulty was that this question was tied up with the fears and apprehensions of the Great Powers. For example, there had recently been in agreement between Cambodia and the USA, and China had protested stating that this was an act of interference. It was, thus, not so much a question of individual States in Indo-China but part of a much bigger problem. The Government of India could not remove the fears and apprehensions of the Big Powers by giving advice. There was one hopeful feature, however, namely, that there had recently been a general improvement in the world situation and a lessening of tension.

The Crown Prince, intervening at this point, said that on their return, his Government would make every effort to remove from Laos, foreign bases. The Geneva Agreement had permitted the retention of French forces in Cambodia. However, having agreed to the joint statement, in keeping with it the Laotian Government would try and eliminate these. At the same time, however, they could not do this unless Vietminh influence were also withdrawn from Laos, as Laos was a small and weak country and could not afford to abandon such assistance as might be available against outside interference. The Crown Prince said that, of course, he accepted the fact that major international problems impinged upon their own national problem, but he felt that this was something for which they were not responsible.

The Prime Minister of Laos said that while he too could understand the repercussions of general international tension upon Laos, he did not appreciate why this could not be confined to diplomatic methods. It could not justify the material assistance given by the Vietminh to the Pathet Lao, nor the constant Vietminh propaganda against the Royal Laotian Government. He begged the Prime Minister to use his influence to see that this campaign against the Royal Laotian Government was stopped.

At PM's request, the Crown Prince outlined the programme for elections

in Laos. He said that originally these had been fixed for the 25th of August, but in view of the fact that no political settlement had been arrived at with regard to the two Northern Provinces, those elections had been postponed to the 25th of December....

He added that no further postponement was possible for two reasons: one, the constitution did not permit this and, two, people were also discontented with the postponement. Even if no settlement was reached, the elections would still go forward.

The Crown Prince asked PM what he thought should be done with regard to the elections: should they go forward even in the absence of a political settlement? In reply, PM said that the Geneva Agreement had laid down that there should be general elections in all parts of Laos and, therefore, the proper thing was that the elections should take place only when it was possible for all sections of the population to take part in them. However, he appreciated the difficulty of the Royal Laotian Government.

In answer to another question from PM, the Prime Minister of Laos said that he had repeatedly asked the leader of the Pathet Lao to meet him and, just before he left, he had requested a meeting on the 30th of September. The leader of the Pathet Lao had in principle accepted the invitation, but so far had not intimated whether the date suggested was acceptable.

The Crown Prince of Laos thanked the Prime Minister for the welcome and hospitality which he had received in India and he said he hoped to return, not for any official purpose but as a pilgrim. He particularly thanked the Prime Minister for the last paragraph in the joint statement wherein the Government of India had offered economic and technical assistance.

5. Cable to Samar Sen¹

We have given careful thought to your telegrams 628, 636 and 640. Prime

1. Revised draft of cable from C.S. Jha to Samar Sen, New Delhi, 8 November 1955. JN Collection.

Samar Sen (1914-); joined ICS, 1938; joined IFS, 1947, Consul General in Geneva, 1953; Chairman, ICSC, Laos, 1955-57 and May-December 1961; Joint Secretary MEA, 1957-59; High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand, 1959-62; Ambassador to Algeria, 1962-64; Ambassador to Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait and High Commissioner to Cyprus, 1964-66; High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1966-69; Permanent Representative to UN, 1969-72; High Commissioner to Dhaka, 1972-75; Ambassador to Stockholm, 1975-77.

Minister has also discussed Laos situation with Canadian Foreign Minister Pearson.² Although there was some difference of viewpoint, Pearson agreed that Laos and Vietnam situations had to be considered together in regard to their ultimate consequences on the Geneva Agreement and could not be separated.

2. Present position appears to be that rapprochement between Pathet Lao and RLG is remote. Indeed, there is a tendency to confirm partition of Laos just as there is similar development in Vietnam.

3. We think that, in spite of obvious difficulties, we should continue our attempts to bring about some kind of agreement between parties. There is in fact no other way open to us. Any step taken which may appear logical by itself but which leads to breakdown of Geneva Agreement, is obviously undesirable. Also, any such step must logically be accompanied by similar steps in Vietnam. If we blame Pathet Lao, then we should also blame Diem's Government in Vietnam. Although we are convinced that Diem is violating Vietnam Agreement, we have refrained from condemning him. Similarly, we should avoid one-sided condemnation of Pathet Lao and should continue to maintain neutral position. The sole test of any action must be how far it furthers political settlement and serves purposes of Geneva Agreement. We do not therefore think Canadian Resolution will serve any useful purpose.

4. In view, however, of serious consequences of forthcoming elections on 25th December, we think that some positive steps should be taken by Commission. We suggest the following:

(a) Commission may adopt immediately suitable resolution embodying the informal scheme of settlement. As this scheme has been unanimously agreed to, we hope that resolution also will have unanimous support of Commission.

(b) Commission should continue its efforts towards securing fair and reasonable settlement more or less on lines of informal scheme. In event of no political settlement being reached and elections in ten provinces being irrevocable, Commission should at a suitable time pronounce on validity or implications of elections vis-a-vis Geneva Agreement. Our view is that while as a sovereign Government, RLG has every right to hold elections when and where it likes, the 25th December elections cannot be regarded as those contemplated in Geneva Agreement as an integral part of political settlement. It would be desirable to inform RLG informally of this view before any such resolution is adopted.

(c) Finally, the Commission will have to report to the Geneva Powers.

5. Before finalising our views we should be glad to have your comments.

2. Lester B. Pearson (1897-1972): Minister for External Affairs, 1948-57. Nehru had discussions with Pearson on 5 November.

VII. WEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

1. Sale of Guns to Egypt¹

I do not see how or why we should refuse to sell these 25-pounder guns to the Egyptian Government if they wish to buy them. Our complete refusal would be tantamount almost to being an unfriendly act to a friendly Government. It would mean a reversal of our normal policy because of some special circumstances prevailing there now.

2. The other proposal that we should offer only ten such guns instead of forty asked for, also seems to me to be difficult to justify logically. It would of course be an untruth to say that we can only spare ten guns when we can actually spare more.

3. I have consulted Maulana Azad also in this matter, and he is of the opinion that we should sell them those forty 25-pounder guns in the normal course as heretofore.

4. Therefore the Defence Ministry should be told that they can proceed with this matter and allow the Egyptian Government to examine these guns. Should they wish to purchase them we should agree to sell them even to the extent of forty required by them.

1. Note to C.S. Jha, Joint Secretary, MEA. 2 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. Receiving the Saudi King¹

I regret I do not agree.² We cannot be pushed and hustled about in this way in

1. Note to Syed Mahmud, Minister, MEA, and R.K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary, 9 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. C.S. Jha suggested that Government should not reject the Saudi Arabian request for an Indian warship to escort the Saudi King from Jeddah to Mumbai during his forthcoming visit to India. Jha also stated that rather than he being escorted by US ships up to within a few miles of the Indian coast, it would be better for an Indian warship to escort the King's ship. R.K. Nehru and Syed Mahmud endorsed Jha's views.

doing something which is against our practice, which we have never done before and which we do not intend doing in the future. If we once start doing this kind of thing, we shall have to follow it up in some other cases also. Or else, there will be dissatisfaction. I think we should be perfectly clear about this matter. I just do not understand why a warship should travel across the Arabian Sea merely for purposes of escort. These days are over almost all over the world and certainly they are over so far as we are concerned. We have not got much of a Navy. I rather doubt if it is normal, from the naval point of view, to send a Destroyer unaccompanied right across the wide ocean by itself.

Two Destroyers can, however, go out some distance, say fifty miles or so, to meet the King's³ ship and accompany him to India. If he is returning by sea, the same procedure could be adopted for some distance.

While I am wholly opposed to any ship going to Jeddah for this purpose, I am prepared to reconsider the other matter, that is, someone to go to Jeddah with our formal invitation and travel back with him.⁴

Our decision should be explained politely to the Minister⁵ of Saudi Arabia here.

3. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-64.

4. The Saudi Arabian Government had indicated their hope that at the time of the visit of the King, a delegation might proceed from India to Saudi Arabia to escort the King to India.

5. Yusuf Al-Fozan.

3. Protocol for the Saudi King¹

Well, what are we to do about all this business?² There is only one thing with which I am in complete agreement, that is, the deletion of the visit to Rajghat and Nizamuddin or Ajmer Sharif.³

I am a little surprised to learn that the Amir Faisal did not carry away a

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 24 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. In his letter of 11 September to MEA, Abdulla Misri, Officer on Special Duty in the Indian Legation in Jeddah, gave some suggestions, based on the welcome accorded to the Saudi King in other countries, for his visit to India.

3. Misri wrote that the King being a follower of the Wahabi sect which strictly prohibited commemoration of the dead, his visits to Rajghat and the shrines of Sufi saints should be avoided.

good impression of his visit.⁴ The Saudi Minister here has told me repeatedly that he was immensely pleased and impressed with his visit. In fact, he refers to the Amir Faisal always as "Your friend".

It is perfectly true that we are not used to Kings. We are rather simpler folk and I am afraid we can hardly educate ourselves now upto the royal standard.⁵

When I talked to you last about the King's visit, it was, I think, in connection with a Destroyer going there. Did you make any enquiries about this from our Naval authorities? What is the position now? I am afraid we are in for trouble, chiefly because there will be other people coming here like Marshal Bulganin and, inevitably, Bulganin will get a better reception than the King.

We might have a talk about this matter. I think that you should discuss this frankly with the Saudi Minister and tell him of our difficulties. We are very anxious to honour the King suitably, but we have our own ways of doing things. There is another King as well as an Emperor coming soon and we shall treat them with honour, but exactly the same way.

4. Malik Faisal ibn Abdel Aziz, Crown Prince and Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia, visited New Delhi from 2 to 5 May 1955.
5. Misri wrote that the Saudi Court expected India to send at least three ships—one as pilot ship and one each on either side of the King's ship. Also that the President of India should receive the King at the first port of disembarkation. Misri also stated that as the King was used to living a very lavish life, the arrangements for reception and stay of the King and his party in India were expected to be most elaborate.

4. Ties with Arab Countries¹

The attached note raises some interesting points.² I should like to make it clear, however, that I am not in favour of inviting any delegations to India for some time to come.³ We have enough on our hands.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 25 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. B.N. Kaul, PPS to Prime Minister, had recorded some points made by Maulana Habibur Rahman at a meeting with him on 23 September 1955. Rahman had led an unofficial goodwill mission to the Hejaz earlier in the year.
3. It was suggested that delegations of non-officials be invited from Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Turkey to see for themselves the conditions in India.

2. I should like to know from M.K. Kidwai as to what he thinks about Maulvi Abdulla Misri.⁴ What exactly is Abdulla Misri's post at present? I think he was stationed in Cairo but could wander about some Arab countries. We have found him to be extraordinarily good in his own way, and he has remarkable contacts in Egypt. It is quite likely that he does not get on with some particular person. Anyhow, we might informally find out about this.

3. It might be worthwhile for us to consider the second suggestion, that is, adding some Maulvi type person to the King Ibn Saud's entourage.

4. I have myself felt that there is far too much Muslim Brotherhood propaganda in India,⁵ more particularly directed against Colonel Nasser. We had an exhibition of this at the Jama Masjid some time ago. I think that the Home Ministry should pay particular attention to this from the point of view of our foreign relations. They should be asked to do this. We can then consider what steps we can take. They might, for instance, ask formally whether the Jamat-i-Islamia (Maududi Jamat) is affiliated to the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood has been acting in a terrorist manner in Egypt.

5. Perhaps, it might be worthwhile to discuss informally with the Egyptian Ambassador,⁶ when he comes, about these matters.

6. The suggestion that our Constitution should be translated into Arabic appears to me to be a good one. Indeed, it should be translated into other languages too. We should undertake that work. Also, the Wakf Act, if necessary.

7. It is true, I think, that *Al-Jamiat*, though outwardly supporting us, has a mischievous tendency.⁷ I do not quite know what to do about it. We have drawn attention to this fact several times previously and I think Maulana Azad has spoken to the Jamiat people.

4. Habibur Rahman thought that M.K. Kidwai, Minister in the Indian Legation in Jeddah, and Abdulla Misri did not have a similar outlook on things and did not get on well together. Kaul also got an impression that Rahman did not like and approve of Abdulla Misri.
5. Rahman cited a number of journals in Urdu which he said were quite unwittingly supporting the cause of Muslim Brotherhood, a religio-political organisation in Egypt which sought to subvert the Nasser Government. He also said that this organisation had extended its influence in some other countries including India and that it was desirable to do something to counter its influence.
6. Mustapha Kamel was appointed as the new Ambassador after the death of the previous incumbent, Ismail Kamel, in September 1955.
7. Rahman referred to certain articles in *Al-Jamiat*, an Urdu daily published by the Jamiat Ulema, and said that while apparently they seemed to support the Congress, in fact the implications of those articles were not very favourable to the policies of the Congress or of the Government.

5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 237 Sept 29th. Algeria.² I agree that we must support the inscription of Algeria on the agenda. We have to do so not only because we subscribed to the Bandung declaration but in the larger interests of our relations with the Arab world and Asian-African solidarity against colonialism. Whatever may be the legal niceties of the case there is a grave situation in Algeria. Serious troubles and violence are continuing and the situation deserves the attention of the UN. It would be unfortunate if France was to withdraw from the UN but it would be wrong to yield to this kind of threat from any member. I agree with you that your speech should be a mild one and stress the imperative need of a solution acceptable to Algerian nationalists' opinion.

2. We do not consider it necessary to explain the position to the French Charge d'Affaires here as we have not been approached by the French. You may however explain generally our position to the British.³

1. New Delhi, 1 October 1955. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. The French Government had proclaimed an emergency in Algeria and suppressed severely the nationalist movement.
3. The Algerian question was raised in the General Assembly on 29 September in the form of a joint memorandum by 14 countries to discuss the denial by France of the right of self-determination to the people of Algeria. On 30 September, France walked out of the Assembly after it decided to consider the question in spite of the opposition of the US and the UK.

6. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
October 10, 1955

Nan dear,

I received your letter of the 5th October today. I am answering it immediately, as I fear that if I do not do so, I might not have a chance for many days later.

Tomorrow we are considering for the first time the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Cabinet will do so first and during the next two or three days the Congress Working Committee will meet for the same

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

purpose. This of course is only the beginning. We are likely to have a good deal of trouble and many headaches over it....

Apart from my normal and special troubles, we are now on the eve of various visitations. Bulganin's visit is the most interesting one and looked forward to by the public. But the one that is giving us most trouble is the visit of the King of Saudi Arabia.² He is the type which I find it a little difficult to understand and I fear that we shall have a hard time and probably lose his good opinion. The Amir Faisal, I understand, has sent me a special Cadillac. He never asked me or told me about it. When I first heard a rumour to this effect, I wrote immediately to our representative at Jeddah telling him that any such gift will be highly embarrassing for me and I do not know what to do with it. But in spite of his efforts, the Cadillac, I believe, is coming. If I have to pay customs duty on it, I shall be a ruined man....

With love from
Jawahar

2. The King arrived in India on 27 November on a fortnight's visit.

7. Maulana Abdulla Misri¹

Even without the explanation of our Minister at Jeddah, I could have well imagined what happened between the Maulanas.² As Dr Mahmud³ says, two Moulvis can hardly ever agree. In addition to this well known fact, one has to remember that Maulana Abdulla Misri is a very unusual type of Moulvi. He is, if I may call him so, a secular Moulvi. He dislikes the religious Moulvis. If he dislikes any person, he shows this and makes no effort to conceal it. He worked in the All India Congress Committee Office, in charge of the Arabic Section, about 20 years ago. He seldom got on with the Moulvis then. He had a particular

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 18 October 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 32(82)-WANA/55, MEA.
2. M.K. Kidwai reported that Abdulla Misri and Habibur Rahman did not get on well together.
3. Syed Mahmud, Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs.

dislike for Mr Jinnah and his two-nation theory. I had to check him repeatedly for his over-strong denunciations of Mr Jinnah and his theories.

He must have known Moulvi Habibur Rahman and others previously and taken a dislike to them even in the early days.

I might mention that Moulvi Masud Ali Nadvi also was rather critical of Abdulla Misri.

8. Membership of the Sudan Commission¹

I have no doubt that the line we have adopted is the correct one and I see no reason to change it.² We may, however, go ahead with selecting a man so that, as soon as necessity arises, we can take steps to send him with his technical adviser.

2. You may communicate with our Embassy in Cairo and inform them very briefly of what the Egyptian Ambassador said to you.³ You may further add that we are selecting a man and keeping him in readiness. There is no point in communicating any name at this stage. All we have to do is to make it clear to the Egyptian Government that we are ready and prepared to act according to their invitation and are even taking steps to that end by selecting a man, but that no further action can be taken till the UK Government also invites us.

3. As I told you previously, I have no doubt in my mind that the UK Government's attitude in this matter is not a right one. Their accusation that Egypt is delaying matters would be more correctly applicable to the UK Government's policy.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 28 October 1955. JN Collection.

2. India maintained that since the seven-member commission for supervision of elections to a constituent assembly in the Sudan was to be set up in accordance with the agreement between the two condominium powers, Egypt and UK, invitations to the countries, which were to be represented on the commission, should come from both the signatories to the agreement. Egypt had invited India to serve on the commission but UK had not so far extended any such invitation.

3. The Egyptian Ambassador met S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, on 28 October and suggested that India could proceed to act on the Egyptian invitation. He also made an appeal to the Government of India to announce the name of its nominee, and, at the same time, to say that the nominee would not leave India until the Government was satisfied that the commission could function effectively in the Sudan.

9. British Policy in Sudan¹

In this matter my sympathies are largely with Egypt, although Egypt has often overplayed her hand and created difficulties.² There is little doubt that if, in present circumstances, Sudan gets nominal independence, it will have to rely more and more on the British.³ The impression I got of El Azhari⁴ at Bandung and later in India was not very favourable to him.

2. I have been somewhat surprised and a little distressed to see big headlines in our press to the effect that we have rejected Egypt's invitation to join the Commission. This is a wrong way to put it, and it is a great pity that stress has been laid on this by our press, why I do not know. Our position is that we are prepared to accept that invitation but that does not carry us very far unless the British also invite us. Thus we put the burden on the British. As it is, most people will think that we reject Egypt's invitation and therefore, are not in agreement with her. I think this matter might still be cleared up informally and privately with some pressmen.

3. If El Azhari gets away with his present policy, I am sure that he will become more and more dependent on the British. He cannot help it. There will be considerable bitterness between Egypt and the Sudan and consequent friction. I agree with CS that British policy in this matter has not been straightforward⁵ and El Azhari also has not played a straight game.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 5 November 1955.

2. M.K. Kidwai, Indian Liaison Officer in Khartoum, wrote to C.S. Jha, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, that there was a complete lack of understanding between Egypt and Sudan. The British policy, he stated, was to support the Sudan Government's move to avoid plebiscite under the auspices of the International Commission, and they wished the independence to come in spite of Egypt and with their help. Egypt, on the other hand, was pressing to get the International Commission to come into being before the evacuation of the foreign forces, Kidwai added.

3. Kidwai wrote that El Azhari, the Sudanese Prime Minister, dependent on the British for keeping Southern Sudan under control, was proving a useful ally to them and hence their all-out support to him and his Government.

4. Sayed Ismail El Azhari (1902-1969): Sudanese political leader; Prime Minister, 1954-56; led Sudan to independence, January 1956; President, 1965-69.

5. Jha noted on 4 November that "the British attitude seems to be particularly cunning and hardly in consonance with the spirit or even the letter of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement over Sudan." An independent Sudan, he added, "has tremendous importance in the British scheme of things in Africa, both from the security point of view and for the British plan of creating a mighty British Commonwealth in Central Africa."

10. Cable to the Indian Ambassador, Cairo¹

We have read with interest Sir Anthony Eden's² speech at the Mansion House in London on 9th November on the present state of the Arab-Israeli dispute.³ We have also noted that Col Nasser has welcomed certain statements in the speech. The United Kingdom Government have approached us as well as some other countries expressing the hope that we might support Eden's call for a solution.

2. We are naturally very anxious to see a solution of this problem and we would gladly help towards that. But we wish to avoid saying or doing anything which might embarrass the Egyptian Government. It is clear to us that no solution can come if both parties to the dispute adhere firmly to their own extreme positions. Some middle way thus becomes necessary. Whether this is possible, in view of the high passions on either side at present, we do not know.

3. We should like to have your appraisal of situation as arising from Eden's speech. You may informally discuss this matter with Col Nasser when opportunity arises. Sir Anthony Eden's speech is of course vague and does not carry us far. But it does indicate some change in the UK attitude from the previous position.

4. We have repeatedly expressed our sympathy for Egypt and the Arab cause. But according to our practice, which we have consistently pursued, we do not think it helps merely to condemn any country. That makes the approach to a solution more difficult.

1. New Delhi, 14 November 1955. JN Collection.

2. (1897-1977); British Prime Minister, 1955-57.

3. Eden said that if there could be an accepted agreement between Israel and her Arab neighbours about the boundaries, the Western powers would be prepared to give a formal guarantee to both sides. He thought it was possible for the two sides to make some compromises in order to bridge the wide gap in their respective positions. While the Arabs took their stand on the 1947 and other UN resolutions, the Israelis founded themselves on the armistice agreement of 1949 and on the territories which they occupied at the time.

VIII. BRITAIN

1. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 2125 September 24.² From facts available, British Government's attitude appears unreasonable. But in final analysis, it does not appear desirable for you to associate yourself with function disapproved of by British Government. You might perhaps make it quite clear to Macmillan³ that if Eden or he do not approve of your presiding over conference, you will withdraw from it.

2. You will, of course, explain the situation to sponsors of conference and express your regret.

1. New Delhi, 25 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. Vijayalakshmi sought Nehru's guidance regarding her presiding over a forthcoming conference on Regional Planning and Development, as the British Government was discouraging Commonwealth and other Governments' participation in it on the ground that the organising committee of the conference was under communist influence. She was informally told by Macmillan that Eden was somewhat unhappy about it.
3. Maurice Harold Macmillan (1894-1987): British politician; served during war, 1914-18; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Supply, 1940-42; Minister Resident at Allied Headquarters in North-West Africa, 1942-45; Minister of Housing and Local Government, 1951-54; Minister of Defence, 1954-55; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, April-December, 1955; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1955-57; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1957-63; Chancellor, University of Oxford, since 1960; Chairman, Macmillan Limited, 1963-74, and its President since 1974.

2. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 2244 October 8th. I think it will not be advisable for any of our officers to be appointed as extra Gentlemen Ushers to Queen's Household. This would give rise to a great deal of comment and criticism here and questions

1. New Delhi, 10 October 1955. JN Collection.

will be asked in Parliament. I would not like Queen's name to be dragged in Parliament in this way. Also, it will be considered not in keeping with our Republican status. Therefore, you should explain our position informally to Laithwaite.²

2. John Gilbert Laibert Laithwaite (1894-1986); High Commissioner for the UK in Pakistan, 1951-54; Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955-59.

3. India Office Library¹

Lord Home² and the UK High Commissioner³ came to see me this afternoon. Maulana Azad was present also during our talk. I gave Lord Home the Aide Memoire we had prepared about the India Office Library.⁴ He read through it and said that what the British Government was most concerned about was that this great Library should not be split up and that it should continue in London for the use of scholars from all over the world.

2. He said that they had not been anxious to raise the legal issue, but their own lawyers had given them a clear opinion. He would much rather that this legal argument was put aside, and that India, Pakistan and the UK came to an

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 24 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. Alexander Frederick Douglas-Home (1903-); British politician; Minister of State, Scottish Office, 1951-55; Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955-60; Deputy Leader of the House of Lords, 1956-57; Leader of the House of Lords and Lord President of the Council, 1957-60; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1960-63; Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, 1963-64; Leader of the Opposition, 1964-65; Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1970-74.
3. Malcolm Macdonald.
4. The Aide Memoire, dated 24 October, besides giving a history of the Library had mentioned about the respective stands taken by Douglas-Home and A.K. Azad after their two meetings on 27 June and 7 July 1955. Azad reiterated the Government of India's view that the Library was the property of undivided India, while Douglas-Home claimed that whatever might have been the position before, the Library was now the property of the British Government. Azad later suggested that the dispute might be studied by a fact finding committee, but the British Government did not agree to this.

agreement about the future use and management of the Library, that is, on the assumption that the Library continued in London.

3. Referring to the reference in our Aide Memoire about the Secretary of State's express letter of the 25th January,⁵ Lord Home said that it appeared that agreement of all three parties was necessary for proper use of the Library.

4. I told him that we would follow up this Aide Memoire with a fuller and more formal note on this subject. This Aide Memoire had been given to him to bring out some important facts. He said that he would have these matters examined afresh and he would welcome a fuller note. He repeated, however, that his legal advisers had given their opinion to him and naturally their Government accepted it. He said something about the legal opinion not being communicated to another country.

5. I said that might be so, but any answer that his Government gave us would naturally deal with the points raised by us and would be based presumably on their lawyers' opinion, just as when we dealt with the legal issues, we would base our opinion on the opinion of our legal advisers.

6. Lord Home mentioned that there were many manuscripts in the India Office Library, which had been given on the express condition that they should not be removed from London. There were also Burmese manuscripts. I said that this made it all the more necessary for some kind of a Fact Finding Committee to enquire and find out what the position was. I agreed that a Fact Finding Committee could not deal with major issues, legal or other, but it could tell us how far conditions were attached to any gifts.

7. Lord Home asked me if it would be easier for us to agree to the Library remaining in London if the UK Government stated categorically that their legal advisers were of a certain opinion. I replied that obviously we could not forcibly remove the Library from London, and we hoped to settle this question by agreement. We ourselves had been anxious not to split up the Library and had offered to Pakistan to pay for their share of the Library, but at no time during the last eight years had it struck anyone of us in India and probably in Pakistan also, that there was any doubt about the ownership. All of us in India and Pakistan were agreed that the ownership vested in the undivided Government of India and, therefore, was now shared by the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan. The question, therefore, before us was one of a settlement between India and Pakistan. We had not raised this question

5. In his letter of 25 January 1935, the then Secretary of State gave the assurance that no sale or conversion to other use of the building or its contents would take place without the consent of the Government of India. And if at a future time any of the contents were to be sent to India, the UK Government would not on the ground of legal vesting raise any claim to compensation for the articles so transferred.

previously directly because we already had many points at issue with Pakistan, and we did not wish to add to them. Some months back, however, the matter was discussed by the two Education Ministers, and the then Prime Minister of Pakistan⁶ and General Iskander Mirza⁷ also discussed it with us, and we came to some conclusions.⁸

8. Lord Home said that the present building housing the India Office Library was in a somewhat dilapidated condition and hardly suitable for such a fine library. He was thinking that a new building should be put up and this Library might be made the centre of some Oriental institute.

9. I told Lord Home that we had deliberately played down this issue here so as to avoid public excitement. Everybody in India was of course convinced that the Library belonged to India and Pakistan. To Lord Home's query if we could not set aside the legal issue now and discuss management and use and other matters, I replied that it was hardly possible to do that when the legal question had been raised and positive statements had been made by the UK Government. We had to face this issue and come to some decisions.

10. Lord Home asked what he was to say about this at a press conference he was going to address this afternoon. I suggested that he might say that we had had a talk and he had been given an Aide Memoire on behalf of the Government of India, which his Government would consider. The same type of statement would be made by us here when the question arose.

11. It is necessary now to send a fuller and more formal document to the UK Government about the India Office Library. We have promised to do so, and the sooner we do it, the better. This would naturally be in elaboration of the Aide Memoire. It should be a full brief. Education Ministry and External Affairs should jointly produce this. When ready, it should be sent to our High Commissioner in London for delivery; a copy being given to the UK High Commissioner in Delhi.

12. A copy of the present Aide Memoire should be sent also to our High Commissioner in London. I am not sure if a copy has gone to the Education Ministry. This should be sent because some minor changes have been made in re-typing it.

6. Mohammad Ali.

7. (1899-1969); Pakistan's Minister of the Interior. States & Frontier Regions, 1954-55; Governor General, 1955-56.

8. For the communique issued on 18 May 1955 after talks between Ministers of Education of India and Pakistan and for further talks by Mohammad Ali and Iskander Mirza with Indian leaders, see *Selected Works* (second series). Vol. 28, p. 263.

4. UK and the Baghdad Pact¹

I do not know if you have seen the attached telegram² from Krishna Menon, as it is marked personal to me.

2. I agree with him that we should not allow these recent developments to pass by unnoticed or without expressing our grave apprehension in regard to them. That means that we should talk to the UK High Commissioner here and express our viewpoint quite clearly. The various points that Krishna Menon has raised in his telegram are valid³ and may be mentioned in the course of the talk. Because of our talk with MacDonald, we can hardly expect that the UK will withdraw from the position it has taken up, but it may well be that it will tone down, as in the case of SEATO. Anyhow, it seems the right thing for us to express our opinions to the UK representative here. We may have to express our opinion later in Parliament or elsewhere about this new development. It would be improper to do that unless we had laid the foundation for it by a direct reference to the UK. For the moment, that direct reference will be informal and oral. We may have to think later as to what else might be necessary.

3. I do not know if you have had a talk with the UK High Commissioner in regard to the question of our buying aircraft from England or the Soviet Union.⁴ That, of course, is a separate matter but, in a sense, there is some kind of inter-relation between all these matters....

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 14 November 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Krishna Menon stated in his telegram of 13 November that in view of participation of UK in a military alliance with Pakistan, it might be appropriate to send for the British High Commissioner and express the views of the Government. He added, "Our caveat may perhaps have the effect of attenuating the alliance as happened about SEATO."
3. Some of the points raised by Krishna Menon were: (i) any military alliance between UK and Pakistan was even less tolerable than the US-Pakistan alliance, which UK often implied as "unwise"; (ii) this alliance, by increasing Pakistan's military potential, would upset the balance set up during Partition, to which UK was a party, and create bitterness in India towards UK and Pakistan; (iii) cold war in the region would be heated up and Anglo-Egyptian relations would worsen.
4. See *ante*, pp. 351-353.

IX. OTHER COUNTRIES

1. Trade with Yugoslavia¹

I wrote to you, I think, some days ago about a proposal of the Yugoslav Ambassador to the effect that we might have a joint Indo-Yugoslav shipping line.² I am rather attracted to this proposal and would like it to be considered very soon.³

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, 8 September 1955. File No. 5(42)-Eur/55, MEA.
2. Saying that the suggestion of Gojko Nikolis, the Yugoslav Ambassador, in this regard appealed to him, Nehru, in his note of 28 August 1955 to Pillai, desired the idea to be explored by the concerned Ministry.
3. In his note (not printed) of 10 August 1955 to Pillai, Nehru observed that a special effort must be made to encourage trade with Yugoslavia and that the order of preference in matters of trade should be Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, "although perhaps the latter has more to offer." Nehru also noted that, to begin with, one order might be placed for purchase of ships, as suggested by Rajeshwar Dayal, India's Ambassador in Yugoslavia, in his letter of 31 July to MEA. Dayal had strongly recommended development of trade relations with Yugoslavia as he felt that India should help Yugoslavia in her predicament as that country, while seeking to pursue an independent foreign policy, was being called upon to make sacrifices in the form of discontinuation of British and French aid and diminishing volume of economic and military aid from the US.

2. Wheat from USA¹

A day or two ago, the Minister for Food & Agriculture² told me that the US Government had offered ten thousand tons of wheat for free distribution in the flood-affected areas of India. He asked me if he could accept this gift. I told

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 8 September 1955, File No. 7(280)/53-PMS. Also available in File No. 72(11)-AMS/55, MEA.
2. Ajit Prasad Jain.

him that he could certainly do so just as we accepted other gifts for relief in these areas.

2. No mention was made to me about other matters mentioned in these papers.³ All I understood was that this was just a free gift for use in the flood-affected areas, the only condition being that it would be given free. On the strength of my reply to the Food Minister, he has even offered these ten thousand tons of wheat to the States affected.

3. I have not had the time to go through all these papers carefully, but I have an idea that all kinds of documents have to be signed and assurances given in regard to this gift. Also that in regard to the distribution, the US might have something to say.⁴

4. This appears to be a much more complicated affair than I had imagined. I am certainly not prepared to accept the right of any outside agency to distribute this or to interfere in any way in the distribution of it. If they wish to give the gift, we accept it with gratitude, but without any conditions except the condition of free distribution.

5. You may examine these papers a little more carefully to see how far they appear to commit us. I am at present busy with interviews and other work.

3. Discussions were held by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, with the US Technical Cooperation Mission (TCM) in India in August 1955 for obtaining, under US Public Law 480, some wheat for free distribution in the flood-affected areas. These showed that while the US Government agreed to pay the ocean freight, the cost of transport and distribution within India would have to be borne by the GOI. Additionally, the TCM could observe the distribution arrangements, if they so desired, as per the agreement of 5 January 1952. The possibility of getting 50,000 tons of wheat was subsequently taken up with the TCM, who conveyed on 6 September clearance from the US Government of an offer of 10,000 tons of wheat as a first instalment.
4. At the instance of the Planning Commission, the Department of Economic Affairs examined in January 1955 a proposal to get some free wheat from the US but it was not pursued because (i) the US Government would not bear the freight, and (ii) some of their conditions in regard to the inspection of arrangements for the distribution of wheat were considered unacceptable.

3. To H. Rowan Gaither¹

New Delhi
September 8, 1955

Dear Mr Gaither,²

Thank you for your letter of September 3rd, 1955.

I was glad to meet Dr Ensminger³ some days ago when he discussed the programme in India of the Ford Foundation with me. As he has already told you, I expressed my appreciation of the work of the Foundation here and my hope that it would continue its activities in India. I am glad that you have decided to do so.

We are engaged in a great adventure in this country, the building up of a new India based, of course, on the old. It is an exciting adventure for us, and it involves, as you know, the future of 370 million people. We know that the burden of this colossal work lies on us and our people but we welcome the assistance and cooperation of friends.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. H. Rowan Gaither (1904-); President, Ford Foundation, 1953-56.
3. Douglas Ensminger (1910-1989); Representative of the Ford Foundation in India and Nepal, 1953-70.

4. To D.P. Mukerji¹

New Delhi
September 18, 1955

My dear D.P.,²

I was glad to receive your letter of September 9 and to read your impressions of Indonesia and, to some extent, of Ceylon. What you have written about Indonesia fits in almost exactly with our own information on the subject.

Dr Hatta, we know, is especially interested in the cooperative movement. He will be coming here probably in November.

1. JN Collection.
2. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji (1895-); served the Congress Government in UP in various capacities, 1937-40; Professor of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, for some time; was Chairman, Department of Economics, Aligarh Muslim University, at this time.

The difficulty of the Indonesians is, as you have no doubt noticed, that they are struggling with full scale colonial economy and are split up in numerous factions. They are very sensitive and do not like to be told what to do. They do not like too many references to Indian culture in Indonesia. At the same time they want to play a big role in the world and are a little jealous of India. India has absolutely no wish to compete with them in the world role or elsewhere. They have not too much understanding of world issues and are apt to take rather flashy attitudes. But, with all this, they are an extraordinarily likable people.

I agree with you entirely about the sense of beauty of the Indonesians. It is perfectly true that they are much in advance of us in this matter. I would even say that there is more a sense of beauty in our village folk still (not everywhere) than in our city folk in India.

There is some chance of my paying a brief visit to Aligarh University in November. If so, I hope to see you there.

I think you are right that University teachers have not played their part in giving any intellectual lead. I cannot make out what is wrong with them as a group. But what is wrong in a non-academic man dealing with intellectual matters?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Assistance to Bhutan¹

I like the enthusiasm shown in Rustomji's² report and Apa Pant's letter.³ But a little balance and perspective would be helpful. Everything is to be done

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 18 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. N.K. Rustomji (b.1919), Dewan of Sikkim, 1954-59, stated in his report on eastern Bhutan that "the cultural pull seems to be in this area more towards India than towards Tibet." He also said that the two dowager maharanis did not count for much in Bhutan.

3. Apa Pant (1912-1992), Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan, 1955-61, said that "the important people in Bhutan are keen to develop their lines of communication with India." He also said that the Government of India should help in giving Hindi education to the Bhutanese, and suggested the setting up of a Hindi High School for this purpose.

"immediately". The number of times this word occurs is rather remarkable. So far as Hindi teaching is concerned, I have yet to find out exactly what is meant. Certainly we shall teach the Bhutanese students Hindi. But, so far as I know, our previous queries on the subject have not been answered. A little more precise thinking would be helpful.

2. Then again we appear to be giving assurances all over about airlifts and air-droppings. I mentioned before that this is an exceedingly difficult operation involving risk.⁴ Also that the strain on our Air Force is great. We should not be so light in our assurances and should find out exactly what we can do before we promise anything.

3. Prima facie the idea of graphite being lifted by air does not appear to be a feasible one. It may be examined.

4. Why should Tatas be asked to spare a geologist? There are far more and better geologists in Government employ. I have no objection to Tatas being asked to send a person. It is likely to cost the Bhutan Durbar much more.

5. Frequent mention is made about the apprehension of the Bhutan Government to the effect that India may spread her tentacles inside Bhutan. We have, of course, no desire to do so but we have to avoid even giving an impression. And yet it seems to me that some of the things suggested might and will give that impression.

6. I agree generally with the suggestions made. All I would suggest is a little more caution and balance.

4. With regard to the suggested air-dropping of 5,000 maunds of salt in eastern Bhutan, Nehru noted on 2 September 1955 that he had no objection if this could be done. "But it seems to be taken for granted that this is an easy operation," he said and added, "This is a difficult operation only to be used in emergencies."

6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 225 of September 20th about Cyprus.²

2. I am unhappy about this issue and our attitude last year was strongly

1. New Delhi, 21 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon observed that the move for inscription of the Cyprus issue in the UN General Assembly agenda would be defeated as the US had taken up a strong position against it. He added that resistance from the US and the UK would jeopardise negotiations, by which alone a settlement of the issue was possible.

criticised in India.³ Having little sympathy of British attitude regarding Cyprus and still less from Turkish, their arguments can well be advanced in case of many other colonial territories. I am also not clear about independence being urged instead of self-determination.⁴ Ultimately both mean practically the same thing. An independent country can exercise its choice.

3. But the fact that negotiations are in progress between three parties is important although there may be little hope of agreement. As we have seen undisciplined violence⁵ over this issue in many places to take a step in the Assembly now, which will jeopardise negotiations of possible settlement, would be unfortunate.

4. Therefore in final analysis appropriate course appears to be as suggested by you, laying stress on negotiations and peaceful settlement.

3. At the ninth session of the General Assembly, the Indian delegation held that the issue in Cyprus was not of self-government or independence, but the desire of the three countries, the UK, Greece and Turkey, to possess the island. While India would support self-government and independence according to the wishes of the people, it could not support inscription of an item in which the issues were different. India had been in favour of postponing discussion on the question at this time.
4. Krishna Menon suggested that India should speak for the independence of Cyprus and end of colonial rule. He felt that supporting self-determination had dangers for India in regard to Goa and added that no real self-determination was possible in Cyprus.
5. Throughout September there were violent anti-Greek and anti-British incidents on the island of Cyprus and the British had to send in troops to quell the uprisings.

7. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji¹

New Delhi

September 24, 1955

My dear Badr,²

I have today received your letter of the 19th September,³ and I am replying to it immediately to give you my reactions to it.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1907-1995): Ambassador to Indonesia, 1954-56.
3. Tyabji wrote that Hatta's visit to India was significant as the latter's party was likely to dominate the government to be formed after elections in September-October 1955. Tyabji suggested that if Hatta could be convinced of India's willingness to help Indonesia in a concrete fashion to build up its political, cultural and economic power, it would "assure" Indo-Indonesian relations for years to come in every field of activity.

Dr Hatta's visit here is, of course, very welcome. He is my oldest friend in Indonesia, and I have known him now for nearly thirty years. I have no difficulty in speaking to him frankly about any subject. We shall, therefore, in the natural course, have full and frank talks....

You refer to our giving financial assistance to Indonesia⁴ and mention the loan we have agreed to give to Burma. This Burma loan was at first practically refused by us, in spite of our great desire to help Burma. Our own position in regard to foreign exchange has become so difficult that we dare not make it worse. But, when we had very urgent and rather desperate appeals from Burma and found that the financial condition there was very bad indeed, and a collapse was feared, we agreed to give a loan of ten crores.⁵ Even this is subject to special understandings about repayment within the period of five year plan. In giving this loan to Burma, we have taken a very considerable risk. I am not referring merely to the financial risk of losing the money but, rather, to getting into great difficulties in regard to foreign exchange. It was with the greatest reluctance that our Finance Ministry ultimately agreed to it. We have to face a terrific problem in our Second Five Year Plan and, thus far, we have not discovered how we can fill the huge gap in foreign exchange.

This being the situation here, it is inconceivable to me how we can offer any financial assistance in the shape of a loan or otherwise to Indonesia, much as we would like to do so. There is a limit to our resources, and we have passed that limit by a good bit. We are starting huge iron and steel plants and other industries, and there is a grave danger of our finding it exceedingly difficult to finish the job.

I have today come back from Orissa where I went to see the flood-affected districts.⁶ We have had terrific floods in Orissa, Bihar, Eastern UP and Assam. There has been nothing like it in India for about a hundred years. Vast numbers of people are completely destitute, and scores of thousands of houses have ceased to be. This is a tremendous burden upon us because we must help our people in distress.

4. Tyabji suggested that India should offer a loan to Indonesia to help her tide over her economic difficulties. Arguing that it would be desirable for Indonesia to lean more on India than on the Western powers, Tyabji stated that a sound practical arrangement with India for Indonesia's development would increase Indonesia's bargaining power with the US in the event of possible American offers in future.

5. See *ante*, pp. 408-413.

6. The unprecedented floods in the last week of August were caused by heavy rains in the coastal areas from Puri to Balasore. Nearly 300,000 people were reported to have been marooned.

As for your (A), certainly I shall discuss the matter with Hatta, but it is hardly for me to take the initiative in raising this subject.⁷ Maulana Sahib, I hope, will meet him.

We shall gladly have cooperation in the defence field or any other field.

I think that you should avoid giving any impression to Dr Hatta about his being able to get financial assistance from India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Tyabji felt that Hatta would be interested in discussing India's secular policy and its level of success in ensuring the physical, cultural and religious welfare of Indian Muslims and what Indonesian Muslims could gain or give as a result of their contact with India in this matter.

8. Military Mission in Berlin¹

I think that we have little choice in this matter.² We may of course carry on with the present situation a little while longer, perhaps a few months or a year.³ But I feel sure that this present arrangement cannot last and we shall have to adjust ourselves to the change. It is better, therefore, to take the initiative ourselves.

I dislike very much the idea of India having a Military Mission in Berlin, even though there is nothing military about it.

Berlin is obviously an important centre from many points of view. It may grow in importance. Therefore we should have a representative there. The only

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, and S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 24 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. Dutt, who had been earlier ambassador in Bonn, noted that the status of the Indian Military Mission in Berlin, which was set up after the Second World War, would probably be affected following a recent decision of the Soviet Government to withdraw their High Commission from East Germany and to recognize full sovereignty of the East German Government, and suggested that India should withdraw the Mission and open negotiations with the Federal Government for a Consulate in Berlin.
3. Pillai stated that since "any early recognition of Eastern Germany would put us wrong with the Federal Republic", status quo might be maintained on the issue for the time being. He, however, suggested using the Mission for "maintaining at least casual contacts with the East German Government."

representative we can have in the circumstances is either a Consul or a Consul General.

I agree with CS that we should not try to purchase this palace.⁴ It will be far too expensive and the fact that land value may rise later is not enough for us to invest a large sum of money now.

I agree, therefore, that we should take necessary steps to put an end to the Indian Military Mission in Berlin and, at the same time, to open a Consulate or a Consulate General there. (I do not know if there is any basic difference between the two, apart from the latter being on a bigger scale.) The proper course, I think, would be for us to inform first the four occupying powers giving our reasons. The next step would be to inform the Federal Government and ask them for their help in finding some other suitable accommodation for a Consulate.

As Maulana Azad has taken a personal interest in this matter, I think it would be a good thing if these papers were shown to him. If necessary, the matter might be considered in the Foreign Affairs Committee.

4. Dutt doubted whether it would be justified to incur very heavy expenditure in acquiring the magnificent building allotted to the Military Mission merely on the consideration of its possible future use by an Indian Ambassador in a united Germany with Berlin as its capital.

9. Recognition of East Germany¹

I agree with you generally.² I saw the East German Trade Delegation some months ago, and they raised the question of diplomatic recognition. I told them then that a time may come for this in the future; for the present, it might not be helpful. But it was a good step that we were having trade delegations and a trade agreement. That itself was partly de facto recognition. I think we should continue to adopt this attitude.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA. 7 October 1955. JN Collection.

2. Pillai wrote that Herbert Meyer, Head of GDR's Trade Representation in India, had "lately been very active in encouraging us" with the objective of securing some sort of recognition from MEA. He further said that diplomatic recognition for GDR should come at a time of India's choosing, and that no step should be taken in this matter earlier than it would be in "our interest to do so."

2. If they send a Minister here,³ we need not object Deputy Prime Ministers in some of these countries have no very special status. There are usually quite a number of them. The point is that any Minister who comes here will be accorded courtesy but not the special recognition which is given to a Minister from a country with whom we have diplomatic relations.

3. Meyer had told Pillai that his Government were sending their minister of foreign trade to represent GDR at the Indian Industries Fair in New Delhi and wanted to know if this would raise any protocol difficulties.

10. Release of POWs by Japan¹

I am not at all satisfied with this proposal,² that is to say, with the manner of carrying it out and the draft suggested. I think the Japanese Government has treated us shabbily in this matter. The fact that the USA, the UK and other governments have done likewise and in fact have induced the Japanese Government to behave in this manner, is not an adequate excuse.³ If the Japanese Government considers the attitude we might take up as a rebuff, I am sorry but I cannot help it.

2. I do not remember what the last replies of the other Allied Governments were on this subject. Where does this matter rest now, that is, did we send communications to the Allied Governments which have not been answered or did they answer them and we took no other step later?

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 13 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. The Japanese Government, apparently anxious to make up with India on the prolonged controversy relating to the GOI's right to be consulted about the release of prisoners of the Second World War, suggested a way out in the form of a letter from the Japanese Government and a reply from the GOI. Every time Japan released such a prisoner in consultation with the signatories to the San Francisco Treaty, India had lodged a formal protest, asserting her right to be consulted but pointing out that she had no objection to release as such.
3. B.R. Sen, India's Ambassador to Japan, had suggested to Dutt that Japan's proposal be regarded as substantially meeting India's point of view. Sen added that Japan was sincerely anxious not to offend Indian susceptibilities, but for various reasons "she remains subject to American pressure." Dutt noted, "The fact that the Japanese Government have approached us would indirectly amount to admission of our interest in the subject."

3. I am prepared, however, to accept the Japanese draft to us but in our reply we shall have to go further than what is said. We shall have to put in some sentences confirming our rights in this matter and then go on to say that the Government of India is in favour of the release of 'A' class war criminals sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

11. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

18 October, 1955

My dear Bidhan,²

You will remember our talk about Pearson visiting Mayurakshi. I mentioned this matter to Dutt, our Foreign Secretary, and he has had a talk with Escott Reid,³ High Commissioner for Canada, who has just come back to Delhi. Escott Reid is very anxious that some formal ceremony should take place on the occasion of Pearson visiting the Mayurakshi dam. Indeed, if some such formal ceremony does not take place, Pearson and Canada would feel very hurt. You know that our relations with Canada are very friendly and I have a high personal regard for Pearson.

I understand that the Canadian Government has always been given the impression that a Minister of Canada would be requested to open the dam. This would be a formal recognition of Canada's contribution towards the cost of the dam. This contribution is twenty million dollars, more than the total cost of the Konar dam. Pearson is being accompanied by ten Canadian newspaper men and evidently there has been a good deal of fuss about this matter.

I am afraid, therefore, that we must have a formal ceremony of some kind, and we shall send a Minister from here to be present also, probably Anil Chanda.⁴ There is not much time to lose since the ceremony has to take place

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 29(6)-AMS/55. MEA.

2. Bidhan Chandra Roy (1892-1962); Chief Minister of West Bengal, 1948-62.

3. Escott Meredith Reid (1905-); Canadian diplomat; appointed to the Department of External Affairs, 1939; Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1947-48; Deputy Under-Secretary, 1948-52; High Commissioner to India, 1952-57; Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany, 1958-62; Director, South Asia and Middle East Department, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1962-65; Professor of Political Science, York University, Toronto, 1965-69.

4. (1906-); Deputy Minister for External Affairs, 1952-1962.

on November 1st. I shall be grateful, therefore, if you will kindly issue immediate instructions to all concerned so that necessary steps might be taken. Perhaps, some kind of a plaque might be prepared with a suitable inscription which must bear some reference to Canada.

The ceremony should be a formal one and some people from Calcutta can be invited to it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

12. Air-dropping of Provisions in Bhutan¹

I do not see how we can refuse to permit the private company from undertaking air-dropping in Bhutan when we have refused to do so through the IAC. However much we may dislike that private company, we cannot come in the way of the Bhutan Government in these circumstances.

2. Apa Pant's remark that the success of a private company in doing something which we cannot do, will have unhappy reactions in Bhutan, may be true but indicates a certain naivete. Government airlines and, indeed, all properly constituted airlines function under strict security rules. Speculators take their chance. We cannot relax our rules and endanger the lives of our young men as well as possibly lose aircraft and, therefore, we must strictly abide by rules that we ourselves made. Private lines have no rules. They want to make money while they can.

1. Note to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA. 20 October 1955. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 1(8)-NEFA/55, MHA.

13. Gifts from GDR¹

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Trade² of the German Democratic Republic came to see me this evening. He discussed various matters relating to trade between India and Eastern Germany and the training of technicians etc. More particularly, he discussed the question of working lignite deposits in India. Eastern Germany apparently does not possess much coal but has plenty of lignite. They have, therefore, been compelled to rely on this lignite and have used it for many purposes. They are thus experts in lignite.

2. As he was going away, he gave me a letter, the original of which with connected papers, I am sending you. In this letter, he has offered to us "the Man of Glass" and "the Zeiss Planetarium" which are at present exhibited in the Pavilion of the German Democratic Republic at the Indian Industries Fair, that is, he has said that these will be at our disposal at the end of the Fair. I accepted the offer with thanks. I am writing a letter to him, which please send to him.³

3. He pointed out that some people will have to be specially trained in order to work this "Man of Glass" and the Planetarium. This is obvious. He offered to get people trained for this purpose in the course of the next six weeks or so here. Their experts will remain here till the end of the Fair, that is, till about the middle of December.

4. We have now to make arrangements for this training. So far as "the Man of Glass" is concerned, you should refer to the Ministry of Health, and they should provide one or two persons to get the necessary training, which, I take it, is mainly electrical but which requires medical knowledge of anatomy, etc. Ultimately, I think, this Man of Glass should go to the Central Medical Institute that we are building. In the meantime, it is for the Health Ministry to decide where to keep it, that is, after the Fair is over.

5. So far as the Planetarium is concerned, I think it should continue to remain where it is, even after the Fair is over. We may, of course, decide later to erect it somewhere else, but that is a slightly complicated undertaking and there is no hurry for it. I suggest that you might refer this matter of training to the Minister for Natural Resources, Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya, and also to

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 29 October 1955, JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to T.T. Krishnamachari.
2. Heinrich Rau.
3. Thanking GDR for the gifts, Nehru said that both these would be much appreciated by the Government and the people of India.

Dr Thacker,⁴ Director of Scientific and Industrial Research. They should be able to suggest people for training.

6. I have no doubt that the Deputy Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic would like publicity to be given to this gift. I have no objection, and this may be arranged in the proper form.

4. Maneklal S. Thacker (1904-1979); served in the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, 1932-47; Professor, Power Engineering, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, 1947-49, and its Director, 1949-55; Secretary, Ministry of NR & SR, and Director General, CSIR, 1955-62; and Member, Planning Commission, 1962-68.

X. UNITED NATIONS

1. Message to John Kotelawala¹

Thank you for your message which your High Commissioner² has forwarded to me. You can rest assured that we shall do everything in our power in order to give effect to the Bandung Resolution regarding admission to membership of the United Nations.³ In fact we have been working along these lines previously and we are instructing our Delegation to the UN to maintain contacts and cooperate with the representatives you are sending there.

1. New Delhi, 1 September 1955. JN Collection.

2. Edwin Wijeyeratne.

3. The Asian-African Conference, in its final communique adopted in Bandung on 24 April 1955, supported the principle of universality of membership in the UN, and urged that Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Nepal and unified Vietnam be admitted to membership.

2. Presidentship of the General Assembly¹

With reference to the attached letter from the Thai Ambassador,² you can inform him that we have every intention of supporting the candidature of Prince Wan³ for the Presidentship of the Eleventh General Assembly in 1956. You might also inform him that we shall support Prince Wan for the Chairmanship of the First (Political) Committee of the UN this year.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 8 September 1955. File No. 1(3)-UN II/55, MEA.
2. Phra Bahiddha Nukara, the Thai Ambassador, requested on 6 September behalf of his Government the support of the Government of India to the candidature of Prince Wan, Permanent Representative of Thailand to the UN, for the Presidentship of the Eleventh General Assembly in 1956.
3. K.N.B. Wan Waithayakon (1891-1975); Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of Thailand, 1952-58.

3. Membership of the Security Council¹

JN Parekh:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that India has refused a seat informally offered to her in the Security Council of the United Nations; (b) if so, the reasons therefor; (c) what stand the Indian Delegation to the UN Assembly is advised to take on the question of entry into the UN of countries qualified to join this organisation; and; (d) whether any move by the Indian Delegation to the UN is proposed for the entry of the People's Republic of China.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). This is not a fact. There has been no offer, formal or informal, of this kind. Some vague references have appeared in the press about it which have no foundation in fact. The composition of the Security Council is prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations, according to which

1. Answer to a Short Notice Question in the Lok Sabha, 27 September 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vol. VI, Part I, Col. 5228.
2. Jayantilal N. Parekh (1912-); Medical Practitioner and Banker. Member, Saurashtra Legislative Assembly, 1948-51; Congress Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-56.

certain specified nations have permanent seats. No change or addition can be made to this without an amendment of the Charter. There is, therefore, no question of India being made such an offer or declining it.

(c) India's declared policy is to support the admission of all nations qualified for membership of the United Nations. The Indian Delegation to the UN has been advised accordingly.

(d) India has repeatedly supported the People's Republic of China being given its legitimate place in the United Nations. During the current session of the General Assembly, a proposal to this effect was supported by India.

JNP: In view of the vital and complex problems of Asian countries and in view of the very scanty representation of Asian countries on the Security Council, may I know if the Government thinks that more Asian representation is essential on the Security Council, and if so, what steps Government propose to take towards amending the Charter?

JN: Government certainly think that Asian representation is inadequate. As for Government taking steps, it is not in Government's hands to amend the Charter. There are a large number of considerations involved in amending the Charter. For the present, on the whole, Government think that this question of amending the Charter should not be taken up immediately. Later, of course, the matter will probably come up.

H.V. Kamath:³ Have any overtures been made to the Government by or on behalf of Nepal, Ceylon and Japan to sponsor or support their application for entry into the United Nations and, in any case, irrespective of overtures, what is India's attitude towards the entry of these three nations into the international organisation?

JN: I have just said that we support the admission of all nations that are qualified. Undoubtedly we support all these three nations. There is no question of overtures being made because we have been continuously supporting Nepal and Ceylon....

On the question of Japan, I forget whether we supported it or not, but we are in favour of Japan also coming in.⁴ The honourable Member will remember

3. (1907-1982): member of the Praja Socialist Party.

4. On 13 November, Krishna Menon reported from New York. "We are co-sponsoring resolution with Canada and the great majority of member states requesting Security Council to facilitate admission of all applicants for membership but excluding all divided countries... indications are that US and Russia will permit passage of resolution and probably not block it in Security Council... we have done considerable lobbying and pressed in particular for Nepal and Ceylon to be admitted this year... we appear to have made effective contribution in respect of Russian attitude towards Japan, which even now has not ceased to be a probable obstacle."

that at the Bandung Conference, in the final declaration, it was stated that all the powers were in favour of admission, more especially the powers represented at the Bandung Conference.⁵

H.N. Mukerjee:⁶ In view of there being, as far as I know, a long-standing but still unaccepted resolution sponsored by the Soviet Union, that fourteen countries including Nepal and Albania should be included as members of the UN, have we ascertained the reasons why the US and Britain oppose their entry, when the list includes impartially countries with varying political systems?

JN: This question of admission of people is first dealt with by the Security Council and countries that are not in the Security Council, therefore, have no direct say in the matter. The honourable Member referred to certain proposals of the Soviet Union. There have been other proposals also to some of which the Soviet Union agreed. These proposals are called package deals, that is to say, a number of countries should be agreed to, and the other countries may be considered separately. This is one such proposal. Now, obviously, there was no general agreement in the Security Council. Otherwise, it would have gone through. Probably, some country or other did not like the admission of some other country.

HNM: Do we intend to put forward a list of all States which will satisfy the criteria of admission to the United Nations and are out of it and press for their admission as soon as that can be done?

JN: We have already expressed our opinion repeatedly in the United Nations in favour of that. There is not much point in our putting forward resolutions which are likely not to be passed. It is not merely showing our approval of some course of action by proposing a resolution but by getting something done, and it appears that the only way to get something done there is to get the agreement of the major powers involved. It is not a question of being passed by a majority anyway.

HVK: The Prime Minister has said that Government does not consider amending of the UN Charter appropriate at the present stage. Does the Government propose to ask for more non-permanent seats on the Security

5. The final communique adopted by the Bandung Conference complained of the inadequacy of representation of countries of the Asian-African region in the Security Council.
6. (b. 1907); CPI Member of Lok Sabha. 1952-70.

Council so as to provide for greater representation to Afro-Asia and not merely to Asia in conformity with the Bandung spirit.

JN: I am not quite clear as to the purpose of our making various demands of this type, because, in the United Nations, as I have just said, it is possible to make a fine speech, but the point is, do we aim at getting something done and if that is so, then it is a better policy to work in a friendly way and get the countries' consent, instead of merely having the advantage of making a speech without any result.

4. UN—an Indispensable Organisation¹

It is only ten years since the United Nations Organisation was started, and yet it seems a far longer period. In the course of these ten years, the UN has become a part of the texture of our political lives, both national and international. That itself demonstrates its importance. It is a little difficult to imagine the world now without the United Nations.

And yet, during this period, few persons have been entirely satisfied with the work of the UN. That was perhaps natural, because circumstances have been extraordinary and the UN reflects these abnormal conditions.

I have no doubt that the UN has been a bulwark for peace and for cooperation among nations, even though in practice it may not always have lived up to our expectations. Recent happenings have lessened the tensions of the world and given us the hope that in this decade of the UN, we might be able to advance much further towards the realisation of the aims and objectives of the Charter. It is that Charter which must always be not only our sheet-anchor but also our guiding light. If we adhere to that Charter, we cannot go far wrong. It is only when we forget the basic principles contained in the Charter that we tend to drift in a wrong direction.

I earnestly trust that the hopes of mankind which took visible shape in the United Nations, will find fulfilment through its endeavours.

1. Message written on 11 October 1955 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the UN. File No. 9/148/55-PMS. The message was released through the Indian Federation of United Nations Associations on 24 October 1955.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Photographic Exhibition on India¹

I enclose a note which Colonel Zaidi² has given me. He says that he discussed this matter with Colonel Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt, when he was here and Colonel Nasser was pleased with this idea. Subsequently, he had a talk about it with our Ambassador, Ali Yavar Jung, who also expressed his appreciation.

2. I think the idea is a good one not only for Egypt, but for other places too. It really means having some kind of a visual and pictorial exhibition which can be easily sent to another place. It means the collection of a considerable number of photographs (large size) as well as statistical data, charts, etc. Though costly, the actual expense in doing this is far less than in the normal exhibitions we have.

3. You will remember that the Chinese and the Russians and some other countries often had such exhibitions of photographs. We might have a number of these sets prepared, or, perhaps to begin with, just one set which could be duplicated later. We need not trouble to give captions in different languages. The captions should be in English and in Hindi. It should be easy to add captions in foreign languages when they are sent abroad. These foreign captions can be put separately.

4. Such a collection of photographs, etc., will require the full assistance of not only the I&B Ministry, but of some other Ministries also in regard to new projects, etc. Anyhow, it is for the Publicity Section of the EA Ministry to undertake this work with the cooperation of other Ministries, especially the I&B Ministry and the Planning Commission in so far as charts, etc., are concerned.

5. This matter might be discussed with I&B, Planning Commission and other Ministries concerned and some plan of action should be drawn up. Perhaps, a small committee might be started consisting of the EA Ministry, I&B, Planning Commission and Colonel Zaidi. It is desirable to have Colonel Zaidi there because of his interest in this work. I believe he has already done something about it also.

1. Note to Secretary General. MEA. 14 September 1955. File No. 43(33)/48-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Syed Bashir Husain Zaidi (1898-): Member, Lok Sabha. 1952-57; Vice Chancellor. Aligarh Muslim University. 1956-62.

6. The photographs, of course, should be good. We possess many of these already. We can have more made. But the whole exhibition should consist merely of a number of big frames which could easily be sent wherever they are required.

2. Appointments in Islamic Countries¹

I know Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung² somewhat and I think he is an agreeable person. But I have absolutely no idea of his capacity to serve in a diplomatic post. It is too often assumed that a person who is generally educated and decent is capable of serving in a diplomatic post. Even travelling round the world does not take one very far. For what I know Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung may be suitable and I have no objection to his being kept in view for a diplomatic post. But I agree with CS that perhaps he might not be quite appropriate for Iran. The Iran post, though important in some ways, has at present no great significance. That significance may come again.

2. Obviously, Tyabji³ should be given preference there or elsewhere. Whether Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung would be suitable for Djakarta, I do not know. I have no objection to his being tried for it.

3. I might mention that I do not particularly like the practice that is growing up of sending Muslims to Muslim countries. This should not be encouraged except in very special cases. At present, in Egypt, Djakarta and Jeddah we have Muslim Ambassadors or Ministers; perhaps somewhere else too.⁴

1. Note to Secretary General and Commonwealth Secretary. MEA, 16 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. (1894-1967): joined Hyderabad Civil Service. 1916; held several important posts in Hyderabad Government including that of Secretary to the Cabinet. 1926-37; Municipal Commissioner, Hyderabad. 1937-42; Secretary, Commerce and Industries. 1942-46; Agent for Hyderabad State in Nagpur. 1947-48; Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1952-60; Governor of Gujarat. 1960-65; awarded Padma Vibhushan. 1965.
3. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, who was at this time in Djakarta, was later posted to Tehran.
4. In his letter of 20 October 1955 to Abul Kalam Azad, Nehru inter alia wrote, "It has been pointed out to us even in some of the Middle Eastern countries that it is not desirable to concentrate Muslims in these countries. It is better to spread them out in other countries, just as there was a proposal to send a Catholic to represent us at the Vatican. Oddly enough we were told that they would prefer a non-Catholic or even a non-Christian there."

3. Foreigners Registration System¹

Lalji Mehrotra² saw me today and told me that a number of eminent foreign businessmen had complained to him about our foreigners registration system. Wherever they go to, they have to visit the police station for registration. He gave me an instance of an eminent Swede, a relative of the King there, who in a brief stay of three days in Bombay had to visit the police station twice; so also two French men who objected loudly.

He was recently presiding over the International Chamber of Commerce in Tokyo and there was some talk of the difficulties of foreigners coming to India because of this system.

I do think that this system of foreigners having to register wherever they go is very undesirable. In our desire to keep some check on undesirables, we manage to inconvenience and irritate large numbers of desirable persons. Surely something should be done about this.

He complained also of the continuing delays in the grant of visas. I am writing about this to the External Affairs Ministry.

1. Note to Minister of Home Affairs, 17 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. (1901-): President, Indian Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain, 1954; India's Ambassador to Myanmar, 1956-59, and Japan, 1960-65.

4. To the Marchioness of Winchester¹

New Delhi
September 18, 1955

Dear Marchioness,²

I have received your letter of the 23rd August and have given thought to your proposal.³ I have also consulted some colleagues.

We feel that it would not be wise for us to take the initiative in setting up any Pan-Asian organisation in Delhi. The Pan-American Union⁴ stands on a

1. JN Collection.
2. Formerly Miss Bapsy Pavry, daughter of the Parsee High Priest of Bombay and sister of Jal Pavry; attended the Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, 1947; married the Marquess of Winchester, 1952.
3. Bapsy Winchester suggested the setting up of an Organisation of Asian States, with its headquarters in New Delhi, for the cause of "the preservation and enhancement of the bonds that unite the Asian-speaking peoples of renascent Asia and Africa."
4. The Pan-American Union was in existence since 1890.

completely different basis. In Asia the problems are very mixed and any attempt to start such an organisation in Delhi would probably be misunderstood in many Asian countries. We have to proceed cautiously in such matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Envoy—a Messenger of Friendship and Understanding¹

I am interested to learn that a new magazine called *Envoy* will be coming out soon.² The name is attractive and the purposes behind it, that is, to promote friendship and understanding between countries and, more especially, between India and Britain, appealed to me greatly.

I travel about a good deal in India and in foreign countries. Recently I paid a visit to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Rome, England and Egypt. As I travelled through these countries and met not only those in high positions of responsibility but the common people also, I found a tremendous reservoir of goodwill everywhere. I often wondered why we should have problems of international misunderstanding, hatred and conflict when basically there was so much goodwill. I do not know any complete answer to this, though of course it is easy to trace the causes of this misunderstanding and ill will.

In any event, the time has come when ill will and conflict have become far too dangerous. We cannot deal with them passively for too much is at stake. We have to counter that ill will with active goodwill and understanding. The future of the world depends upon how far the people of the present generation succeed in this struggle of goodwill against ill will.

We cannot expect sudden changes to take place, but recent events have shown that the atmosphere of the world has changed for the better and that people have begun to realise more and more the folly of the ways of hatred and violence. Each one of us, whatever his station, can help in this good fight, for it affects all of us.

I hope that the *Envoy* will be a messenger of friendship and understanding and will bring a touch of healing to any subject which it takes up.

1. Message to a new monthly magazine *Envoy*, founded by V.K. Krishna Menon, 18 September 1955. JN Collection. Also printed in the *National Herald*, 20 October 1955.
2. The first issue of *Envoy* was published in October 1955.

6. The Kashmir Princess Sabotage Case¹

I do not see how we can try Chou Chu.² Where could we try him and how could we gather evidence? Also I do not think that Indonesia is at all a suitable place for his trial. Apart from legal difficulties, they have mismanaged some of their Dutch trials so badly that we should avoid a repetition of this.

Therefore the question is not of our waiving our right to try Chou Chu but rather our inability to try him. The only people who can try him are the Hong Kong Government in Hong Kong. Naturally, if such a trial takes place, we would be greatly interested and will give such help as we can.

The condition mentioned by Mr Middleton,³ that is, that after Chou Chu has undergone the sentence that may be inflicted on him by the Hong Kong authorities in connection with the sabotage of the "Kashmir Princess", he should be returned to Formosa and not to a third country, is not quite clear to me. Does this mean that in case he is sentenced he will undergo that full sentence in Hong Kong and, after release, he is to be sent back to Formosa? Or does it mean that after sentence and before serving it in Hong Kong he is sent back to Formosa? If it means the former, as presumably it does, I do not see where we come into the picture. The Hong Kong Government can then decide either to let him loose in Hong Kong or to deport him to any country they like. No country is likely to have him except Formosa. If, however, we are supposed to return him immediately after sentence, then the position is much more difficult.

I should like to be clear about this.

Presuming that Chou Chu will have to serve out any sentence that is given to him, the Chinese Government can hardly have any further say in the matter.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 29 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. Middleton, British Deputy High Commissioner in India, told Dutt that Formosa had agreed to extradite Chou Chu, the chief suspect in the sabotage of the "Kashmir Princess" aircraft in April 1955, to Hong Kong on the condition that the suspect would be returned to Formosa after serving his sentence. Middleton wanted to know if India might like to try Chu. Dutt thought that if India asserted her right to try Chu and expected the UK to hand him over to India, then the UK would rather not insist on getting Chu from Formosa, and in such an event Chu would escape punishment altogether. He suggested that India might just express the hope to the UK authorities that the offender would be brought to trial without delay.
3. George Humphrey Middleton (1910-): entered British consular service, 1933; served in British Embassy, Tehran, 1951-52; Deputy High Commissioner for UK, New Delhi, 1953-56; Ambassador to Lebanon, 1950-58. Political Resident in the Gulf, 1958-61; Ambassador to Argentina, 1961-64 and UAE, 1964-65.

They might of course demand that Chou Chu be handed to them. But it is obvious that the Hong Kong authorities will not do this. Certainly we do not want Chou Chu in India.

I am myself inclined to keep the Chinese Government informed of developments. They have been fairly frank with us in this matter and I do not want it said later, that we knew about this condition but kept it from them. But before I inform them, I should like to put it to Mr Middleton as to whether we should inform them or not.

First of all, I should like to have a clarification of the points I have mentioned above. After that, you might tell Mr Middleton what our position is and then ask him if he has any objection to our informing the Chinese Government. We need not tell them everything that Middleton has said to us. We may only inform them that Formosa Government is prepared to send him back provided this and that happen.

7. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi

October 8, 1955

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of October 8th.² I am no judge of scripts and have really no time to read this either. You should do as you think best, but please keep in close touch with External Affairs and let them see the script as well as subsequent developments.

In this script or in the film, I think you should avoid special mention of personalities except when they come in the normal course, that is, it should not appear at all that the film is meant to boost up anybody, including me.

I am returning your script.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43(39)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Keskar in his letter said that a film on India's foreign policy could be produced based on the script by Ezra Mir, who would also direct the film. He said that since the basic material for this was with the Films Division, it was better to have the film produced by the Division itself.

8. The Custom of Toasting¹

I agree with FS and SG.² So far as alcoholic drinks are concerned, we have not had them for many years at our banquets. Normally some fruit juice or plain water is used. Therefore it is quite in keeping with our prohibition policy and there appears to be no impropriety. I doubt if any people are misled by this into thinking that alcoholic drinks are being used. The fact is well known that we do not use them and no doubt it will get better known still.

The point that this does not fit in with our ways of life is perhaps true. It would equally be true that a banquet at a table is not the old Indian custom. But in a variety of ways, in our office work and other functions, we have adopted tables and chairs, as they are found to be more convenient. Even when Indian meals are served, this is usually done in a *thali* but on a table.

I do not think there is any impropriety in our adopting international procedures which do not conflict in any way with any basic principles. Not to do so would lead to numerous difficulties even in regard to our work and also might possibly be misunderstood in international relations. I do not know of any country in the East or in the West which has not adopted these international procedures and practice.

For a very large number of years, which may be computed in terms of centuries or even millenia, India was rather a closed country with not too many contacts with outside countries. Now that those contacts have increased greatly, many adaptations have to take place here to fit in with those contacts and international behaviour.

As pointed out by FS, it is not easy to evolve any alternative to the custom of drinking to the health.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 13 October 1955. JN Collection.
2. President Rajendra Prasad had expressed the feeling that the continuance of the custom of drinking to the health of individuals or countries as a token of goodwill at formal functions was incongruous "with our ways of life". He also felt that even though alcoholic drinks were no longer served on such occasions, substituting water or fruit juice for them left the impression that alcoholic drinks were used. Conveying these views to MEA on 7 October, C.S. Venkatachar, Secretary to the President, said that the President would like the possibility of a suitable substitute for the customary toast to be explored. Dutt noted on 12 October, and Pillai agreed with him, that in the absence of a genuine Indian substitute, it would be appropriate to observe the internationally recognised custom of offering felicitations to a distinguished guest and a failure to do so was bound to be misunderstood.

9. Financing Students' Visits¹

SG refers to my meeting the Forum delegates in April last. I did meet them and I spent more time than I could afford with them. My passion for trying to educate groups of people, whoever they might be, students, peasants, workers, or others, got the better of me, and I spoke at some length. They were just like ordinary students anywhere. There was nothing special about them. Some of the questions they asked were not particularly bright.

2. A short while ago, the Cabinet considered the deputation of a Government employee to a New York Herald Tribune Forum in New York on some specialised subject. I forget what the subject was. The person chosen, I think, was a specialist in the Food & Agriculture Ministry, and that Ministry had recommended that she should be allowed to go there. Travelling expenses were to be paid by the *New York Herald Tribune*. The only question before us was whether she should be permitted to go as if she was on duty and draw her salary for that period. The Cabinet did not approve of this and said that Government should in no way be associated with a private venture run by a foreign newspaper. All that we could do was to allow the selected person (she was a woman) to take leave, if leave was due to her, and to go on her own account. It was made quite clear that she would not go in any sense as a Government representative and her visit would have nothing to do with Government.

3. Although this matter referred to above was of a different kind than the one proposed now, it does indicate very clearly the mind of the Cabinet in regard to private ventures run by newspapers. Applying that principle, it would be improper for Government to be associated, directly or indirectly, with a similar venture; more particularly, it appears to me to be improper for Government directly or through one of its subsidised agencies, to undertake any responsibility involving expenditure. It is clear that these forums, whatever good they might do, are essentially private advertising ventures of a newspaper. If once we accept this principle of helping financially such a venture, it will be difficult for us to draw the line in other cases.

4. It is a good thing for students from the United States or other foreign countries to meet Indian students. I am not clear, however, that much good need result from a brief visit to a foreign country, especially the United States of America. Impressionable minds naturally are impressed greatly by the great wealth and high standard of living in the United States. On their return, they

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 20 October 1955. JN Collection.

are dissatisfied with Indian conditions and feel somewhat frustrated. Nevertheless, the visit might do some good also. Generally speaking, I do not favour particularly young people going to the United States as the whole background of life there might well create mental conflicts. In the same way, but for an entirely different reason, I would not favour young people going to the Soviet Union. I would prefer somewhat older and more mature people going to these countries and learning what they can from them. However, this is no particular reason for coming in the way of some Indian students going to the United States. I think the question of financing students of this Forum in India is a major objection. There is no doubt that, if we do so, we are associating ourselves as a Government with a newspaper venture. I do not like this at all and, as I have stated above, the Cabinet took a firm view of such proposals. The ICCR is intimately associated with Government. It should certainly have some greater latitude than the Government functioning directly. It could help the Forum here in a number of ways, not involving any special financial expenditure. It might be possible to get railway concessions for them, help them in getting accommodation, halls, committee rooms, etc. Beyond this, I would not advise going.

5. I do not suppose it matters much either to the *New York Herald Tribune* or to the Ford Foundation if they have to meet the expenditure involved, but for us it does raise a question of principle, and we should be reluctant to set a precedent of this kind in regard to a private venture.

10. The Teaching of Chinese and Russian¹

... As far as I can make out, the Schools for Chinese and Tibetan,² though on a small scale, have done very good work, and one of their students was chosen as our scholar for higher studies in China. It appears that our Intelligence Bureau is helping them to some extent and are satisfied with the work done there. The Deputy Minister suggests that we should give five thousand rupees to each of

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 24 October 1955. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. The Schools for Chinese and Tibetan were among the various institutions started by Satiranjana Sen in Bengal. A.K. Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, made an inspection of these institutions at the instance of Nehru and submitted a report thereon.

these schools, that is, ten thousand rupees in all for the present. I think we should do that.

3. It seems to me important that we should encourage study of Chinese. It takes time to learn it and already we require more and more Chinese-knowing people not only in connection with our Foreign Service but probably for other purposes also. We should, therefore, try to train as many people as we can from now onwards.

4. Even more than Chinese, Russian is important. You know that quite a number of delegations have been sent by us to the Soviet Union during the last few months, chiefly for industrial and like purposes. There was the Steel Delegation under Khera³ the then Minister⁴ for NR & SR took some experts with him, and there were some other delegations too. We are likely to have Russian experts here not only for steel but for mining and for the drugs industry. Possibly, for other purposes also.

5. I had a long talk this evening with the expert team that went with Khera in the Steel Delegation. They have today presented their report to the Ministry of Iron & Steel. They chiefly dealt with the Bhilai plant and steel manufacture. The delegation consisted of some of our best experts from Jamshedpur, etc. They have presented a unanimous report which is in high praise of the Soviet technique and production. In fact, I was surprised that these people, some of whom have long experience of American plants in America and elsewhere, as well as German and British plants, spoke so highly of what they have seen in the Soviet Union. They were obviously tremendously impressed by the progress made there, in spite of the fact that probably some of them were not favourably inclined to begin with. Their chief difficulty was ignorance of the Russian language and lack of proper interpreters.

6. I have little doubt that we shall have more and more dealings in the industrial field with the Soviet Union. Therefore, we must train up people in the knowledge of Russian. Something is being done now in some universities, but that is very little. I do not think that the training given either for defence or for intelligence is really adequate or suitable from our point of view. I think, therefore, that we must really take much more effective steps for the teaching of Russian.

3. Sucha Singh Khera (1903-); joined ICS, 1927; Secretary Ministry of Production, 1954-57, and of Steel, Mines and Fuel, 1957-62; and Principal Defence Secretary, 1962-63.

4. Keshava Deva Malaviya.

11. Religion in Foreign Policy¹

I understand our developing political, economic and cultural relations with Indonesia. I do not understand about our promoting any kind of understanding between the two countries in regard to Islamic matters. Of course we should remove misapprehensions where they exist and present correct facts. Unfortunately some odd incident happens in India from time to time, which is regrettable. This has made the ground for much propaganda. We should avoid such incidents and punish those who are guilty. We can encourage people from Indonesia to come here and see things for themselves. But we cannot, as a Government, become agents for any kind of religious revival, whether it is Islamic or Hindu or any other. If we are to succeed in impressing others, we shall only do so by following a correct line ourselves according to our own thinking and making good on the economic plane, which is the most important. What is called the new Islamic awakening, may be good for the countries concerned and we should watch it with interest. But I fail to see what we can do about it.

Our policy towards a country will be governed by their political outlook, their foreign policy and their economic policy. It is these that matter in international relations. In regard to Islamic matters, we can be friendly but, as a Government, we can have nothing to do with them.

Some booklets have been issued by us regarding Muslims in India. They might be revised and brought up-to-date.

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 29 October 1955. JN Collection.

12. State of External Publicity¹

Taya Zinkin,² Correspondent in India of the *Manchester Guardian* and the London *Economist*, met me here in Amritsar this evening. She said that she

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, Amritsar, 11 November 1955. JN Collection.
2. (1918-); Correspondent of the *Guardian* and the *Economist*, 1950-60.

was in London for six months from about May to September this year in charge of the India Section on behalf of the *Manchester Guardian* and, to some extent, of the *Economist*. She had the greatest difficulty in getting any information about India from India House. Repeated requests for particular types of information achieved no result. Apart from not getting the information, nobody in India House seemed to be interested in giving it. This was not only her own personal experience, but that of many other newspaper men in London who complained to her. She was anxious to put across India's point of view in regard to many matters but was unable to do so because of lack of information. Editors of newspapers told her that they had come to the conclusion that people in India were not very anxious to make their point of view known.

2. She gave an instance that she wanted copies of the draft plans for the Second Five Year Plan. The *Economist* had specially asked her to study these and write about them. With some considerable difficulty, she found that India House had one copy of these pamphlets and they were reluctant to give it to anybody. Ultimately they said that they could let her have them for a week at the most. She found it difficult to deal with this matter in a week and she was constantly asked to return them.

3. In regard to other matters, she could not get even that information. She asked also for copies of my speeches on some subjects. These were also not available.

4. She was sent to the United States by her newspapers and spent some time there this year. She had the same difficulty in New York and Washington in getting information about India from our offices there. She knew our Ambassador, G.L. Mehta, and he was helpful to her. But on this occasion he was not in Washington and so she could not get the papers she wanted. This was the time when the Goa issue was very much to the fore and newspapers in America were interested in knowing India's viewpoint. She asked for information about Goa and more particularly for my speeches in regard to Goa. She could not get anything. This was so in London also in regard to Goa.

5. She was asked in the United States to write about the present position of untouchability in India. She asked our offices there for a copy of the report of our Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes.³ She was unable to get this.

6. She gave one or two other instances also. Her main point was that it was very difficult for any newspaper man in London or in America to get serious information about India and that nobody appeared anxious to give it.

7. For some time in London she got copies of *Indiagram*. A little later even this stopped.

3. L.M. Shrikant (1897-1992); Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. 1950-61.

8. This is a bad report. Taya Zinkin is an able and intelligent writer and has general sympathy for India's viewpoint. If we cannot even supply her with information, then our publicity apparatus is very faulty indeed. The impression she and other foreign journalists have that they cannot get the documents and the papers or information that they require from our foreign missions is also deplorable. She said that she had some difficulty even in India in this matter, but she knew many people in India and with some effort she could usually get the information. But even with repeated efforts she did not succeed in London or New York or Washington.

9. We spend quite a lot of money over our foreign publicity, but the results appear to be singularly feeble. Either we should improve this set-up or close it up and devise some other way. We have considered this matter, but no improvement seems to result. I think it is about time that we overhauled this whole system. We seem to concentrate on petty items of news. For serious people, important documents are necessary and we pay no attention to these.

13. The Next Asian-African Conference¹

Dr Palar,² Indonesian Ambassador, came to see me this morning with a message from his Government. This related to the communication which the Ceylon Prime Minister³ had sent to the Egyptian Government suggesting the holding of the next session of the Asian-African Conference in Cairo sometime next year.

2. He said that his Government had no objection to this, but they felt that the procedure adopted by the Ceylon Prime Minister in addressing the Egyptian Government without previously consulting the Colombo countries was not quite regular. The report that U Nu has suggested the inclusion of some of the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union in this Conference had also raised a new issue. The Indonesian Government, therefore, wanted to know if it would not be desirable for the five Colombo countries to meet previously, say sometime in December, to consider this matter.

1. Note to Secretary General. Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary. MEA. 15 November 1955. JN Collection.

2. Lambertus Nicodenmo Palar (1902-); Indonesian Ambassador to India. 1952-56.

3. John Kotelawala (1897-1980); Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, 1953-56.

3. I told Dr Palar that we agreed with the Indonesian Government that the approach of the Ceylon Prime Minister to the Egyptian Government was not only irregular, but unhappy at this present juncture when the Egyptian Government was facing very difficult problems. In fact, my own impression was that the Egyptian Government had been somewhat embarrassed by this approach.

4. It seemed to me that before we decided to hold such a conference again, we should be clear in our minds about what to do there. Some very difficult questions had arisen since we met at Bandung. There was the tense situation between Israel and the Arab countries, notably Egypt. There was also the question of the arm supply to Egypt by Czechoslovakia. In Indo-China, very great difficulties had arisen. It was not clear to me how we could discuss all these matters with advantage in a big conference in the near future. Also, perhaps, Cairo might not be the ideal place for such a meeting at this stage. The Egyptian Government might feel very embarrassed by having to undertake this burden.

5. As for U Nu's statement, I pointed out that U Nu himself had clarified the situation and said that this was a casual remark to which no importance need be attached.

6. I further said that a meeting of the Colombo countries merely to consider what we should do about holding a conference was probably not advisable in the near future, though it might be necessary at a later stage. For the present, the Colombo countries could consult each other through normal diplomatic methods. For us to have a meeting would naturally invite public attention greatly and we might be put in a difficulty whatever we decided—i.e. whether we decided in favour of a conference or against it. Obviously, we could not decide on a conference in Cairo without the Egyptian Government's full approval. To decide not to hold it or to hold it elsewhere would itself lead to certain inferences.

7. Therefore, in the balance, I felt that we should not have a Colombo Powers' meeting now, but consult each other through our missions. My own view was that we should not fix any date for the conference or think about holding it in the near future. We should await developments.

8. I told him further that I shall be seeing Dr Hatta today and would talk to him on this subject. Dr Hatta, as Vice President, is not part of the executive Government. But his views would, no doubt, count.

9. I think that we should inform our Ambassador in Indonesia about our views on this subject so that he can carry on talks on these lines on his return to Djakarta.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

I¹

New Delhi

21 September, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

Events crowd in upon us and I lag behind, unable to keep pace with them, or at any rate unable to write to you regularly every fortnight. Even now, I am writing to you not at leisure, as I would like, but in some haste.

2. By the end of this month, we are promised the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. A little after I hope to be able to send a copy of that report to you. For my part, I have kept my mind closed to this subject because it serves little purpose to think of it or talk of it when I do not know what it is. But, there is so much talk about it even in the lobbies of Parliament that one would imagine the people knew what it contained. Almost, one might think that the only people who do not know about this report are the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and their colleagues in the Central Cabinet. Even some Chief Ministers have used much loose language in this respect, which I regret very much.

3. Not knowing what the report will recommend, I shall hold my peace till I see it. Even after that, I propose to remain silent in public. It is not right or fitting for us to rush to the press to express our views on a matter of high moment till we have considered it fully and consulted each other. I hope, therefore, that when you get this report, you will keep it confidential and refrain from any comments, even though you might feel the urge to say something. I would even request you to exercise your influence in dissuading others from indulging in comments at that early stage. Of course, we shall have to comment upon it and have our say, but this should be in an organised, dispassionate way when the time comes for it. There is already too much passion and excitement in the air.

4. I wrote to you some time ago about this report and pointed out that it will not be an easy matter for us to reject unanimous recommendations. It is quite likely that some of us may not like some of the recommendations, but if once we start rejecting basic recommendations, that will mean an upsetting of the whole structure of the report and opening out a flood of heated controversy. Controversy there is bound to be, whatever the recommendations. At any rate, we should try to check it and keep it in right channels.

1. File No. 25(6)/55-PMS. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 264-271 and 279-295.

5. I do not mean to say that we are bound hand and foot by the recommendations of the report. It is the duty of Government to examine it carefully and then decide, and it is the final responsibility and function of Parliament to decide. What I said previously merely indicated my general approach to this question. That approach was made in total ignorance of what the report might say. That ignorance largely continues still.

6. While it is necessary that we should give careful thought to this report and refrain from comments at the early stage, it also appears to be desirable that we should not delay this consideration. That delay itself may prove a cause of excitement. Therefore, I hope that it will be possible for us to consider this report at a fairly early stage both in our Cabinet here and in the Congress Working Committee.

7. The Goan issue has rather overshadowed most other matters in recent weeks.² In the debate on foreign affairs in Parliament,³ almost all the speakers confined themselves to Goa. The Opposition Members grew eloquent in their denunciation of Government over this matter.⁴ But no one, so far as I could make out, made any worthwhile suggestion for a different course than the one the Government had decided upon. Every other course suggested was either just exhibitionist and ineffective or led to some form of military action. And yet, there was hardly anyone who clearly demanded military action. This itself shows the lack of clear thinking on this issue. The first thing that we have to be clear about is whether we are going to proceed on peaceful lines or take police or military measures. When the question is stated in this way, the almost invariable answer is that we should continue our peaceful methods. If so, then we must not think of any course of action which might lead away from these peaceful methods. I dealt with this question at some length in my speeches in the Lok Sabha⁵ and I hope you took the trouble to read them.

8. A recent important development in international affairs was the visit of Chancellor Adenauer⁶ to Moscow. This resulted in an agreement to exchange

2. See *ante*, pp. 367-392.

3. On 6-7 September 1955.

4. The Government reiterated that peaceful means alone should be adopted to free Goa from alien control. The Opposition parties demanded "a radical change" in Government policy and support to the satyagraha movement, and issue of an ultimatum to the Portuguese to quit Goa.

5. On 6 September, Nehru stressed the need for following peaceful methods which may include "economic action in various ways", and avoiding "even individual satyagraha at present". Again, on 16 September, he clarified that "we employ methods which are either peaceful or violent. One cannot have it both ways.... If we suddenly reverse our policy, the world will get an opportunity to say that we are deceitful.... It is a question of principle."

6. Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967); Chancellor of West Germany, 1949-61. He was on a visit to Moscow from 9 to 14 September 1955.

diplomatic missions between the two countries. This agreement has been considered by the countries of Western Europe, and more especially the United States, as something in the nature of a diplomatic defeat, and yet it is difficult logically to criticize it or to justify the refusal of such diplomatic representation.

9. It is clear that the Soviet Government has come to the conclusion that there is no near prospect of the unification of Germany. Not being agreeable to the kind of union that the Western Powers wanted, the Soviet Union has accepted the fact of two Germanys and is proceeding accordingly. There is no easy way to dislodge them from this position and hence the resentment caused in Western countries over the result of Chancellor Adenauer's visit to Moscow. The two Germanys are therefore likely to continue in the foreseeable future, whether we like them or not. If we rule out war, the only other way is by some kind of negotiation and agreement, and no negotiation can now be successful if it ignores East Germany. Hence the deadlock.

10. The mammoth Companies Bill has passed through the Lok Sabha and will be enacted soon. There have been many criticisms of this.⁷ It is easy to criticize any small part of it, but the way to judge such measures is to consider them as a whole. I have no doubt that this is a considerable advance and will help us in our work.

11. Recently I went to Vindhya Pradesh,⁸ a State which has the appearance of having been long neglected. Vindhya Pradesh is next door to my home district of Allahabad, but I have known little about it. I found it a very attractive place and rich with potentiality. Climatically, it is better off than the great plains that adjoin it. It is a plateau of 1,000 to nearly 3,500 feet and largely consists of undulating land, which is a pleasant change from the flat plains of northern and central India. There are perennial rivers and there are many minerals. In spite of a great deal of deforestation, there are huge forests full of wild animals. The soil has suffered because of neglect and because of the semi-feudal system that prevailed there in the days of the petty rajas. Vindhya Pradesh is an example of deterioration and decay because of an out-of-date social system.

12. That system has fortunately gone now, but it has left its traces behind and there has been much denudation of the soil and a sense of backwardness all over. There are, as elsewhere in the old Indian States, large houses lying vacant and gradually deteriorating. Our States Ministry in the old days was over-generous with this property, which should have gone to the State rather than to private parties who can ill-afford its upkeep. The obvious course is for

7. The Communists asked the Government to fix a ceiling on profits in all industrial undertakings, and Asoka Mehta of the Praja Socialist Party wanted the Government to curb the "evil" practice of companies, starting with their surplus earnings new ventures which were unrelated to their principal business.

8. Nehru visited Rewa on 10 September 1955.

these big houses to be used for public purposes, and for those who own them to hand them over for this purpose. Vindhya Pradesh has certainly made some progress in the past few years. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service there are doing well but the thing which attracted me most were the people of Vindhya Pradesh. They are a good lot and, given the chance, they will go ahead. Probably, in the near future, people will be talking of the diamonds of Vindhya Pradesh. Diamonds, in our present order of things, are more important than people. Anyhow, I hope that the diamonds will bring additional resources for the benefit of the people.

13. Some little time ago, a meeting of the National Development Council was held in Delhi⁹ to listen to a progress report in regard to planning and the Second Five Year Plan. We were up against serious difficulties and some of the plans and calculations we had made originally did not prove to be correct. Far more money was required to attain the objectives aimed at, and there was no obvious way to find this money. We adhered, however, to the figure of Rs 4,300 crores for the five year period, but we began to think more of flexible plans rather than a rigid framework. As our information grows, we are in a better position to plan. Fortunately, and for this I should like to congratulate the States, the information supplied by the States on this occasion has been far better and more systematic than previously. It is now proposed to have rather a general and flexible five year plan with more detailed annual plans. This gives us a certain elbow room and scope for improvement wherever we find ourselves able to do so. Thus, after a year or two of the Second Plan, we might well be able to revise it. We hope this revision will be upward but that, of course, will depend upon circumstances and our resources. With greater experience and data, our capacity for planning more correctly grows. Fortunately, the response of our people to State loans has been very good.

14. You will remember the Plan-Frame and report of the economists and others on it. The actual figures given in it were subsequently found to be often erroneous because we did not have enough data then. Nevertheless, the general approach of the Plan-Frame was not affected by incorrect figures. The National Development Council, therefore, again approved of that general approach of the Plan-Frame, subject to corrections wherever necessary.

15. The Planning Commission is hard at work drawing the skeleton of the Second Five Year Plan. Meanwhile, we have felt that it would be desirable to have a more detailed operational and statistical approach, side by side with the work of the Planning Commission. This will be particularly helpful in giving us the right perspective for the future as well as in applying the necessary correctives to current planning. We have, therefore, decided to set up¹⁰ what

9. For Nehru's remarks at the NDC meeting on 5 September 1955, see *ante*, pp. 150-152.

might be called a 'Joint Planning Unit' for operational purposes as well as for perspective planning. This will work separately but in close coordination with the Planning Commission. In fact, it will largely be a continuation in a somewhat bigger way of the work done in producing the Plan-Frame.

16. At the National Development Council meeting, the question of Community Projects and the National Extension Service came up for discussion. While the rapid extension of the national extension service was considered essential, it was considered equally important to have a sufficient number of community projects. These projects have worked on a more intensive scale and, as we have seen, are life-giving centres of activity. In fact, it is the Community Projects which have created something in the nature of a sensation in many of our rural areas. Without them it was felt that our rural work would lose much of its present significance. After much discussion, it was decided that at least forty per cent of the area covered by the community movement and the national extension service should consist of Community Projects. A larger percentage of the community projects was considered difficult in the circumstances, a lesser one was considered bad as it would lead to a watering down of our rural work and a lowering of our standards. Therefore, we have to adhere to this percentage, that is, community projects should be forty per cent of the rural work undertaken. We hope that, by the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the National Extension Service will cover the whole area and forty per cent of that area would be under the community projects. If, by some mischance, we cannot go that far, the proportion nevertheless will remain as stated and planning should take place in the States on this basis.

17. We have had a visit from the Deputy Prime Minister¹¹ of Egypt who is, next to Colonel Nasser, the outstanding leader in present-day Egypt. Those who met him found him a very attractive person, earnest, thoughtful and forthright. Only today, the Crown Prince of Laos and the Prime Minister of Laos left Delhi for a further tour of India. This coming together of India and the Indo-China States is full of historic significance. We seem to go back to a period some hundreds of years ago, when there were close contacts, and we pick up the broken threads again.

18. Many distinguished visitors are coming to India in the course of the next two or three months. Probably Marshal Bulganin will be here in the second half of November.¹² He is expected to stay in India for about a fortnight and

10. On 31 August 1955.

11. Wing Commander Gamel Salem visited New Delhi from 8 to 10 September 1955.

12. Arriving in New Delhi on 18 November. Bulganin and Khrushchev completed the first round of their tour of India on 1 December before leaving for Rangoon (Yangon). They again spent a week in India from 7 to 14 December 1955.

will no doubt visit some important cities. We must give him a warm and well-organized welcome.

19. The floods have descended upon us again. Just as eastern UP and north Bihar were recovering, they have had another terrific downpour of rain, but perhaps the worst experience in this respect is that of Orissa. After suffering for a long time from drought, the people of Orissa are now submerged in flood water. They are passing through a difficult ordeal. I am going to Orissa tomorrow morning for two days. So, I shall not be able to sign this letter. I hope you will excuse this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
14 October, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

My fortnightly letters to you grow more and more irregular. I do not know if this is a sign of age or an abundance of work or both. Anyhow, I do not like it, because I want to keep in fairly close touch with you, so as to be able to share my mind and thoughts.

2. I have often written to you that these thoughts specially concern themselves with the Second Five Year Plan. I must confess that for the moment even the Five Year Plan has receded somewhat to the background. We have to deal in the immediate present and in the near future with floods—overwhelming floods of rain and water and floods of passion. The latter are the immediate result of the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.

3. It is not quite correct to say that the excitement and tension in various parts of the country are due to the report. They have been in the country for some years past, sometimes reaching a crisis and then toning down. In fact, it was because of this ferment that we appointed the States Reorganisation Commission nearly two years ago. The appointment of this Commission had become inevitable then. There was some quiet on the surface during this period that the Commission was functioning. But now that the report has come, these checks have been removed and the old ferment tends to boil over.

4. Yesterday and today we had meetings of the Congress Working Committee and we gave a good deal of thought to this matter, because, inevitably we have to take major political decisions and these decisions, in their broad

features, have to be made by the Congress. The Congress carries a heavy load of responsibility in this and other matters and we cannot shirk the issue or even try to postpone it. We have come face to face with it and we must, therefore, take decisions.

5. The Working Committee, during their two-day session, conducted a preliminary survey of the report. We did not discuss the many detailed problems that arise from its recommendations, but rather our general approach. It would not have been right to come to any final decisions without further consultation. We are, therefore, meeting in the near future the Chief Ministers and the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees. The State Legislatures will no doubt also meet and, finally Parliament. You will have seen the Working Committee's resolution passed today.¹

6. The possible approaches to this major problem are four:

- (i) to postpone the consideration of the report for a considerable time and allow the status quo to remain;
- (ii) to accept the report in toto;
- (iii) to accept the major approach of the report, making minor changes;
- (iv) to treat the report without too much ceremony as just a basis for our consideration and make such changes as we like, major or minor.

The first of these courses, that is, postponement of this issue, is obviously out of the question. The choice, therefore, lies between the other three. It is clear that if once the very basis of the report is upset, then we have confusion and a free for all fight.

7. In my broadcast,² on the eve of the publication of the report, I said that I had read some of the proposals with a little surprise. That did not mean that I accepted or rejected anything, but there is no doubt that some proposals were quite novel to me which I had not envisaged. I must say that the report is an able document with a logical presentation of the problem leading up to certain conclusions. It reads well and there is no appearance of passion or prejudice in it. On closer analysis, it may be said that the basic logic is perhaps not always followed or, at any rate, there are likely to be differences of opinion. Indeed, there are in fact many such differences as we can see for ourselves. The question is, how we are to deal with these conflicts of opinion, passionately held. As the Working Committee resolution has said, this is a test for each one of us. In the international sphere, India has taken up the attitude that every problem, however difficult it might appear to be, is capable of solution by peaceful methods. The solution may be delayed or it may not be reached at one jump. Nevertheless, we have to try to solve it peacefully and give up the thought of

1. See *ante*, pp. 265-267.

2. See *post*, pp. 524-526.

war. This idea is gradually taking root, helped no doubt by the coming of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

8. If that is so in the sphere of international relations it must be even more necessary for us to follow that course in national affairs. Indeed that is the meaning of democracy. Problems are solved by arguments and the approach to reason and the ultimate decision is accepted even by those who disagree with it. The alternative is, in the final analysis, a civil war or some smaller variation of it.

9. I do not mean to imply that there is a possibility of civil war in India. I am merely analyzing the possible courses of action. If it is agreed that all our national problems must be settled peacefully and democratically and that on no account will other methods be followed, then it is easier to deal with them. It is impossible to satisfy everyone when there is so much divergence of opinion. There should be an attempt to understand the other party's point of view, some give and take, and a final acceptance of whatever decision is arrived at.

10. We have some major problems of course affecting large numbers of people. But what surprises me is the passion roused by rather trivial disputes over boundaries. That is not a healthy sign.

11. It is not possible for every little group to have its way or every little area to be given some kind of self-determination in this matter. But it is clear that we cannot compel for long any major group or large areas to be joined on to another against its own wishes. You will remember that when the Andhra question reached a somewhat critical stage, we announced as our general policy that we would agree to any solution with the consent of the parties concerned. It was because this consent was lacking in regard to Andhra and Tamil Nad that the formation of the Andhra State was delayed. The main conflict was in regard to the city of Madras. Ultimately, the Andhra leaders accepted the new State minus the city of Madras. There was then no major conflict left and we had to give effect to the policy we had enunciated not only in regard to Andhra but in regard to other areas also. There is some impression, and there is often reference to this in the press, that the Andhra State was formed because of the self-immolation of Shri Sriramulu.³ We all regretted that sacrifice but, as a matter of fact, it had nothing to do with our agreement to form the Andhra State. That agreement had been reached even previous to the death of Sriramulu. In fact, it followed naturally from the giving up of the claim to Madras city. If that demand had not been given up, no amount of hunger striking or other methods of pressure would have led to that settlement.

12. This same principle has to be applied now. Where there is agreement

3. Potti Sriramulu (1901-1952): Congressman from Andhra who undertook a fast unto death from 19 October 1952 for the creation of a separate Andhra State, and died on 15 December.

between the principal parties concerned, there is no particular difficulty in our changing the recommendations of the report; where there is no such agreement, it is not easy to upset the structure of that report, except in relatively minor matters.

13. The floods that have descended upon us from the heavens this year have been unique in intensity and in extent. Indeed, we are told that probably nothing like this has happened for two or three generations or even a hundred years. People talk of a cycle of a hundred years; others blame radioactivity because of the hydrogen bomb experiments. However that may be, we have to face this disaster here and now. Fortunately we do not lack food in the country, but the loss and damage are colossal and the whole country must come to the rescue of those who are affected. I am glad to say that there has been a good response all over the country as well as from abroad to the relief funds.

14. The Foreign Ministers of the so-called Big Four countries are meeting soon.⁴ No one appears to expect much out of this meeting, as the position of the major adversaries has hardened. The problem of Germany, which really means the problem of Europe, appears almost insoluble at present. The Western allies had followed a course of action which brought Western Germany completely into their fold. This was hailed with success and so it was in that narrow field. But, having succeeded there, the Western countries have come up against a blank wall. The Soviet Union calmly tells them now to deal with Eastern Germany and none of the Western countries recognizes Eastern Germany. There is no chance, therefore, of a solution of this problem in the foreseeable future. Fortunately there is no fear of war and tensions have lessened.

15. In North Africa there is continuing tragedy.⁵ France, so proud and great, still thinks in terms of her ancient power and glory and does not recognize that she is no longer capable of supporting the Empire except with the goodwill of the people concerned. This is a double tragedy—tragedy for France and tragedy for the North African countries. France walked out of the General Assembly of the United Nations⁶ in anger because that Assembly decided to consider the question of Algeria in spite of the opposition of the United States and the United Kingdom.

4. C. Pineau of France, V. Molotov, Harold Macmillan, and John Foster Dulles met at Geneva from 27 October to 16 November 1955.
5. The French Government proclaimed an emergency in Algeria and suppressed severely the nationalist movement but guerilla attacks on French forces and military posts showed no signs of abatement. Four Ministers resigned on 6 October following differences in the Cabinet on policy relating to Morocco.
6. On 30 September 1955. Two days later, the French Cabinet decided unanimously to recall its permanent delegation from the UN and to take no further part in the session of the General Assembly.

16. There has been something in the nature of a crisis in the Middle East, because of Egypt's decision to buy arms from Czechoslovakia. This came as a great shock to the United Kingdom and the USA, and these two countries even went to the length of threatening the Egyptian Government with blockade to prevent these arms from reaching Egypt. Colonel Nasser, the Prime Minister, took up a strong line against these pressure tactics with the result that both the United Kingdom and the USA were put in a false position and had to withdraw from it without much grace. The situation there continues to be rather critical.

17. I am going away early tomorrow morning to pay a visit to the Damodar Valley for the purpose of inaugurating the Konar dam.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III'

New Delhi
26 October, 1955
Vijaya Dashmi Day

My dear Chief Minister,

The political horizon in India has been completely overcast by the report of the States Reorganisation Commission and the reactions it has produced. I do not propose to discuss here the merits of the various proposals made. As you know, we have been giving the most careful thought to them and we shall continue to do so. We have consulted representatives from various States, often in disagreement with each other. In such matters, some kind of a logical and scientific approach, though desirable, does not lead us far. One has to take into consideration a large variety of factors. It is not a question of appeasing this

1. Concerned about leakage of his fortnightly letters, Nehru asked the Cabinet Secretary on 21 October 1955 to send the following note on his behalf to the Cabinet Ministers. Ministers and Deputy Ministers: "On several occasions newspapers have published what I have written in my fortnightly letters to Chief Ministers. Copies of these fortnightly letters are sent to all Ministers, Secretaries to Government and some others. I shall be grateful if Ministers will take some care that these letters are not shown to unauthorised persons. I am afraid, this has been done in the past, and hence the leakage. In order to limit the circulation so that there might not be too many copies with various persons, I am suggesting that copies will not be sent to Secretaries to Government or heads of departments. I should like the Secretaries to see my letters. Ministers might show them the copies I send them."

group or that but, rather, of trying to evolve something which meets the largest measure of agreement and which avoids, as far as possible, the element of compulsion.

2. While it is desirable and necessary to have the widest consultation, it appears to be equally necessary not to delay decisions. From the point of view even of a timetable which will enable us to give effect to any changes before the elections, an early decision is necessary. Delay in this means either postponing the changes or putting off the elections. Both courses are undesirable, and we wish to avoid them. Apart from this question of the timetable, it is also not desirable to have interminable arguments often accompanied by passion. The Chief Ministers' Conference which was held recently, therefore, decided on a timetable² which, if strictly adhered to, makes it just possible for us to hold the next general elections in March 1957. This means that some kind of a final decision, so far as the Central Government is concerned, should be taken by the end of the first week of January 1956. Previous to that, there has to be a preliminary discussion in Parliament, probably in December. After that, a Bill to amend the Constitution will be placed before Parliament, the States having been consulted previously.

3. Each one of us naturally has some views about this reorganisation of States, both from the point of view of the principles involved and practical considerations. That is completely natural. But, constituted as I am, I fail to understand why this question should rouse so much passion and excited debate, not to mention threats of some action or other. I feel unhappy and distressed at the picture of India that I see before me today. It seems to go counter to the basic principles on which we have stood and to the objectives that we have aimed at. In a democracy there should be the fullest freedom of expression of opinion and argument. There should also be some method of final decision which is accepted. If people go about saying that they will not accept a decision unless it is according to their own views, then that is the negation of democracy. It undermines the whole conception of the unity of India. It means that we are prepared to have unity provided that unity is fashioned after our liking, otherwise we reject that unity. It means that certain conditions which are less than national and which may be provincial, linguistic, communal or any other, have precedence over the broader national approach. We may differ, of course, as to what the national approach is; each one may think that his own approach is the true national approach. Who is to decide? Surely, the decision can only be made by normal democratic process or else we bid goodbye to democracy, in addition to unity.

2. The Conference at New Delhi on 22 and 23 October 1955 urged that the reorganisation of the States should be completed by October 1956.

4. Something of the fierceness of the approach of a bigoted religion comes into our consideration of linguistic provinces. Each person thinks that his doxy is orthodoxy, other doxies are heterodoxies. I should like you and others to ponder over this matter, for it is of the most serious concern to all of us and to the future of India. It is our misfortune that this question should have taken this acute form just when India is showing a new life and is marching forward; just when we are on the eve of putting forward our Second Five Year Plan; just when a large number of our distinguished visitors are coming here, attracted to some extent by the position and importance that India has achieved during these past few years. Is this the penalty of success or of pride in our success which leads to complacency and a loss of perspective? I do not know but I am troubled as you must be. We have sowed the wind and we have now to reap the whirlwind.

5. But, however unhappy we may feel at this present picture of India, we cannot run away from our duty or our task and if there is a whirlwind then we have to face that and control it. Here we are facing the greatest flood disaster in India in hundred years. We have not lost heart because of it and we are trying our utmost to face this calamity and to succour those who are afflicted. Are we to lose our nerve because some people have lost their balance? We must hold fast to our anchor and proceed, as calmly and dispassionately as possible, to face this situation and come to wise decisions. On no account must we be swept off our feet.

6. This evening, I went to see the great Ramlila celebrations in Delhi city. Over a great part of India similar celebrations were taking place. They were not very well organised and there was dust and disorder and pushing about. Nevertheless, they represent the spirit of the country and to a vast number of people they brought a release from their daily toil and a vision of something higher. Those vast crowds saw little but they were happy and so the purpose of this ancient festival was fulfilled to a large extent. Looking at this multitude of human beings, I thought of the much vaster multitude of India and how, vaguely and subconsciously, they were struggling to go forward. How should we serve them and help in this march onward? They were a fine people, given to joy and laughter, in spite of their many burdens. They tended to be disorganised and indisciplined, but the basic strength was there, only if it could be utilized to proper advantage. They are perhaps more amenable to a friendly approach than any other people. They look for a lead. Do we give them the proper lead or do we fail them? What is the value of all our labour and our Five Year Plans and the other great schemes we think and talk about if all these are based on the shifting sand of narrow provincialism or communalism or casteism? Is this an inherent defect in us or are we on our way to conquer these evils?

7. I think that the time has come when we should give deep thought to

these matters and try to pull ourselves out of the grooves in which we have got stuck. Perhaps, it is as well that this crisis of linguistic States and the like has come to us at this stage. It may serve to awaken us and make us see the pits and snares that surround us and even have their homes in our inner selves. Ultimately, it is not Five Year Plans that will make us go forward but what we are and what we can do.

8. India's responsibilities abroad tend to increase. That in itself is evidence of our standing in the world. There has been talk of our joining a Commission for the Sudan, but a curious position has arisen here. We have been invited by the Egyptian Government to be a member of the Commission.³ At the same time, the other Power concerned, namely the United Kingdom, has told us quite clearly that they are not inviting us at present. Unless these two condominium Powers both invite us, we cannot function. We have thus been put in a somewhat embarrassing position. It appears that the United Kingdom is not at all eager to have the Commission or the elections in the Sudan, according to the agreement arrived at between the UK and Egypt a year or two ago. There is no provision in that agreement for a difference of opinion on this point between the two condominium Powers.

9. In the Middle East, there was another critical situation which has somewhat toned down now, though basically it continues. This arose from the report that Egypt was purchasing arms from the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia.⁴ For a long time past, Egypt tried to purchase arms from the UK, the USA, and France. They were unable to obtain any. Then they approached the Soviet Union which expressed its willingness to sell. As soon as this was known, there was an uproar in the UK and the USA and great pressure was brought to bear upon Egypt to give up this deal.⁵ Indeed, the threat of a blockade was suggested. Colonel Nasser, however, took up a strong line and refused to be intimidated. Thereupon, the UK and the USA adopted a somewhat softer tone.

10. The conflict between the Arab States and Israel has caused us much concern. Our ties with the Arab States are strong. At the same time, we have

3. On 22 August, the Sudanese Parliament, and on 21 October, the Egyptian Government, invited India to be a member of the International Commission to supervise elections in Sudan for self-government. See also *ante*, p. 451.
4. On 27 September, Colonel Nasser announced that a commercial agreement had been signed whereby Czechoslovakia would supply arms to Egypt in exchange for Egyptian products such as cotton and rice.
5. On 27 September, Macmillan spoke to Molotov of British concern at the heightening arms race in West Asia, and on 1 October the US, the British, and the French Ambassadors met Nasser to express their Governments' fears at Egypt's decision to buy arms from Eastern Europe.

no ill will against Israel and we know that some very fine work has been done by the Israel Government in Palestine in developing that arid land. The development of cooperatives there is specially noteworthy. We had hoped that we might be able to play some little part in helping to bring about a settlement, but the passions on both sides are much too strong. Militarily, probably, Israel is stronger than all the Arab States put together. I believe that they have modern equipment in their armed forces. They have a fairly good air force. In the last war between Israel and the Arab States, the former proved much the stronger and I doubt if the balance has changed since then. Indeed, it is probable that if there has been a change it has been in favour of Israel. Israel, of course, came into existence with the active goodwill and help of the UK and the USA and most of the arming of Israel has been done from the USA.

11. In Israel, as elsewhere, there are two groups, one moderately inclined and the other extremist. Lately it has appeared that the extremist group is dominant and during the past many months there were many cases of aggression on the part of Israel. It was rather odd that these petty acts of aggression usually coincided with some attempt of the UK and the USA to exert pressure on Egypt. Egypt, as is well known, adopted an independent policy and refused to join the system of military alliances which the UK and the USA have promoted in the Middle Eastern countries. This was not pleasing to these Great Powers because it went against their basic policy there.

12. For a long time past, the greater part of these Western Asian countries was under the political and economic influence of the United Kingdom. In Syria and Lebanon, the French cultural influence was predominant but the French Power had to withdraw. Later, the Americans came into the picture and there was some tension between them and the UK. That tension to some extent remains because the UK did not like this fresh incursion into their chosen field. But, on the whole, they pulled together and have brought about this system of alliances from Turkey to Pakistan. Egypt and Saudi Arabia have opposed these alliances and now Syria has joined them too.⁶ This is naturally disliked by the UK and the USA and now the fact that the Soviet Government has come into the picture by supplying arms is a matter for deep concern to them.

13. An interesting development in the United Nations has been the defeat on more than one occasion of the colonial powers. The actual occasions were not important, but the mere fact that the smaller countries of the world should stand up against some of the big countries and the vested interests in colonies was itself significant and has displeased these great powers.

6. On 20 October, Egypt and Syria, and on 27 October, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, signed military pacts to counterbalance the Baghdad Pact sponsored by the West.

14. The United Nations are now considering in the Political Committee the formation of an International Atomic Energy Agency.⁷ This has again indirectly raised the question of the colonial powers versus the smaller countries. The proposal of the big powers is to have this as a specialized Agency out of the United Nation's direct jurisdiction; also for the control to remain in the hands of selected powers which include not only the big powers advanced in atomic energy research but also some countries which have colonial territories possessing uranium. Among the latter is even little Portugal because of its African territories. India has taken a lead in this matter and pointed out that such an arrangement would be very harmful to the Asian, African and many other countries. It would mean the control of this tremendous power by a few big countries, including colonial powers. It would mean in effect the domination of these big powers over the rest of the world. It must be realized that atomic energy may well be the greatest force of the future and it is important, therefore, as to who controls it. India has urged that the new Agency should be directly associated with the UN and that some Asian countries should be in it right from the beginning.⁸ We attach great importance to this and we have even stated that unless some such broad basis is agreed to, we might have to keep away from such an organisation.

15. The growth of the Western European countries and Northern America was directly due to the Industrial Revolution and the possession of coal and iron ore. This gave them a dominating position in the world. World empires were built up in the nineteenth century on the basis of this industrial growth and the new imperialism came into being. This meant cheap raw materials from the colonies and protected markets for industrial goods in those colonies.

16. Just as steam and electricity and the growth of technology gave this great push to the Western countries and added to their strength and wealth enormously, we have now a new source of power of enormous dimensions—atomic energy. If the raw materials used for the production of atomic energy as well as the processes and distribution are controlled by a few major powers, including some colonial countries, this might well give rise to a new imperialism to the detriment of the other countries of the world. In effect, atomic energy might well become the monopoly of a group. The underdeveloped countries are likely to suffer most from any such development. This question, therefore, is not merely one of theory or prestige but is of vital importance to the countries of Asia and Africa.

7. The ninth session of the General Assembly (1954) recommended the setting up of an IAEA for development and dissemination of knowledge and information relating to atomic energy for peaceful purposes. On 19 October 1955, a preliminary draft statute of the Agency was presented to the Political Committee by Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, Britain and the US.

8. See *ante*, pp. 358-359.

17. The most advanced countries in regard to the production of atomic energy are the USA, the USSR, the UK, Canada and France. Other countries lag behind. Among these other countries, however, India has done rather well and we have laid the foundations for more rapid progress in the future. One atomic reactor plant is being constructed, another is being designed,⁹ and a third is thought of. We have some fine scientists at the top, headed by Dr Homi Bhabha, and a group of bright young men and women working in our various research centres. Some of these have received training abroad and others are being sent there for this purpose. In the reactors that we are putting up, we propose to give facilities for training for people from other countries of Asia.

18. We have had a visit recently from U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma.¹⁰ He is always a welcome guest. As you know, we have advanced a loan of twenty crores of rupees to the Burmese Government.¹¹ It was not easy for us to do so but we were anxious to help Burma in her difficult economic situation.

19. We have also had the Earl of Home, the Commonwealth Secretary of the United Kingdom and today Vice-President Hatta of Indonesia arrived in Delhi. He is a very old friend of mine. We met for the first time in Brussels in 1927 and we kept in touch with each other to some extent afterwards. I remember his coming to Delhi at the beginning of 1947. He came to India incognito then and I took him to meet Gandhiji. He came for a second time in 1949 and this is his third visit. In Indonesia, the elections have resulted in a curious situation. The final figures are not known yet but it is clear that the four major parties that have emerged are: (1) the Nationalist Party, (2) the Masjumi Party, the moderate Moslem Party with socialist leanings, (3) the more extreme Moslem Party, and (4) the Communists. Only a coalition government is possible, probably between the first two.

20. Other important visitors are coming in November, especially Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev. They will be visiting many parts of India during their brief stay. I hope that the welcome that we give them will not only be warm but disciplined.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. On 4 August 1956, India's first atomic reactor, *Apsara*, started operating at Trombay, near Mumbai, and *Zerlina*, the second reactor, went into operation at Trombay on 14 January 1961. Both reactors were built entirely by Indian scientists and engineers.

10. From 16 to 18 October 1955.

11. See *ante*, pp. 408-413.

PRESS CONFERENCE AND RADIO BROADCAST

1. Press Conference¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suggested this press conference because for the next month or two, I am not likely to have an opportunity for it. I would be travelling about after the Parliament session ends, there will be distinguished visitors and others, and I thought I might have it before I went out. I am going out in three or four days' time. As usual, you might suggest topics. I would like to go five minutes to eleven.

States Reorganisation Commission Report

I am told it would be given to us in two or three days' time. I see numerous references in the press to what it is likely to contain, and I believe there is much gossip going on in lobbies of Parliament. Sometimes I find in the newspapers my name being mentioned as influencing members of the Commission. I might tell you that I am almost completely ignorant of what the report is likely to contain. I have heard about this gossip, but that is not good enough. I have not had discussions on this matter with the members of the Commission. I have seen them only once in the course of the last year and half, that is, the whole Commission when they formally met me. When they met me, they gave me not the least bit of any intension of what they were going to do. They asked me a number of questions. As a matter of fact, my talk with them was almost entirely confined, well, to certain problems of the North-East Frontier and that because I am Minister in charge of that area. Of course, I have met members occasionally at social and like functions but not to discuss these matters. Therefore, it is an astonishing suggestion that they are being influenced by me or on my behalf. It is completely wrong. Naturally, it is a question of great interest to me what is going to happen, but I have a habit of not worrying about a question and my mind I keep blank on the subject. I shall apply myself intensely to it when the time comes. Why should I worry myself about a problem which has not arisen so far? That is the reason why I have avoided receiving deputations from various parts of India in regard to the States Reorganisation Commission. I told them they were coming to me and I knew nothing about the report.

1. New Delhi, 28 September 1955. From Press Information Bureau. Also available in JN Collection, the *National Herald*, 29 September 1955 and other leading national daily newspapers.

Question: Would you like to publish the report as soon as received or publish it after decisions have been taken?

JN: I cannot say anything till I have seen the report. I have not seen it. Broadly speaking, we should like to publish it early. What 'early' means, I cannot say at present. We must see and then decide. It is not only we, in the Central Government who are concerned, but the State Governments are also concerned. Presumably we will get the report very soon and we will send it to State Governments. It is not fair to publish it before the State Governments have seen it.

Q: You will have seen Master Tara Singh's statement that if the Punjabi Suba is not allowed, there might be riots and Akalis should not be held responsible for that?

JN: We have always known that Akalis are irresponsible anyhow.

Q: There was a statement that the unanimous recommendations of the Commission would be accepted by the Government.

JN: If you read the statement, you will find, what we have said is, that we cannot obviously without knowing a thing commit ourselves finally to it and, anyhow, it is for Parliament ultimately to decide. We, even as Government, cannot say, this must be done. At the most we can recommend. What is being sought is, if they are unanimous recommendations, coming from a high-powered impartial Commission, normally speaking one accepts them. It is a difficult matter to reject, but that does not mean anything binding Government down hand and foot. It must go to Parliament.

Q: Taking into consideration the importance of the subject and affecting the people of the country as a whole, would it not be proper to publish the report of the Commission as it comes, and to avoid leakage?

JN: We want to publish it as soon as it comes, but surely the State Governments should see it first, must give them a little time to do it, and our own Government must see it. How can I answer about a thing which I have not seen?

Q: How is it then that the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin had some information about the recommendations of the Commission?

JN: I asked that question myself to the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin

by letter and telegram, and his answer was that he was having a press conference—not about this matter at all but about some Travancore-Cochin legislation, land reform or something. During the course of that conference, people asked him about rumours and gossip about this, and he replied that he had also heard about it when he was in Delhi, and he could not say definitely what it was. That is the answer he gave me.

Q: Another Chief Minister also spoke in similar terms about the recommendations of the Commission.

JN: It was Mr Gopala Reddi. Both of them were addressed by me on this subject. I asked them where and how they got that information which I have not got, and they both replied that it was really a press report. They had only heard these things and had no definite information.

Q: It is said that you are going to make an appeal to the people to keep quiet on this subject, to avoid the possibility of riots and disturbances.

JN: There is no question of any special appeal from me to keep quiet. I want to know their views. Naturally I do not want that lack of quietness to attain the shape of, well, misbehaviour if I may say so.

Q: Any idea of the report?

JN: I cannot tell you until I see the report.

Q: Can you give an idea as to how soon the Commission's recommendations can be given effect to?

JN: How can I when I do not know what they are? Their recommendations will require legislation, reference to State Assemblies. Constitutional changes are difficult. All I can tell you that it is our desire to come to decisions as early as possible and further to give effect to them as early as possible.

Q: Before the next election?

JN: Certainly. As far as possible, before.

Q: Is this the last word on the subject or will appeals be made to reopen the past resolutions of AICC.

JN: What resolution?

Q: Old resolutions?

JN: How can I prevent other people talking sense or nonsense? What do you mean by "last word"?

Q: This is the Congress Government....

JN: The Congress has passed one or two resolutions, and has made it clear what it stands for. Broadly speaking, I think it has no relevance for anyone to bring forward a resolution passed by the AICC. The world has changed. Everything has changed. You must take the last resolution and judge thereby.

East Germany

Q: Is the Indian Government going to adhere to a policy of not recognising East Germany?

JN: There was no question of our formally deciding not to recognise East Germany. You would remember that our recognition of West Germany is a kind of continuation of our contacts. It is true that we have no diplomatic relations with East Germany, and I do not know at present what we may do about that matter and when. You would remember that we had a delegation, a trade delegation from East Germany some months ago, so that we deal with them informally and formally on the trade and other matters.

Q: Has the Indian Government received any warning from Dr Adenauer? If so, what is the reaction?

JN: We have received no such warning as you call it.

Q: One question about the States Reorganisation Commission. How far will the implementation of whatever recommendations they make, affect the allotments under the Second Five Year Plan and the election?

JN: I cannot answer till I know a thing. It is our desire not to postpone elections. As far as possible, we shall not do so. That is our present position, and I hope that no serious disturbance of the allotments under the Second Five Year Plan will take place. There may be some adjustments.

Second Five Year Plan

Q: The basic approach of the Second Five Year Plan has been settled and then there was the AICC decision. Does it stand?

JN: It is an interesting question, on which I should say a great deal but I do not wish to take up too much time. Well, the basic approach to the question is, if I may say, something obvious to plan. Now, planning has to take into consideration many factors. Obviously planning has to take into consideration first of all what we want, what our needs are, what the physical needs of the country are. Physical needs, of course, are innumerable. For instance, apart from food, clothing, housing, education, etc., there are so many other things. They maybe physical needs, maybe defence needs, industrial needs and the like. Having got some idea of the physical needs, whatever they maybe, we decide on how to produce those physical needs. That is, we produce them, let us say, by factories or by village industries. If we produce them by factories, we should produce the machinery for those factories so that we need not rely upon having to buy machines outside. Of course some buying and selling there maybe; that is a different matter. It is not a question of absolutely becoming self-sufficient, but the basic things, we should be able to produce them. That is produce the machine which produces the goods which we require. In other words we have to build up the machine-making industry which uses the machines. That cannot be done quickly. I am talking about planning.

Again, in planning we have to calculate what the needs are going to be, not today but later. Needs go on increasing. A man who, let us say, used 15 yards of cloth in a year, with little improvement in his economic condition, attempts to use 18 yards. When a large number of people begin to use 18 yards instead of 15 yards, it makes a tremendous difference to our consumption even if it goes up by one yard. For the last two or three years we were somewhat upset with regard to many factors. Take sugar. We are consuming more sugar than we have ever done, and yet it is too little because people eat more sugar. The point is, that it upsets our plan because people want more sugar and we have to import sugar. Therefore, in planning we have to calculate not by guess work but by sample surveys, as to what they are likely to need as their economic conditions improve. We have a sample survey of people earning Rs 200 a month. It gives us some idea of how they spend money in food like sugar and other things. We have now a national sample survey of people earning Rs 300 a month. You know that. When we see that a Rs 200 man is going up to the Rs 300 man's level, we know that he is likely to consume that much of what the Rs 300 man consumes today. That is how we calculate. It is a simple thing. It is complicated if you spread it out to many other articles.

Naturally, every calculation that we make, however accurate it is sought to be, is approximate, is liable to error. Our statistics are getting better and better by sample survey, but, nevertheless, they are completely inadequate yet, but they are far better than they were five years ago, and they will be much better five years later. So, gradually we get a clearer understanding of our needs by the statistical sample surveys and have better data for planning. Essentially,

therefore, we plan for physical needs. We may not be able to supply all our physical needs in five years or ten years; obviously we cannot supply everything. But we have a picture, let us say, that in ten, fifteen years we must reach this place, and then we divide that picture into bits of five years or so, so that we may achieve basic needs in relation to that wider picture.

Q: Is it the financial or physical aspect which has been accepted?

JN: I said, physical. Of course, this has been related and conditioned by our resources. We cannot plan regardless of resources. Resources, again, are of two kinds—Indian resources and foreign exchange resources. Foreign exchange resources depend on certain specific factors like our exports or some kind of aid, or assistance we might get, some loan we might get. So also local resources. They depend on loans, taxation, compulsory savings, voluntary savings, etc. So these are the conditioning factors. We have the plan and then we see how far we can go. But the factors are uncertain. For instance, take our local resources. We can fairly accurately lay down how much we will get by taxation. We know that we can increase a little. Whatever it is, but it is difficult to calculate how much we may get by loan from our people. You must have seen in the last two or three months, some of the States' loans have been remarkably successful, oversubscribed within a few hours, in two or three hours, in Madras, Bombay and elsewhere. Why? Because for the first time we are succeeding in approaching a large number of people lower down in the scale in the villages, and the rest. In the first loans we approached more or less the rich people. Rich people tend to fade out. And now there is greater equalisation at work, and we have necessarily to approach a large number of people who can invest a little. Today major investments are Rs 100, Rs 200, so that our whole conception of getting money from people by way of loan has changed. We are much more optimistic in getting much more money than we have calculated, provided we approach the people properly.

So you will remember that there is a great deal of talk about a Plan-Frame, which had been produced by a number of statisticians and economists under the leadership of Prof. Mahalanobis. Now, that Plan consisted of two things, one was the physical approach, the other was calculations, figures about how much we are going to produce, how much it would cost, how much employment and so on, because employment is a vital factor. Now, we have adhered to that approach of the Plan-Frame throughout, in the Planning Commission, in the National Development Council, but we have found that the actual figures given in it have to be revised very greatly as further information comes to us. So the figures have ceased to be completely reliable, though the approach is accepted. We are getting further figures from the States and other places—and we propose to revise all that on the basis of the new information received. It is a physical

approach conditioned by resources available—financial and other. That is the approach. Physically you have to take the financial implication that limits it. You cannot walk in the air.

Q: The Plan, as it is, says 5% increase in investment; Mr Nanda's report says something else; AICC something else. Then what exactly is being aimed at?

JN: All these are hopes and aspirations, as well as definite things. There is no difference. You may lay great stress on the employment aspect. We do, but a single thing makes all the difference to our calculations. We can calculate, for instance, roughly, approximately what direct employment will result from certain steps we take. Then there is the secondary employment. As soon as you reach the secondary employment it becomes difficult to calculate what was intended. One economist says that secondary employment would be one to one of direct employment; another says, it would be two to one or three to one. It is difficult to be accurate. In fact, in a country like the United States, secondary employment is very high, but that cannot be applied here. Here secondary employment is relatively less; how much less, I do not know. So that the main approaches continue to be the same, five per cent increase in national income every year, and as far as possible we are trying our best, and producing 11 million jobs by the end of the Second Five Year Plan, a large chunk of this coming from the village industry sector. All these are, as I said, approximate calculations. Take the village industries, it is a vague thing, you cannot come to grips with it. A special committee under Mr Kumarappa² is considering the question of village industries, how to organise it in a big way, with the latest technique, with electric power where it is available and to tie it up as far as possible with our Community Development programme; they should go together.

One thing more might interest you. While we are proceeding with this draft of the Second Five Year Plan, which we may issue, the first provisional draft, in about two months' time, we have begun to think more and more that this draft should be as flexible as possible, not rigid, because of the new facts that are coming before us, because we know a little more as we get to know about our resources, increasing or lessening. Therefore, our present approach is to make a broad Five Year Plan, a flexible one, with a detailed plan for the first year or so, and have really detailed annual plans within that particular structure. We may add to it after a year or two; we may vary it. So we will have a flexible, non-rigid Five Year Plan to be revised annually and to have detailed annual plans.

2. J.C. Kumarappa (1892-1959); Gandhian Economist.

That is the basic approach. In addition to this there is what you call a perspective planning, that is, looking much further ahead, 10 years, 15 years, 20 years, not in detail. This inevitably has to be kept in view by the Planning Commission but at the same time we are setting up or in a sense, continuing a unit, a statistical unit with which is associated naturally the Planning Commission and the statistical organisations of the economic section of our Government, setting up a joint committee, joint unit, first of all to do all the statistical work, sample survey, etc., judging it with a view to perspective planning. Naturally this will have to be constantly associated with the work of the Planning Commission, but the unit itself will function as a unit separately, because we do not want the burden of the day-to-day plan confusing these broader issues. You realise that if we are dealing completely with the annual plan, it is difficult to see things in long perspective. Therefore we have got this joint unit going to function—Prof Mahalanobis for the statistical work, and for broader perspectives to be worked out in national sample surveys. On that the Planning Commission is also represented, and our Economic Section of the Finance Ministry and there is to be full coordination between the two.

Q: Some time ago, in 1953, on the basis of a sample survey, it was suggested that there should be improvement in the quality.

JN: I do not know which sample survey you are referring to.

Q: Somebody estimated that food production in the country was considerably greater than was assumed in official calculations.

JN: Was it not greater?

Q: It has never been calculated as greater.

JN: It is difficult for me to give a precise reply, but my recollection is that the results of that sample survey were broadly borne out. Our previous estimates were based on what might be called *patwari* surveys, which were very inaccurate. In fact, Mr Rafi Ahmed Kidwai³ who was then the Food Minister practically refused to accept those estimates, and had his own estimates arrived at partly by personal observation, partly by guess work. He said that was better. Oddly enough the statistical sample surveys that came later fitted in much more with the *patwaris'* estimates.

3. (1894-1954); Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1952-54.

Q: The sample survey claims that in 1949 and 1950 the production was more.

JN: I cannot argue this matter. It is a statistical matter. The point is, our old methods of judgement were wrong.

Q: How is it that China has provided for two heavy machinery plants to produce steel whereas in our plan there is no mention of a single heavy machine plant?

JN: Do you mean machine-making plant? That is true. I do not know about China. I cannot say.

Q: Current Plan.

JN: We are, as a matter of fact, putting up all kinds of bases for the machine-making plants or iron and steel plants. We are not putting up one set in one place. In fact the iron and steel plant which we are putting up may well form the foundation for the production of many of these things. That is the reason why I told you specifically that the Five Year Plan is a flexible plan. After having concentrated on these iron and steel plants and others, we want to develop the machine making plant, I hope, in the course of these five years.

Q: This 25 per cent increase in revenue and the 11 million jobs was accepted at first in toto. Since then it was considered in detail. Does it still stand?

JN: So far as the annual increase is concerned it certainly stands. We are aiming at that. So far as the jobs are concerned, it is a question of calculations. We are making our best efforts. As I said, two eminent persons made separate calculations, but I would urge in saying that subsequent calculations have led us to think that the money we are investing will not yield so many jobs. That is correct.

Q: Do you think sufficient attention is being paid to the possibilities of expediting the Second and future plans through public cooperation? There have been complaints that the administration needs to be trained.

JN: I do not quite know what is the nature of the complaint. We come into contact very specially with the public, say, in the Community Project schemes. It is quite essential for the public to share the burden in these. There no amount of efficient administration can do the job completely without public cooperation. In fact the entire success of the Community Project schemes, and success has

been very remarkable, is due to public cooperation. Now we are thinking of bringing in the public even more into the picture there. We find two things happening, both interesting developments. The public is coming in more and more but on the one side towards, we might say, the official element. On the other the official element is going more and more towards the public. What I mean is, as they are functioning with the public, the official element lose their typical official character a good deal and begin to function a little more as public men. It is not a psychological change coming because of this association of the two, but I entirely agree with you that the whole Five Year Plan, in fact, depends a great deal on public response, public cooperation and the like, and gradual changes brought in on the administrative side.

Q: You said that we have accepted the basic approach of the Plan-Frame, and we are thinking only in terms of revising some of the figures. One of the main elements in the Mahalanobis approach was that all the additional demands for consumer goods that developed during the next plan period will be met by the cottage and village industries. Is that principle also accepted?

JN: Largely that is accepted, not in detail. It has to be worked out, how much it can be done this way or that way.

Goa

Q: Have you arranged with a friendly foreign power to look after our interests in Goa?

JN: That is simply a normal routine thing. Just as Portugal has arranged with Brazil to look after their interests in India, we have to choose a country to look after our interests in Portugal or Goa. That is a formal, routine matter. We have not decided finally about the country yet.

Q: Usually the UK representatives look after our interests at certain places. Will the same procedure continue or a more friendly country is going to be asked?

JN: There is no such rule as mentioned about the UK Government looking after our interests. In some small territories, that may be. We shall decide upon the question after considering the wishes of the other party too. We cannot nominate a person; we have to consult the other country.

Q: You know the British and American press attitude to Goa, which is

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rather hostile mostly. What is the attitude of the British and American Governments?

JN: In this matter, as I stated in the Lok Sabha, it is quite clear there has not been suspicion of any attempt to influence from any Government, British, American or any other. I am quite clear about it. As for the attitude of the UK and USA Governments, I presume they are much more sensible than their press.

Q: What about the proposal or a resolution to resume the satyagraha?

JN: I do not think we need worry ourselves very much about it. When the time comes, we will see.

Q: The Australian press says you are visiting that country. Could you kindly confirm?

JN: I would very much like to go to Australia and New Zealand, but I fear there is no chance of my going anywhere abroad for the next many months.

Q: What about Japan?

JN: A gentleman comes to me from Japan and says they would like me to visit Japan. I said I would like to go there. He then asked me when could I come. I do not know when I can go. I am much too busy. Now he goes back and says I am coming to Japan in January.

Q: Speaking in Parliament, yourself, Mr Pant and others expressed the hope that civilised nations in the world would take note of the behaviour of the Portuguese in Goa. Have you had any indication since then?

JN: Yes, many indications.

Q: Had it any influence on Portugal also?

JN: I really cannot say what effect that might have on Portuguese policy, but it is obvious that no one can ultimately ignore facts and circumstances, and sometimes facts and circumstances are too strong for even the most obstinate.

Q: What is the position now in Vietnam in regard to the Geneva Agreement?

JN: I think it is much the same. It is rather in a state of not quite deadlock but still it is not moving forward very much. Our Commissions are doing their

best. Naturally, as I said in Parliament, our Commissions have gone there because of the Geneva Agreement. They have no other function except to carry out the Geneva Agreement. The difficulty has arisen because some people, well, sometimes denounce the Geneva Agreement. If that denunciation is correct, or is given effect to, then our Commission has no function left.

Q: Will the general elections be held according to schedule?

JN: I have answered it. In Vietnam, there is no break, there is a kind of petering out. It is unfortunate. There is nevertheless a tendency. We hope that it will not lead to a break and that the Geneva Agreement will be ultimately honoured.

Q: Could you say something about our plans for atomic energy?

JN: We have been constructing an atomic reactor, research reactor. We are thinking of constructing another. And now there is a third which is coming to us from Canada so that we may have at least two, may be three. These, of course, are of the research type.

Q: There are signs of unrest and indiscipline among the young generation. What do you think is the reason. Is it due merely to unemployment?

JN: No, Sir. It is not a question which can be answered briefly.

I do not think it is due to unemployment only. You may have read a report published yesterday about the living conditions of students in Calcutta. It is a very ghastly report. I suppose it is due to the sudden changes in India, the sudden loosening of certain restraints—physical, moral, psychological and all that—and nothing else taking their place. I would say every society has certain modes, certain standards and certain codes of behaviour. They gradually change. They are not rigid. It happens sometimes, it has happened in India, that our own codes and standards have largely collapsed, and no new standards have come to take their place quickly enough. They will ultimately come.

Q: In the United Nations this Morocco question has been excluded from the agenda. Is the Indian Delegation likely to pursue the matter in some other way?

JN: I really do not know what can be done in the United Nations. I am not adequately acquainted with their procedure. Morocco is going through a deep tragedy. There is no doubt about that. It is most painful and has passed the stage for legal and constitutional objections being raised. I hope that some kind of settlement will emerge.

Q: The Indian delegate remained neutral in the United Nations on the question of the Cyprus issue. Can you let us know why?

JN: Yes. Our information is that this matter is being discussed by the parties concerned, UK, Greece, of course, and Turkey and it was felt that there was a possibility of something emerging out of it. It was felt that if at this moment it is discussed in the United Nations in that way, it would certainly be a useful forum for discussion of opinion, but it would not lead to any kind of a real approach to a solution, and it is better to allow those attempts at a solution to work. This was the principal reason. You have seen what has been happening recently in parts of Turkey. Questions become terribly complicated in the sense of rousing passions and all that. It is a very very unfortunate occurrence, all these riots taking place. If it can be settled by cooperation there will be some settlement. Otherwise we merely talk and argue, and the unfortunate situation continues. Therefore we thought it best in the circumstances not to prevent those attempts at settlement.

Q: Is it not like Goa?

JN: No, no.

Q: There are some press reports that volunteers will march into Goa on October 2. Will the Bombay police stop them at the Indian border?

JN: The Bombay police will carry out the orders of the Bombay Government, and the Bombay Government will give effect to the policy of the Government of India. Nobody is going to be allowed to go against the policy of the Government of India, in regard to Goa whoever he might be.

Films on Africa

JN: There is one matter I should like to mention to you. That is in regard to certain films that are exhibited here, more especially dealing with Africa. Some African students here were perturbed because certain films had been exhibited which, according to them, are meant to defame Africans.⁴ I am not a cinema goer. I have not seen all these, as a matter of fact, even other films for years. Sometimes I see a film at Rashtrapati Bhawan, a selected one, but often times I have heard that these films are, if I may put it so, not in good taste, and the whole approach is to show the people of Africa as if they were just primitive

4. See *ante*, pp. 211-212.

savages, and the approach of the white man's burden, his business in going there to rescue Africans from themselves. It maybe that the films maybe called documentaries. You can pick out any picture, just as you can write about any matter in regard to a country picking out the worst things. It may be true. That particular film may be true, but nevertheless the broad picture will be completely incorrect and wrong. So we do not approve of this, of films to be exhibited in India from other countries, and films which defame any country, people of that country, and more especially our neighbouring countries, and the effect on international relations and the rest. Naturally this matter has to be taken up by the Board of Film Censors, not by the Government. The Board of Film Censors naturally pays attention to certain aspects. So far it has not gone into these matters, but I hope that this matter will be gone into, because I think it is unfortunate and wrong for this kind of film which runs down any people to be exhibited.

Q: Are you aware how India is presented in a number of European capitals by a pamphlet issued by the Air India International? The pamphlet contains pictures of snake charmers.

JN: What is wrong with snake charmers?

Q: It seems to depict India as a land of snake charmers?

JN: No, no. I do not think there is anything wrong with snake charming. You do not realise, if I may say so, with all respect that that satisfied the intelligent taste of the tourist.

2. Broadcast to the Nation¹

I have spent many hours this morning and in the afternoon in flying over the flood-affected areas in Delhi, the Punjab and Pepsu. Although the floods are subsiding now, I found vast areas, more especially in the Jullundur Division, almost entirely covered with water. Many villages and small towns were isolated and some were still inaccessible except by air. Parts of roads have been washed

1. Broadcast to the nation from All India Radio, Delhi, 9 October 1955. From the *National Herald*, 10 October 1955. Also reported in other leading newspapers.

away, the railway line in some places was disrupted and there were numerous breaches in the canal embankments.

These floods occurred owing to extraordinarily heavy rains a week ago and the main rivers, namely, the Sutlej, Ravi and Beas, as well as hill torrents breaking their banks. The Yamuna has invaded both Old and New Delhi.

The loss and damage caused by this sudden calamity are on a very big scale. The Punjab being unused to floods has suffered an even deeper shock than other areas which have some experience of floods. The problem of relief and rehabilitation here, as in other flood-affected areas of India, is a colossal one. I have no doubt that it will be tackled adequately by the State Governments with the help of the Central Government.

During these difficult days, the work of our army and air force in relief work has been of great value and I should like especially to commend it. Joint operations have been organised to coordinate all relief work.

During this year, we have had very unusual floods in Assam, part of West Bengal, Bihar, eastern UP, Orissa, Pepsu, Delhi and the Punjab. There has been nothing like this in living memory or in the records we have. Probably such widespread and heavy floods have not taken place for the last 60 to 100 years. They have been caused chiefly by very heavy rains both in the mountains and locally. Why this calamity should have descended upon us in this sudden and disastrous way this year, I cannot say. It is clear that normal protective works cannot give adequate protection against such a sudden and wholesale exhibition of nature's fury. Nevertheless, we have to meet this challenge of nature and not only give relief to the best extent possible but also to think of how best to prevent or limit loss in future. So far as relief is concerned, the whole country will no doubt help. We have also received, I am glad to say, generous help from many foreign countries.

In regard to the future, many people think of large-scale embankments and the like. There is no doubt that such protective works are helpful and, where necessary, should be erected. But I think there is too much of the Maginot line mentality in this matter. No protective work can give much help where widespread cloudbursts take place bringing a deluge in their train. The best course would be to improve the drainage of the areas concerned so that water can flow away rapidly. Too many embankments come in the way of this drainage system. It is also necessary to build our towns and villages on raised ground so that they might not be affected by the floods. I hope that all these matters will be carefully considered. Meanwhile we must give all the help we can to those who are afflicted not only in the Punjab but in the numerous other areas in North, North-East and East India.

I want to say a few words to you about the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. This was handed to us on September 30. We have been anxious to issue the whole of this report to the public at the earliest

opportunity and it will be published in the newspapers tomorrow morning. Copies of the report will be available to the public also.

This report deals with a vital and most important issue for our present and future and, therefore, it deserves the most careful consideration by all of us. It should be considered not only in its separate parts dealing with special problems but even more so as a whole because of the interrelation of each of these separate problems and areas. Above all, we have to consider these questions from the point of view of the unity, strength and prosperity of India.

The ultimate decision on the recommendations of this report will naturally be taken by Parliament. Meanwhile, the State Legislatures will consider them and give their own opinions and the public generally will also have every opportunity for the expression of opinion.

Any report coming from a high-level commission, which has considered these problems deeply and fully, must deserve every consideration. But it is also clear that the Central and State Governments and Legislatures should consider these matters with the greatest care, always keeping in view the larger good of the country. It is obvious that in such an intricate and complicated matter, there are bound to be differences of opinion. Having read the report only during the last few days, I confess that I was a little surprised at some of the recommendations. I should like to confer with my colleagues fully in order to clarify my own mind. I can well imagine that many others who read this report will feel in the same way. The report should be read as a whole.

No report or recommendations could possibly satisfy everybody. We have thus to find what is good from the point of view of the country as a whole and has the largest measure of agreement and support.

How then are we to proceed about this matter? Obviously, the only right course is for us to function with dignity and in a democratic and peaceful way. We cannot decide intricate problems by appeals to passion and in a state of high excitement. Much less can we decide anything by wandering away from democratic and constitutional processes. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to everyone in India to approach this question with dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration. This is a hard test for us and our future might well depend upon how we face it and deal with it.

The flood calamities about which I have spoken bring vividly to our minds the dangers that surround us. Even as I speak, the waters of the Yamuna river have entered the streets of this metropolitan city of Delhi. We can only overcome these dangers, internal and external, if all of us hold together and do not allow disruptive tendencies to come in the way of our united working. I earnestly trust, therefore, that we shall all consider this report in a manner becoming to a great people fashioning their future.² *Jai Hind.*

2. Thereafter Nehru spoke in Hindi on similar lines.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
September 13, 1955

My dear Lal Bahadur,²

During my tour of Vindhya Pradesh the Chief Minister³ there informed me that he had received a communication from the Ministry of Transport. In this it was stated that the main highways should have no trees on either side as these were sometimes dangerous for motor traffic. The opinion of the State Government was asked.

I was surprised to learn of such an inquiry. To leave out trees from our highways would be a tragedy. I do not myself see how they come in the way of motor traffic, and, in any event, the motor traffic is very little. But if it is a choice between motor traffic and the large number of other people who go by these roads, I would certainly prefer the convenience of the latter.

The entire suggestion seems to me extraordinary.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 27(94)/50-PMS.
2. (1904-1966): Union Minister for Railways and Transport, 1952-56.
3. S.N. Shukla.

2. To Krishna Prasada¹

New Delhi
September 15, 1955

My dear Krishna Prasada,²

Your letter of September 14.

A day or two ago I was surprised to learn that the Bharat Sevak Samaj was organising some shows in aid of the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. No reference about this had been made to me and I should have thought that a previous

1. JN Collection.
2. (1894-): joined ICS. 1921: served in the UP in various capacities, 1921-34: appointed Post Master General, 1934: Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, 1945-53: Secretary, Bharat Sevak Samaj, for many years.

reference to me was necessary before making any arrangements, which affected me or the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

I spoke about this matter to Nandaji today. I told him that I had already agreed, at the instance of Indiraji, to attend a benefit performance by Subbulakshmi³ on the 4th November. Indiraji thinks that this other benefit performance coming a few days earlier will affect Subbulakshmi's concert. Therefore, it would be desirable for you to have a later date for your dance recital and musical concert.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. M.S. Subbulakshmi (b.1916): well known singer of Carnatic music; received many national and international awards.

3. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
September 15, 1955

Nan dear,

I returned to Delhi today after spending three days in Vindhya Pradesh. Yesterday I had an unusual and rather painful experience. Some of my fingers, notably the middle one of the right hand, got crushed in an automobile door. The door was actually closed and clicked and I could not take my hand away till it was opened. Immediately the pain was very great. But, as with all things, good and bad, it subsided. As far as I know, no serious injury has been caused. But it is a little difficult for me to use the right hand much at present.

I have sent you a brief telegram about R.K. Sidhwa.² He is an exceedingly undesirable person and has got us into trouble previously during his visits abroad. He was an MP in the last Parliament, but did not stand for election during the General Elections. I believe he does some odd business and exploits his political connections for it.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1882-1957): Congressman from Sind; Union Minister of State for Home. 1951-52. Nehru said in his telegram that Sidhwa should not be encouraged in making any public statements as he was "rather irresponsible."

You suggest that I issue a directive to MPs.³ That would do little good. Certainly I cannot issue a directive to Members like N.C. Chatterjee.⁴ All I can do is to tell MPs going in any delegation what to do and what not to do. I certainly think that people should not give press conferences or throw their weight about abroad.

You mentioned Mahavir Tyagi. I spoke to him at some length before he went away trying to explain to him the elements of proper behaviour abroad.⁵ More especially I asked him not to push himself forward and not to talk too much. And yet from your letter it appears that this is just what he has done.⁶ On the whole, I think, you will find Keshava Deva⁷ more sensible.

As for the Commonwealth PMs' Conference, June next year is about the only time that will suit me. Later in the year, I shall get entangled with the general elections. As a matter of fact, life is becoming very complicated here and the report of the States Reorganisation Commission is going to be the last straw.

I have no objection to the Commonwealth Conference being held in Ottawa.

I sent you two photographs of mine through General Shrinagesh.⁸ One was for you and the other for Edwina. Did you receive them?...

With love from
Jawahar

3. In a letter of 8 September, Vijayalakshmi Pandit strongly objected to giving of press conferences by visitors from India and desired that only the India House might arrange whatever direct contact that was necessary. She cited the example of a press conference by N.C. Chatterjee who was "peevish and disappointed" when nothing appeared in the press.
4. (1895-1972): President, Hindu Mahasabha, 1952-55; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.
5. On 12 October 1955 Nehru wrote to Vijayalakshmi, "I met Tyagi today on his return from his foreign tour. He was full of it and he expressed his great appreciation of your treatment of him. I suppose he is too old to learn much from such a visit. But it does seem to have opened his mind a little to the wider world."
6. On 7 September, Vijayalakshmi Pandit reported that on his arrival in London, Tyagi "immediately began to throw his weight about", and "told stories of the times when he and Rafi together were able to circumvent your orders. He took credit for having Abdullah jailed and gave instances of troop movements on the Kashmir border which were done under his orders and unknown to you."
7. Keshava Deva Malaviya was to visit London in the immediate future.
8. Satyavant M. Shrinagesh (1903-1977): commissioned to the army, 1923; GOC-in-C Western Command, 1943-53, and Southern Command, 1953-55; Chief of Army Staff, 1955-57, and Principal, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, 1957-59; Governor of Assam, 1959-62, Andhra Pradesh, 1962-64, and Mysore, 1964-65.

4. To Prabodh Chandra¹

New Delhi
September 16, 1955

Dear Prabodh Chandra,²

Your letter about your writing a book on "Nehru". I do not take kindly to this at all and am entirely opposed to your communicating with various well-known people in this country and elsewhere and asking them to contribute to such a book. I might tell you that this kind of approach has become almost a racket and many people in Europe have protested against it. They are put in a false position when approached because they think that it might be considered discourteous to refuse. So far as I am concerned, I have made it a rule not to contribute to such compilations. Also, we have actually gone out of our way in sending a circular round to the diplomats here as well as to some prominent persons outside asking them not to contribute to some such compilations.

This is a thoroughly bad practice which, unfortunately, is becoming too common in India. People produce birthday commemoration volumes and the like and send circulars round. I have occasionally had to counter these circulars.

Therefore I am quite clear in my mind that you should not approach anybody at all on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1911-); Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952-56; Chief Whip, Congress Legislature Party in Punjab, and member, AICC.

5. Metric System in India¹

This is rather a formidable volume and yet it is worthy of perusal by all those who are interested in the Metric System in India.² It represents a great deal of labour and some research work by Pitambar Pant³ and he deserves congratulations for it.

Our Parliament has accepted the principle of introducing the Metric System in India and legislation has already been passed in regard to coinage.⁴ The rest will no doubt follow. It is important, however, that there should be full publicity about this system and the obvious advantages that it will bring to us. We are, on the whole, a conservative country and it is not very easy to change old-established customs. But I am sure that our decision to adopt the Metric System is the right one from every point of view. For the scientist, the technician and the statistician, it is the only system that can be used. But even to the people generally this will bring relief and many facilities. There will no doubt be slight inconvenience to begin with, but this will not last.

This book will make it clear that there is a long history behind this introduction of the Metric System in India. The decision has not been made in a hurry or without due consideration. Indeed, it is rather unfortunate that it has been delayed for so long. One of the first subjects that came up before the Interim Government in, I think, 1947 was this introduction of the Metric System in India. The principle was accepted, but then all kinds of other developments took place in the country which delayed further consideration of this matter. I am glad that at last we have crossed the major hurdle and the future path now will be relatively easy.⁵ It is important, however, that full publicity should be given to the advantages of the Metric System and the people should understand how they will profit by it. This book gives both the past history and an indication of these advantages.

1. Foreword to *Memorandum on the Introduction of Metric System in India* (1955, Planning Commission) by Pitambar Pant, 16 September 1955. JN Collection.
2. After a comprehensive study of the question whether a change-over to the metric system was desirable, Pant reached the conclusion that standardization of weights and measures must be carried out on the basis of the metric system and that the change-over be affected with the least possible delay as this was necessary for the economic development through planning.
3. (1920-1973): eminent economist closely associated with the Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, and Personal Secretary to Nehru in the Planning Commission.
4. The Lok Sabha passed the Bill decimalizing Indian coinage on 29 July 1955.
5. The Standards of Weights and Measures Bill, 1956, passed by the Lok Sabha on 8 December and by the Rajya Sabha on 14 December 1956, became law with the assent of the President on 28 December 1956. It armed the Government with the requisite legal powers to introduce the metric system in India over a period of ten years.

6. The Himalayas¹

This book is in Bengali, and I am very sorry to say that I do not read Bengali. I have always regretted my ignorance of this great language of India. I have, therefore, not been able to read this book, but I have seen summaries of it which have interested me greatly.

I like mountains wherever they might be. But the Himalayas have exercised a peculiar fascination on me. Almost everything connected with them attracts me. They are not only physically present in India, dominating the vast Indian plain, but, for every Indian, they convey a deeper message. They have been entwined in the life of our race from the dawn of history and have not only affected our politics but have been an intimate part of the art and literature, mythology and religion of our people. I suppose nowhere else in the world have any mountains or mountain ranges played such an important part in the development of a race as the Himalayas have done in India for thousands of years past.

So, I welcome writings about these great and ancient friends and protectors of ours. More particularly, I welcome the approach of anyone who feels intimate and friendly with them and not that of a mere geographer. There is beauty there and poetry and both fierceness and calm of spirit. It is only those who can put themselves in tune with these varying moods that can appreciate the Himalayas. The author of this book, Shri Probodh Kumar Sanyal,² has evidently been very much in tune with these great friends and companions of ours. I envy him his many journeys.

Others, who read this book, may be helped by it to gain some insight into this charm and realise somewhat the fascination they have exercised through the ages for innumerable generations of the people of our country.

1. Foreword to *Devatatma Himalaya* by Prabodh Kumar Sanyal, New Delhi, 18 September 1955. File No. 9/148/B/55-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and printed in the *National Herald*, 21 October 1955.
2. (1905-1983); eminent novelist and journalist from Bengal; participated in the freedom movement; author of about 150 books, some of which are *Jajabar*, *Mahaprasthanar Pathey*, *Priyambada*, *Akabaka*, *Nad-o-Nadee*, *Uttar Himalaya Charita*, *Russian Diary*, *Paribrajaker Diary*; a great traveller, he spent the larger time of his life in the Himalayas; went to the North Pole in 1978; Founder President of the Calcutta Himalayan Association and the Himalayan Federation.

7. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
September 18, 1955

My dear U Nu,

It was very good of you to send me your letter of the 8th September with which you forwarded a copy of your address in New York and other papers.² I have read all these papers and intend reading them again.

It is rather difficult for me to write to you on these subjects. I have no doubt that there is a great deal of truth in what you say, but each one of us has to function according to his inner urge. I do not think any artificial diversion is helpful. When that inner urge itself points in a certain direction, then this is a natural development. Everyone of us has a duty to oneself and a duty to others, and ultimately that person himself has to determine the bounds of these duties. Circumstances also are determining factors. Sometimes the two duties, the personal and the public, appear to conflict, though ultimately they should not. Anyhow, I feel that the development of the individual can best take place naturally in accordance with those inner urges. Of course this can be helped, but even that help can only be fully taken advantage of when that urge is present.

Naturally the thinking mind often considers these deeper problems of the individual as well as of the wider group which gradually flock together and fashion these urges. When the time comes, further action is taken in that direction. An attempt to hustle the mind or the urge is apt to lead to artificiality.

It is difficult to write about these matters, as you will well appreciate. But for the present, all I wish to say to you is how grateful I am that you should take this friendly and intimate interest in me. I appreciate that very much as I have always appreciated your friendship, which has been a precious thing for me. I shall think about these matters, and perhaps when an opportunity offers, talk to you about them.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. U Nu wrote that as the Buddha Jayanti day approached, he felt a strong urge to request Nehru "to make a personal test of the truth of Buddhism", the only religion in which "the truth can be tested during one's lifetime and not hereafter." He enclosed a copy of his address at New York University and other papers that explained the meaning of Buddhism and the method followed in undergoing spiritual exercises and meditations, and offered to send a competent person to help Nehru in taking a one-month course of these. U Nu concluded: "Great as your achievements are in the literary and political fields, I believe your achievements in the religious field are destined to be even greater."

8. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
September 18, 1955

My dear Edwina,

This is going to be a typewritten letter for reasons which will presently appear.

As I wrote to you, I have been on a little tour in Vindhya Pradesh. Although this State of ours is right in the centre of India and easy of approach, not many people go there. In fact, it adjoins my own home district of Allahabad. But I hardly know it. It used to be a collection of small Indian States, the chief of which was Rewa. I wonder if you ever went there. I saw a picture of yours and Dickie's in the house of the Maharaja of Rewa.²

In the old days, I used to avoid visiting the Indian States as far as possible, because I was not in tune with them, and there was every likelihood of my getting into trouble there. Ever since independence, I have of course visited them. The Vindhya Pradesh was neglected by me because no special occasion arose for me to go there. It is a backward area where there are no great developmental works or factories or the like being put up. It is true that in a corner of Vindhya Pradesh, there is the famous temple of Khajuraho. This is not easy of access.

I found Vindhya Pradesh, much to my surprise, very attractive. Perhaps, this was due to the rains which make everything bright and green. But, apart from this, there were other reasons also. A great part of the State is a plateau varying from 1,000 ft to over 3,000. The climate is not so hot as in the plains. There are a number of rivers and deep forests full of wild animals. It remained undeveloped because of the petty rajas and their semi-feudal system. It is making some headway now. The people there were attractive.

After wandering about and, of course, delivering long speeches to big audiences, I managed to reach at last the temple of Khajuraho to which I had looked forward for a long time. It really is not one temple but dozens of them, dating back to about a thousand years. I saw the first one, and was greatly attracted. As I was going on to the second, I met with a little accident. The door of our car closed firmly on my fingers. Indeed, it clicked and I could not take my fingers out till the door was opened. This was an unusually painful experience for me and, for a few moments, I felt rather faint and held on to Indu who was standing by. I recovered rapidly, though the pain continued. I decided that I should continue my tour of the temples, partly because that would divert my mind from the pain, but I must confess that my appreciation of architectural and sculptural beauty was somewhat damped.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Martand Singh.

I have been very fortunate about bodily pain. It is only very rarely that I have it and, even then, I do not remember of any really acute type of pain. I seldom have headaches. I sleep well. My digestive system is more or less satisfactory. So, this particular incident of the crushing of the fingers, and chiefly the middle one of my right hand, was a novel one for me. After the first intensity of pain, naturally, it became less. This lessening of pain itself brought great relief, and so I thought how relative were the sensations of pain and pleasure. Normally, even the lesser pain would have been pretty bad, but, coming after something much worse, it brought relief.

This is the reason why I am sending you this typewritten letter. I find it a little difficult to write with my hand. As a matter of fact, the fingers have healed rather well, and I hope to use them more or less in the normal way after another few days. It has been a good experience.

Thank you for your letters, one of which came from your Irish Castle. I love reading your account of the Irish coast. Somehow, the longing to go to some place cut off from the day to day activities of the world, grows upon me, chiefly because I cannot satisfy it. Previously, I used to find two or three days occasionally to go to Kashmir or some other part of the Himalayas but even that has not come off for some time past. Wherever I go, there are crowds and meetings and committees and consultations. Some evil star must have condemned me to this gregarious life.

Having partially recovered from the onslaught of the rain god, we have had another fierce attack, and a good part of Orissa has been converted into a sea. This came after a long period of drought and it came with great suddenness. The result was a complete upsetting of all the plans we had made and a certain amount of panic among the people. I am going there in two or three days time to cheer them up....

Yours,
Jawahar

9. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Camp: Cuttuck
September 23, 1955

Nan Dear,

I have come to Orissa for two days because of the flood situation. I came

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

chiefly because the people here appeared to have lost nerve completely and were feeling rather helpless. The floods came immediately after a drought and this sudden reversal of nature's ways created a measure of panic. The floods were heavier than ever before. Indeed, all over Eastern UP, Bihar, Assam and Orissa, we had a higher flood level than was recorded. It is said that this was the biggest flood during the last 100 years or so.

In Bihar and Eastern UP, after the first flood had subsided, we had more rain and another flood. This was particularly disheartening as the peasants had started sowing afresh. The floods will pass, as they are passing now and waters are subsiding. But they leave behind a trail of havoc. Vast number of mud houses have been washed away with all that they contained, including the little stock of grain. Fortunately we do not lack food in the country but it is difficult often enough to reach these isolated waterlogged villages....

Just before I came here, we had a three-day visit from the Crown Prince of Laos and his Prime Minister. They took up a good deal of my time. I rather liked the Crown Prince. In his own petty domain, I had found last year that the Ministers went up to him almost on their knees....

Indu has gone off on a Congress tour in various parts of Central and South India. She will meet me in Madras on the 2nd October. Before she went, she asked Lekha² to come and stay in our house to look after me. First day of looking after: I leave my house at 8 am and return at 7 pm. That day I did not come back for lunch even as I had to have a meal with the Crown Prince of Laos. When I came back at 7 pm, I found Lekha and family had been there the whole day, more or less waiting for me. Soon after I had to leave for the Banquet at Rashtrapati Bhavan for the Crown Prince of Laos and returned late. Next day I left rather early in the morning after breakfast, came back for a very hurried lunch and went out again for the rest of the day. I had vague glimpses of Lekha and the children. Third day early morning I came here. So I had not taken very great advantage of Lekha's presence, nor has she been able to look after me adequately. But I hope to see a little more of her on my return to Delhi.

Within a week or so, we shall have the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. I do not yet know what this report is going to be, although there is much talk of it. But, whatever it is, it is likely to prove a bombshell and a disturbing feature in our country. I cannot measure the disturbance but we are going to have a heavy time about it. Our troubles and problems seem to be unending and yet I have a sense that we are getting on and are much better placed than many countries, certainly in Asia and possibly even some in Europe.

2. Chandralekha Pandit, daughter of Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

The recent riots in Istanbul were very bad. We have had a first-hand report of them from Rustamji³ who happened to be in Istanbul then.

With love from
Jawahar

3. K.F.Rustamji (b.1916): joined Indian Police, 1938; deputed to Hyderabad State as DIG, 1949; with Ministry of Home Affairs, GOI, from 1952, and as Chief Security Officer, 1954-58; IG of Police, Madhya Pradesh, 1958-65; Director-General, Border Security Force, 1965-74; Secretary, MHA, 1974-76; member, National Police Commission, 1978-83; member, National Integration Council, since 1990; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1971, and Padma Vibhushan, 1991.

10. To Pyarelal¹

New Delhi
September 25, 1955

My dear Pyarelal,²

On my last air journey to Orissa, I took your manuscript³ with me. I read your Synopsis and the first volume of the typescript. Also, the copies of the correspondence which you had sent me. Naturally, I have found all this exceedingly interesting reading. I shall try to read the rest of it also.

I think you have done a fine piece of work, and your book will be an important source book, more especially in regard to what Bapu said or felt at a particular time.

I am returning Part I which I have read. Also, the old copy of Synopsis, since you have sent me a new corrected one. Also, the copies of the correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1899-1982): Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi since the death of Mahadev Desai in 1942.
3. Of *Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase*, Vols. I & II.

11. To Krishna Hutheesing¹

New Delhi

29 September 1955

Betti dear,²

I have just received two letters from you. One contains a cutting from some paper or magazine giving a letter from Vincent Sheean.³

I have been and am reluctant to write to you on a personal subject which has pained me deeply. You will remember my giving you the American magazine⁴ which contained your article and mentioning that I had read it with great regret and that it contained many misstatements. Since then I have not spoken or written to you about it, although that article has pursued me even in foreign countries. In India foreign agencies have taken the trouble to circulate it and get it translated and published in some Indian language papers. Obviously they did so because they thought that this would help their policy by running me down.

In this matter you and I have evidently entirely different approaches. I thought that the article was wrongly conceived and in very bad taste, apart from its longer political consequences, which were unfortunate. Also that there were many errors of fact in it. I had mentioned some of these minor errors in the presence of Indu and Mathai.⁵ Your story of the rose is not correct⁶—nor is it correct to say that Kamala was trained by a governess before marriage or after. I do not think she had a governess at any time. As for puddings, I hardly ever take them in my house. These are minor matters. My objection to your article was much deeper.

1. JN Collection. Copy of a handwritten letter.

2. (1907-1967); younger sister of Nehru

3. (1899-1975); journalist from USA.

4. An article entitled *Nehru and Madame Pandit* by Krishna Nehru Hutheesing, appeared in *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1955.

5. M.O. Mathai.

6. For instance, Krishna Nehru Hutheesing wrote: "Oddly enough, it was one of these admiring females who was responsible for Jawahar's trademark: the rose in his buttonhole. This particular girl waited for many days on the doorstep to get a word with him. Nothing would discourage her. Finally one day she arrived just as Jawahar came out of the house to get into his car. She stepped forward and handed him a rose. Jawahar loves flowers and this was a very lovely yellow rose. He smiled at the girl and spoke a few words to her. That was all she wanted and her patient vigil had been rewarded. From that day on she made it a habit to arrive daily with just one beautiful rose which she offered to Jawahar with great devotion.

At first Jawahar was merely amused. He didn't want to offend the well-meaning girl, so he slipped the rose into his buttonhole. When teased about it, he gave up wearing the flower, but later, as the roses kept coming, he wore them. Now it is the gardener who leaves the rose on his dressing table for him to wear each morning."

Your article has been much talked about, especially among foreigners, and it is quite possible for Sheean to have talked about it to Mathai. There was apparently no question of any news item being given. No reference was made to me nor do I encourage talk about your article with me. I am afraid, thickskinned as I am, I have been rather sensitive about this matter.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

12. The Romance of Flying¹

I do not know what particular qualification I have to participate in the function, except that I am the Prime Minister. It is true that I have been intensely interested in flying. Somehow, fate has kept me away from learning to be a pilot. As a matter of fact, long before the Madras Flying Club came into existence—in the year 1910 or 1911, if I remember rightly, I expressed a desire to become a pilot or learn flying. Those were the early times. As I go back still earlier, I have recollections as a boy of being greatly interested by the first crossing of the English Channel by Bleriot.² The crossing of the Channel and flying by the Wright Brothers³ excited me. While in school in England I wrote to my father hoping to be able to pay weekend visits to India in future.

During my visit to Berlin in 1910 I saw for the first time Count Zeppelin⁴ come to that city in an airship. Those were the days before the First World War. I saw Count Zeppelin arrive and a million Berliners waiting to receive him. The Zeppelin airship, in spite of great hopes, did not ultimately succeed. That very year I saw an aeronautical exhibition at Frankfurt. A few months later, I saw in Paris a flight around Eiffel Tower for the first time.

1. Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Madras Flying Club, Meenambakkam, Chennai, 5 October 1955. *The Hindu*, 6 October 1955.
2. Louis Bleriot (1872-1936): French aviator and inventor: first to cross the English Channel in a heavier-than-air machine on 25 July 1909.
3. Wilbur (1867-1912) and Orville Wright (1871-1948) were the first of fly in a heavier-than-air machine on 17 December 1903.
4. Graf von Ferdinand Zeppelin (1838-1917): invented the first rigid bodied aircraft in 1900; made several successful flights from 1906 to 1908. Nehru along with his father witnessed the overhead circling and the final touch-down by Count Zeppelin after his first long flight in a new airship from Friederichshafen to Berlin.

From those early days, I followed the progress of aviation and I was much excited and expressed a keen desire to join a flying school in London. But my father did not approve of it. That came in my way of learning flying. Many other things happened. But my interest in flying remained for a variety of reasons. Anyhow it is obvious that the development of flying has made a vast difference to methods of transport and communications, but I think it has and must have a certain tangible, unmeasurable, psychological effect on the human race as it grows.

Relatively few men take to flying at present. I suppose that flying combined with the use of atomic energy in the near future—I doubt if you have to wait for too long a time for it—will bring about a great revolution, because such aircraft will not have heavy engines. They will have power enough—a great deal of power without much weight and therefore it is possible to have to do all kinds of things which are out of reach today. Continuously, we see tremendous developments taking place. I often wonder how far we keep pace with them mentally.

It is an odd thing how, on the one hand, every invention, every discovery, every progress made by humanity comes out of the human mind, and yet the human mind itself lags behind the discoveries that it makes. So in the midst of technological, scientific and other advances, our minds remain in a backward state not catching up with the new conditions of life. Hence, I suppose, there are misfits in society. It is obvious that flying is something vital, essential and inevitable and is bound to grow. I am surprised really at the very little or lack of response to the activities of the flying clubs in India.

I am not impressed by the number of persons who have undergone training at the Club because, after 25 years, it still marches at a snail's pace.

I think far more people should take an interest in flying—not necessarily to become pilots by profession but simply to gain a new experience. It will do you good, mentally, psychologically and spiritually and in other ways. I hope the figures of the Madras Flying Club will show an upward trend in the near future and that more and more people will take an interest in it and learn to fly and have the feeling of escaping which one has as one leaves the solid earth for a little while.

I am told that there is no gliding here. I hope, they will have it in the near future. I think every school boy and girl should learn how to glide. It is a relatively simple thing. There is no difficulty in it. Regular pilots also learn gliding to begin with.

For the reasons I mentioned, I hope that this Flying Club will prosper and long before it doubles its span of life and celebrates its next jubilee—golden or diamond whatever name you call it—I hope that a large part of the people of Madras will get accustomed to flying. I wish it good luck and rapid progress.

13. To Krishna Hutheesing¹

New Delhi
October 10, 1955

Betti darling,

You do not seem to grow up. What has my opinion of your writing got to do with my affection for you or your staying with me?

You wrote something which surprised and pained me. It is full of misstatements—not the trivial matters which Mathai mentions—and is tendentious. It is soppy and deals chiefly with personal and family matters and often wrongly or with a wrong slant. It is, as I wrote to you,² in very bad taste. At any rate that is how I thought of it according to my code of standards and behaviour. It may be that my standards are peculiar. I knew nothing about this article till I saw extracts in the foreign press which were telegraphed. I think I asked you about it and you gave me an explanation. You also sent me your original manuscript which though slightly different was not much better. Then I read the article itself and I gave it to you with the remark that I did not like it at all and that it was full of wrong statements. What else did you expect me to do about it? Since then you have not mentioned the matter to me nor has there been a word of regret. According to you the article, as printed, was different in some particulars from what you wrote. I do not know if you even wrote to the magazine correcting the errors.

I had nothing further to say to you about the article and I tried to forget it. It was only when you wrote to me about it that I said something in reply. I do not go about speaking of it. On one or two occasions I said to Indu how unfortunate your article was and how full of errors. I think Mathai also heard this. I did not know that Vincent Sheean came to Delhi. I have not seen him for some years except for a glimpse at Bandung. What Mathai said to Vincent Sheean was apparently in the course of a talk. All the press people in Delhi were talking about it then. There was nothing very wrong in what he said. Indeed you yourself had said that in some of these matters you had been made to say something which you had not written. Both the story about Kamala and the rose are wrong. As for sweets, etc., it is a ridiculously small matter. Yes, I like some sweets but I dislike what are usually called puddings.

As you know, I have been apprehensive about your writing father's biography. I would anyhow have disliked the idea because I felt that you would not be able to do it justice. Many people asked me to write it but I did not

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 540-541.

have enough confidence for it. Others who intended writing were dissuaded by me. Nothing is more difficult than to write a biography and for one who has been near and intimate this is still more difficult. A biography is not a string of personal stories but is a deeper analysis of man's growth, his strength and triumphs and failures. A biography of father would essentially be a political one intimately connected with our national movement.

After I saw your article in the American magazine, my apprehensions about father's biography grew. Nevertheless I did not wish to come in your way and I gave you copies of his letters. You say something about my being a dictator and preventing your publishers from dealing with it. I have had no idea of who your publisher is likely to be. I have sent him no message or tried to prevent publication, although I look forward to it with considerable apprehension.

I am sure you do not wish to say anything derogatory about father. But that does not take one far. Evidently our ideas of what should be written and how, and what should not be written differ. I do not wish to argue these matters or indeed to make you feel that I come in the way of what you want to do. That is why I have avoided talking to you about many things that I did not like. I wish you would grow up a little and not blame everybody.

Love

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

14. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1955

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th October.

It would be a little absurd for me to suggest to the King of Nepal as to who he should send as his Ambassador to us. Anyhow, he had already chosen the Ambassador.

1. JN Collection.

I really cannot make out to what you refer about my having said something about Brahmans. I have not given a press interview here and I do not remember saying anything at all about Brahmans in Madras.²

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

2. Rajaji was referring to Nehru's remarks on Brahmans which the latter had made on 1 September at an AICC meeting and were reproduced in the *Indian Express* on 11 October. See *ante* p. 6. Rajaji said in his letter that there was a 'world of difference' between Nehru saying things about Brahmans and his saying it. Rajagopalachari pointed out that Brahmans in Chennai had no superiority complex. "They are all suffering from an oppression complex," he said. Rajaji was worried that Nehru's words might be "translated and manifolded" and were likely to encourage violence. His point was that Brahmans were unable to get rid of their cleaner habits of life—and this provoked anger among the upper elements of non-Brahmans.

15. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1955

My dear Dickie,

Forgive me for the delay in answering your letter of the 15th September. I was happy to hear from you and I am glad that your proposed visit to India with Edwina is gradually taking shape. From your letter it appears that you are not likely to be here till April. You will of course be welcome whenever you come. But I wish you could have come earlier.

The heavens have been most unkind to us. Practically the whole of North India has had the most terrific floods. Even Delhi has not escaped and parts of Old Delhi and even New Delhi have had the Jumna flowing through them. The Punjab and Orissa have probably suffered most, chiefly because they were least expecting floods. Orissa was trying hard to fight a drought. Punjab had not had any big floods in living memory. Parts of the UP and Northern Bihar were completely under water for a considerable time and literally thousands of villages have been washed away. North Bengal suffered also. So did Assam, but we had one satisfaction there. Last year Dibrugarh was attacked

1. JN Collection.

by the Brahmaputra and scores of houses in the city were just swallowed up by that river in spite of embankments and the like. On this occasion, the Brahmaputra rose higher than last year and created a record. Nevertheless, we saved Dibrugarh by some engineering devices, spurs, etc., thrown out into the river.

The floods have taken up a good deal of our time and energy. But life is to go on in spite of them. We are in the last stages of the preparation of our Second Five Year Plan, and this includes practically all major activities during the next five years. Our First Five Year Plan has met with very considerable success, and so we want to launch out in a much bigger way now.

All this is in the day's work, although the work may be heavy. But now we are confronted by something which is really dangerous. Nearly two years ago, we appointed a States Reorganisation Commission to consider what changes we should make in regard to the existing States. This had to be done, I suppose, some time or other and there was great pressure on us. Now this Commission has produced a report which has placed us in a most difficult position. The Sikhs, or rather the Akalis, are giving expression to all manner of threats. The Marathas in the West are also very angry. Indeed most parts of India are greatly agitated. One might almost think from reading reports of speeches, etc., that we were on the verge of civil war in some parts of India. The Communists are taking full advantage of this situation. They love any kind of commotion or excitement which can be turned to their advantage. I fear we are going to have a heavy time during the next few months.

Our general elections should take place at the end of next year or the beginning of 1957 and we ought to finish our constitutional changes in regard to the States long before that. Thus, time is limited and the problems before us are terribly complicated.

Just at this time we are going to have all kinds of Kings, an Emperor, several Prime Ministers, Vice Presidents and many Foreign Ministers to visit us. I do not look forward to the next few months.

Tyagi told me today that you have decided to send an aircraft squadron to Bombay early next year. I am glad you have done this and I hope I shall have a chance to visit it. We shall try to make others visit it also. But, as you will observe from what I have written above, we are up to our necks in problems and difficulties.

I do hope your visit to Delhi will not be too brief. You will be coming here not only as First Sea Lord but as an ex-Governor General.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

16. Inquiry into Subhas Chandra Bose's Death¹

...2. Some days ago, I had a talk with B.R. Sen² on this subject. As a result of this, I wrote³ to Dr B.C. Roy suggesting that we might send a team of three persons to Japan to enquire into the circumstances of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I had a talk with Dr Roy this evening. He agreed that this would be a good idea.

3. I think that a team of three should consist of (1) a representative of the Bose family, (2) a representative of the old INA and (3) a Government official.

4. Shri B.R. Sen himself suggested some such team. A suitable representative of the Bose family would be Shri Amiya Bose⁴, son of the late Shri Sarat Chandra Bose.⁵ An INA representative might be Shri Shah Nawaz Khan,⁶ Parliamentary Secretary. As for the Government representative, we might perhaps choose someone from Bengal, though that is not necessary.

5. If Shri B.R. Sen is still here, you might discuss this with him, or, else, you might write to him in Calcutta. I gather that Amiya Bose is perfectly willing to go.⁷ He has suggested that we might consult Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's wife in Vienna, but I do not think it necessary.

6. The next step we should take is to approach the Japanese Government informally and put it to them that, in view of a great deal of misapprehension

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 13 October 1955. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to B.C. Roy.
2. (1898-): Ambassador to Japan, 1955-56. Sen met Nehru on 10 October.
3. Nehru wrote to B.C. Roy on 1 October about a question asked in the Lok Sabha on 29 September regarding "the recent controversy ... about the authenticity of the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ... kept in the Renkoji Temple, Tokyo." He stated, "I was specially asked why they were not brought to India. I said that this could be done only with the approval of the family." Nehru asked Roy to find out the attitude of Bose's family in the matter. On 11 October, Nehru again wrote to Roy seeking his advice, but concluded that it was desirable "to send a small team to Tokyo to confer with the Japanese government and take such evidence there, as is available."
4. (1913-): second son of Sarat Chandra Bose.
5. (1889-1950); elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose; a senior Congress leader.
6. (1914-): Congress Member of Parliament, 1952-67.
7. In a note to Foreign Secretary on 20 October, Nehru wrote, "Shri Shah Nawaz Khan came to me this evening and discussed with me the proposed enquiry into Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death. He suggested that the right person to go as a member of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's family was his eldest living brother, Shri Suresh Chandra Bose. He did not at all like the idea of Amiya Bose being sent and thought that this would be an unpopular choice."

here and some mystery surrounding Shri Subhas Bose's death, we consider it desirable to have an enquiry into the circumstances. Naturally, we can only do this with the approval and assistance of the Japanese Government. If they are agreeable to this, then we shall send a small deputation for the purposes of this enquiry. We hope that the Japanese Government will be good enough to give them full assistance in this matter.

7. The purpose of the enquiry will be to find the circumstances of the death and how far the ashes kept in a temple in Tokyo are Shri Subhas Bose's ashes.⁸

8. The aeroplane accident leading to Shri Subhas Bose's death took place in Formosa. This raises a difficulty as it will be difficult for any of our men to go to Formosa and, if they did go there, they will be unable to do anything or get any help from the Formosan Government. As a matter of fact, I do not think that much can be done by a visit to Formosa. Such eye-witnesses or others who might know about that accident must be Japanese. These Japanese are obviously no longer in Formosa. If they have to be contacted, it will have to be in Japan itself. Therefore, a visit to Formosa appears not only difficult but unnecessary.

9. After discussing this matter with Shri B.R. Sen and sending through him a communication to the Japanese Government, you might inform Dr B.C. Roy what steps we are taking. You might also request him to ask Shri Amiya Bose if, in the event of an enquiry team going to Japan, he would be willing to be a member of it.

8. Nehru informed the Lok Sabha on 29 September that "the question of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death is settled beyond doubt. There can be no enquiry about that." He added that a satisfactory enquiry into the "actual circumstances" could be made by the Japanese Government.

17. Treatment of TB Patients¹

I spoke about this matter to Dr B.C. Roy.² This was in regard to a particular

1. Note to Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, 18 October 1955. JN Collection.

2. Hiren Mookerjee, MP, had written to Nehru seeking permission for the son of a Calcutta barrister to go to Beijing for treatment of tuberculosis. The boy had gained admission to the Asian Students TB Clinic.

student who wanted to go to China for treatment. His reaction was fairly strong. He said that the treatment available in India as well as probably the facilities, were of a higher standard than in China. The idea of a person going to China for TB treatment, therefore, appeared to him a little absurd and rather derogatory to Indian medicine. Of course, it is true that there is not enough accommodation in our TB clinics and hospitals for all the TB cases. Very probably, there is far less accommodation in China than in India. The proposal from China is, therefore, not because of an abundance of room there but, no doubt, to create a good impression on political grounds.

2. I agree with SG and FS about the fourteen students being given passports. The idea of exchanging TB student-patients seems to me rather extraordinary. Apart from the needless expenses involved, the treatment of a TB patient should proximate as far as possible to the type of life he is likely to have to lead later on. Pushing him into an entirely new environment is not desirable, except in serious cases.

18. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi

October 20, 1955

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

I am sending you an attractive booklet which the Canadian Pacific Railway gives to all its passengers. I think something like this would be helpful for our airlines in India and abroad. Air India International produces a number of leaflets, pamphlets, etc. I do not quite know who they are meant for. Evidently, they think that most of their passengers are half-wits.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Communications.

19. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
October 20, 1955

Nan dear,

I have been looked after during the last few days by Lekha. It appears to have become a recognised practice that some member of the family must look after me. So, when Indu goes away, Lekha appears on the scene. She accompanied me during a tour of the Damodar Valley. At the stated time she produces a multi-vitamin pill for me to swallow. After lunch, she gently reminds me that some rest is indicated.

It has been delightful to have her here. I hardly see her normally. Indeed I hardly see anybody except those who call on me by appointment or the persons I see at large parties. I have loved having her. She is quiet, soothing and helpful.

Indu is being pushed about all over India by our Congress President Dhebarbhai. I am rather frightened at this because they make her work terribly hard and she has not got the many conveniences that I have on touring. She went to Bombay some days ago. Immediately on arrival at the airport, she started her programme of meetings, etc., from the morning. She had no time even to go the place where she was staying. She returned late at night after having lunch and dinner outside. Her daily programme is something like this and I do not like it at all.

We are struggling in very stormy seas. The States Reorganisation report has let loose all kinds of passions and prejudices and I fear this unveiling of our inner selves has not revealed a pleasant sight. I really do not know where this is going to lead us.

I hope you are keeping well.

With love from
Jawahar

20. To K.G. Saiyidain¹

New Delhi

28th October, 1955

My dear Saiyidain,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th October.³

The method adopted in my speech at the Youth Festival was hardly a new technique for me.⁴ I have gradually grown into it. Sometimes, if the audience is suitable and the mood fits in, it is more successful than at big public meetings. The difference, I suppose, was that there was a much greater personal element in what I said at the Youth Festival and I was in that particular mood. What I said was entirely extempore. I had little idea, five minutes before my speech, as to what I would say. I allowed my mind to run on.

It is difficult to speak in this manner when broadcasting. The personal touch is absent. Also, the idea of having to say something at a fixed time regularly itself becomes an imposition which interferes with the proper mood.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1904-1971): Additional Secretary, Union Ministry of Education, 1954-56.
3. "While I listened to you," Saiyidain wrote, referring to Nehru's speech at the Inter-University Youth Festival in Delhi on 23 October 1955. "I wondered whether you are consciously experimenting with a new technique of communication which would give a public address the appeal and intimacy of a fireside chat. You were able to talk to thousands of persons as if literally you were talking to a small group of five or ten!... You were throughout fully in tune with your audience and did not lose their attention even for a minute." He asked whether it was possible for Nehru to find time to give an occasional fireside chat "straight from heart" on the radio to bring the youth under the "magic spell" of his personality.
4. For the full text of Nehru's speech of 23 October 1955, see *ante*, pp. 96-107.

21. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi

November 13, 1955

My dear Edwina,

... I have recently been to Saurashtra. This is perhaps the one part of India which neither you nor Dickie visited. It is rather attractive and I like the people

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

there. It has also a clean look, chiefly because the houses even in the villages are built on white stone which is abundant there. The farmers working in the fields are well-clad, in fact rather over-clad. There used to be hundreds of small Indian States there. This area is, in a sense, an extension of the Gujarat area and Gujarati is the language spoken. But it is somewhat different. Most of the farmers are Kathia (hence Kathiawar). They are evidently descendants of some Syrian incursion. Even now they have that slightly angular face. The women, however, are more akin to Gujaratis with very attractive and soft complexions.

I went to Saurashtra for a number of functions but, as I wrote to you, what interested me most was a visit to the lions of the Gir forest. We had a good deal of luck. We only went to the Gir forest in the afternoon, spent the night in a Rest House there and returned early the next morning. During this brief period we saw a number of lions and lionesses. Probably because killing them is prohibited, they are not afraid of human beings and we can approach them in our cars to within fifty feet or so sometimes. We also saw wild boar in that forest and were told that that is the one animal the lion does not like at all.

Two days ago I went to Amritsar where we have had a lot of trouble between the Sikhs and the Hindus. This was all due to the desire of Master Tara Singh and company to have what he calls a Punjabi Province. The problem remains and we shall have to tackle it in the course of the next month. But something near a miracle has happened in changing the whole atmosphere of the place. Some ten days ago I invited Master Tara Singh to meet us to discuss this problem. He came to my house with some colleagues of his. Naturally I received him in a friendly way just as I received any other person. For some odd reason he was powerfully affected by this friendly approach and stated afterwards that whatever happened in the future, and even though he had to go against our Government and Congress, he would not do anything against me!

When I went to Amritsar two days ago, I had the most stupendous of welcomes. The whole city was in a festival mood and vast crowds had gathered from round about. I visited the Darbar Sahib and all the surroundings were jammed with people. It was difficult for me to move and I had to protect old Master Tara Singh. On two or three occasions I did something which I take it few Prime Ministers have done in the past. I climbed up a lamp post in order partly to see the crowd and partly to exhibit myself to them so as to lessen the pressure. However, everything passed off well and Amritsar, from being a scene of conflict, suddenly became a place of overflowing friendship and goodwill. I do not know how long this will last.

Your visit to America must be drawing to a close. This letter will therefore be sent to London.

Yours,
Jawahar

GLOSSARY

bhai	brother
Jai Hind	victory to India
jayanti	anniversary
maha Punjab	greater Punjab
morcha	picketing
moulvi	a Muslim learned person, well versed in Arabian and Persian literature
nat	acrobat, rope-dancer
panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct
patwari	revenue official at village level
Ramlila	festival in which the deeds of Lord Ram are celebrated
Ram Rajya	equitable and ideal rule; literally kingdom of Ram, worshipped as God by Hindus
rashtrabhasha	national language
samyukta Maharashtra	greater Maharashtra
sarvodaya	movement for people's welfare
satyagrahi	practitioner of soul force or truth force
sthitaprajna	a person of pure wisdom and stable intellect
thali	a large metal plate used for main meals

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